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DISSERTATIONS

UPON AN

HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

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DISSERTATIONS

UPON

THE PRINCIPLES

AND

ARRANGEMENT

OF AN

HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

BY

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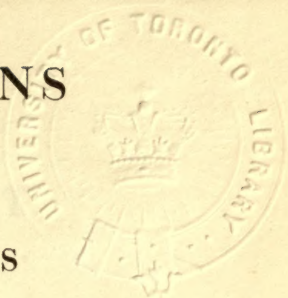
SECOND EDITION,

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

OXFORD,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

MDCCCXXXVII.



ADVERTISEMENT.

IN reprinting the Dissertations on the principles and arrangement of an Harmony of the Gospels, published at the University Press in 1830 ; it has been considered adviseable to adopt a larger type, and to depart from the order of the first edition, so far as to transfer to the Appendix some entire Dissertations, and either to the Appendix or to the notes parts of others, which might be conveniently removed from their former situation in the body of the work ; and to number the Dissertations consecutively through the several volumes, as far as the Appendix ; the Dissertations assigned to which are still separately numbered as before. In other respects, excepting only verbal alterations or corrections of the style, which the Author has freely made, it will be found that little, if any thing, forms a part of the first edition, which is not included in the second.

The contents of the supplementary volume, published at the University Press in 1834, are incorporated in this Edition ; the Dissertations, in the Appendix, and the Notes, in their proper places in the body of the work. Fresh matter has been added to the notes in various instances ; and four integral Dissertations now stand in the Appendix,

which have never before appeared in print—the Supplement to Appendix, Dissertation xi; the Supplement to Dissertation xv. and Appendix, Dissertation xix; and the two Supplements to Appendix, Dissertation xxvii. which conclude the work. For an account of each of these the reader is referred to the synopsis of the Appendix, or to the tables of contents of the third and fourth volumes respectively.

Among the Tables, at the end of the fourth volume, there is one which will shew the order and place of the Dissertations in the first edition, and in the supplementary volume, as they are now arranged in the second; another, which accommodates the references to the first edition of the Dissertations, in the *Harmonia Evangelica*, to the second and a third, which does the same for the references to the first edition, or to the supplementary volume in the *Exposition of the Parables*, by the same Author, and published in 1834 and 1835.

In the tables of dates, and other chronological statements, references have been added to the places in the Dissertations, where the statements in question will be found to be verified. Each of the four volumes is provided with a much more circumstantial table of contents than before; and the whole with a general index of matters, which whether as complete as it might have been made or not, will be found, it is hoped, sufficiently copious to be useful for all ordinary purposes.

The fourth volume, from the size which it was found to have attained in comparison of the preceding, has been necessarily divided into two parts ; the second part beginning with the Twenty-seventh Dissertation of the Appendix, and the numbering of the pages running on, so that it may still be bound up in one volume with the first part, or separately, as the purchasers of it may prefer.

Lastly ; no pains have been spared to render this second edition as accurate as possible, and as safely to be depended upon as the judgment of the Author was competent to make it. There is no statement in it, from first to last, it may almost be said upon any point, and certainly upon any point of importance, which has not been considered and reconsidered, before it was allowed to stand : there is not a fact alleged, or an authority appealed to, which has not been carefully examined afresh, to satisfy the Author of its truth, or that it would fairly justify the use which had been made of it : there is not a quotation of any kind, which has not been collated with the original ; nor a reference, with one or two exceptions, which has not been verified by the Author and Editor of the work himself, as it was passing through the press.

Errors or oversights may possibly have escaped him, notwithstanding all this care to guard against them ; but he trusts that they are few, and after this explanation, that, even if detected, they will be entitled to indulgence. And though he has disco-

vered from experience that much of these precautions was superfluous, and might have been dispensed with, without detriment to the character of the work ; he can never regret that they have been taken, or think any degree of labour ill-bestowed to acquit himself in the most satisfactory manner of the responsibility of the Author, and the duty of the Editor of a work, devoted to a subject, the importance and dignity of which it is not easy to overrate—and emanating from a Press, the well established reputation of which would be compromised by the inaccuracy of any of its productions—and once more laid before the public, through the liberality of its Board of Delegates.

C. C. C. OXFORD,

Feb. 20, 1837.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE advantages of Harmonies of the Gospels have been acknowledged and illustrated even from so remote a period as the time of Tatian, the contemporary and reputed disciple of Justin Martyr; so that to expatiate upon them, at the outset of the present work, may justly be considered superfluous. The number of the Gospels, which are four distinct compositions, the community of the subject to which they relate, the vast importance of the Gospel history itself, the very differences, or apparent differences, which exist in the several accounts, seem partly to invite, and partly to require, their comparison and adjustment. No one can study them with that attention which they deserve, or with that sense of personal interest in them which they are calculated to excite, without endeavouring to harmonize them, in some manner or other, for himself: he cannot be content to peruse what one of the Evangelists has written, without feeling a wish to contrast his statements with those of another: he cannot consider the general structure and economy of one Gospel, without examining, or desiring to examine, what relation the plan of that one bears to the constitution of the rest.

The pains bestowed upon the composition of Harmonies, as well as the zeal and assiduity with which every other department of sacred literature has been cultivated, are, however, almost an exclusive characteristic of modern times. The Harmony, or Diates-

saron, of Tatian, and the Canons of Ammonius, are not merely the earliest, but perhaps the only, specimens of the kind which appear to have been produced for many centuries after the Christian era; but the number which might be cited as the fruit of modern diligence and application would not fall much short of two hundred. This fact is sufficient to prove both the interest which has been taken in the subject of Harmonies, and the difficulty, not less than the supposed necessity, of such compositions.

It is an obvious inference from the same fact that, with so many in existence, it is scarcely to be expected that another should now be constructed, and by its originality be capable of recommending itself to that fastidious appetite for novelty which, upon ordinary subjects, is too apt to reject with disgust the repetition of what is old or familiar. It is possible, however, that many things may be original, as concerns a particular work, which are not so, perhaps, in themselves. But upon the subject before us, the desire of change or novelty is least of all things to be gratified from choice, and out of deference to the taste of readers. We cannot be perpetually labouring to frame new systems of Harmonies, and so far overthrowing old, without running the risk of exciting doubts and scruples, which otherwise might never have arisen. The necessity of repeating the same attempt so often would seem, at first sight, to authorize the inference that we cannot even enter upon it with the prospect of success. The difference of opinion which prevails among commentators upon Scripture, the great variety and incompatibility between their several modes of reconciling the same accounts, would be calculated, with some minds, to operate reflexively against the belief of the truth or the consistency of those accounts them-

selves. This evil is unquestionably liable to result from the multiplication of Harmonies; and it should be some ground of discouragement against any precipitate and unadvised endeavour to compile more in addition to those which are already in being.

If, however, it is not in the nature of things impossible for the four Gospel narratives to be satisfactorily reduced to one, it is not in the nature of things impossible for a perfect Harmony to be composed: but as only one method of reconciling those accounts can be absolutely just and true, so only one Harmony, such as should be founded altogether on the principle of that method, would be absolutely just and perfect. As every method, which should differ from that one, would be false in the principle, so it would necessarily lead to erroneous results in the application; and every scheme, which should be constructed upon such a principle, would be radically faulty, and unavoidably fail of its effect. If a particular harmonist has not been fortunate enough to discover the principle in question, it is no wonder that his peculiar system should be defective in itself, though unlike any other; that Harmonies, in short, should be almost infinitely numerous, and yet all more or less imperfect. Τὸ (γὰρ) ἀμαρτάνειν πολλὰχῶς ἐστὶ. . . τὸ δὲ κατορθοῦν μοναχῶς.

Perhaps, then, neither the number nor the diversity of the Harmonies in circulation is justly to be imputed to the obscurity or the inconsistency of the Evangelical narratives themselves: they are presumptive proofs of nothing except of this, viz. that many among these systems must differ widely not only from each other, but also from the truth. The renewal of the same attempt by one is but a confession of its failure in the hands of another; for if any Harmony had yet been constructed which the judgment of the

learned might have pronounced complete, it must have superseded all the less perfect productions of the same kind which had preceded, and would have left no room for innovation or improvement afterwards. The very number, then, of the Gospel-harmonies in existence may, perhaps, be pleaded in justification of one more: for as long as there is reason to confess that we do not yet possess a correct and sufficient Harmony, so long it is not only excusable, but perhaps even necessary, that we should still continue to frame Harmonies, in the hope that one such may be produced at last.

The best apology, however, which I can offer in behalf of the present work, is a candid statement of the circumstances out of which it arose. I was previously engaged upon an inquiry of a different nature, though connected, it is true, with sacred literature^a, which necessarily required me to examine, more narrowly than I had ever done before, into the relations of time and place, affecting the order and succession of events throughout the different portions of the Gospel history. In the course of this examination, during which I had to consult some of the most popular Harmonies, I could not but observe in them such remarkable inconsistencies as were abundantly sufficient to convince my own mind that the principles, upon which they had proceeded, could not be right. The dissatisfaction produced by this discovery determined me to lay them aside, and to take the four original narratives, and nothing more, into my hands, with a view to frame out of them, for myself, a system which, if it possessed no other merit, might at least avoid such difficulties as had appeared so glaringly and so palpably in the cases alluded to.

^a The work to which I allude is an Exposition of the Gospel Parables.

The result of this endeavour is the ensuing Harmony, in the shape and form under which it is now submitted to the public; a shape and a form very different from that idea of it which its author had conceived before he proceeded to the execution of his purpose. Had he fully comprehended, indeed, the true nature and extent of his undertaking, and into how wide a field of research and disquisition he would insensibly be led, he must have shrunk back from the attempt with a well-founded distrust of his ultimate success: and perhaps he may consider it a fortunate circumstance that he was too inextricably involved in the task, and too deeply interested in its completion, to be able or disposed to recede from its prosecution, when experience had convinced him of its magnitude and its difficulty.

When I conceived the design of the following composition, I determined to adopt a rule, to which I have rigidly adhered throughout, and for adhering to which I have hitherto had no reason to blame myself. This was that, in discussing any question, or solving any difficulty, which might present itself, I would trust as much as possible to my own researches, and with the help only of the Gospel narratives, and of such other collateral resources as are open to the learned world in general, would endeavour to reason and to decide for myself. For I was persuaded that, with a mind disengaged from preconceived opinions or attachment to particular systems, a moderate share of ability would be sufficient to guide an enquirer; nor did I see by what other means, than by carefully avoiding all admixture of borrowed matter, I could compose, upon a subject which has been so repeatedly handled, any thing of an original character.

It is one consequence of this rule, that I have been

spared what would have been the most unpleasant part of my task, much dispute and controversy; for there is scarcely an opinion, connected with the questions requiring to be discussed, which has not some adversary or other. It has rarely happened, therefore, that I have openly entered the lists upon any point, or against any opponent; or that, even where I had particular opinions to combat, I have not been satisfied with stating the most competent arguments on my own side of the question, without proceeding to notice what might be urged in favour of the contrary. Had I not done this, I must have enlarged the present work to twice its legitimate extent.

It is another consequence of the same rule, that the following Harmony, and whatever else is preparatory to it, whether they agree or disagree with the opinions already on record upon the same subjects, may equally be called my own. It was not, indeed, to be expected that upon topics like these, which have employed the attention of the learned world for so many centuries, any thing could now be proposed which should possess the recommendation of being altogether new; and I am prepared to find that I may have been anticipated in many things. But, on the other hand, I am also aware that no one has yet written upon the subject of the Gospel Harmony, with whom it will be seen that I agree throughout: and therefore that, regarded as a whole, the Harmony, which I offer to the public, may still be considered unlike any other.

So far, however, as it will be found to have deviated from the principles of former Harmonies, I trust the reader will ascribe the motives of the deviation to no desire of change for its own sake, or disposition to find fault with the labours of my predecessors, whose learn-

ing, industry, and services to the cause of religion, deserved rather to be made the fit models of my emulation, than the objects of my censure. I have already asserted that the origin of this work was the consequence of an undertaking of a different description; and could I have met with any Harmony which was not apparently fraught with more difficulties than it was intended to remove, most gladly would I have acquiesced in its use.

Upon questions indeed which concern profane history or profane chronology, a larger indulgence is due to the freedom of discussion; for the utmost latitude of conclusion, consistent with the nature of historical evidence, may be allowed in such cases. On these points, then, I do not consider an explanation to be requisite for differences between myself and others. And with regard to questions of a graver character, if I have asserted any independence of opinion, it has been simply upon matters of fact, and such as directly concerned the proper business of a Gospel Harmony; and wherever I have departed from received positions, it has not been without apparent reason at least, nor without a good effect by illustrating more clearly, or establishing more firmly, the truth and consistency of the Gospel accounts. It will be found, too, that such instances concern, after all, the number of *ἀδιάφορα*, upon which, independent of their uses in the above respects, every one may claim an equal liberty of thought and judgment, without any compromise of his orthodoxy.

If, however, it was not everywhere in my power to elicit new truths, I have yet frequently been able to confirm old or doubtful positions by fresh, and perhaps more convincing, arguments; while there are parts of the Gospel history into which I may be admitted to have introduced decided improvements. This is more

particularly true of the last, the most interesting, and the most eventful, period of all, viz. the six months of our Saviour's personal history, prior to the resurrection, or perhaps the ascension. There was no period which had been more confused than this; nor consequently where more still remained to be done, with a view to the proper distribution of its contents. In the accounts of the resurrection especially, notwithstanding the labour which had been peculiarly bestowed upon them, there was yet one stumblingblock, the removal of which, in my opinion, was of the utmost consequence to the full proof of the truth and consistency of those accounts; but which no harmonist, so far as I knew, had succeeded in removing. If I had cleared away this remaining difficulty, or shewn in what way it was to be got over, and had thereby placed the foundation of that corner-stone of Christianity on a still surer footing than before, I should not think it necessary to apologize for the present work: the Christian world would acknowledge that it had not been unserviceable to the cause of Christian truth.

The same remark will apply to the exposition of the prophecy of the Seventy weeks. I shall not stop to point out here the connexion of that exposition with the business of a Harmony of the Gospels; for that will be seen in due time. I shall observe only that the exposition itself, however new it may appear, and different from the expositions most commonly adopted, possesses at least the merit of being unstrained and inartificial: it is the natural result of the most simple and obvious construction of the prophecy; and it is confirmed by the evidence of as complete and exact a coincidence between the prediction and its fulfilment, as we should have a right to expect from a prophecy which certainly came from God, and was actually veri-

fied by the event. On this subject, then, I shall say no more here, except that the consideration of the prophecy in question led me step by step into a much wider range of discussion, than could have been originally contemplated in a work which professed to be merely a Harmony of the Gospels: for I was obliged to examine the chronology of the whole of the Acts, and (as included within such a review) that of St. Paul's Epistles. A similar necessity in a former instance required me to consider the chronology of the two Epistles of St. Peter; so that, with the exception of the Epistles of St. John, of St. James, and of St. Jude, respectively, and of the book of the Revelations, the proper business of these Dissertations, preliminary to a Harmony of the Gospels, has insensibly involved me in enquiries relating to the entire canon of the New Testament. The same business in another instance compelled me to discuss, though as briefly as the nature of the case would allow me, the whole of the history of the Old Testament, from the creation to the Exodus from Egypt, and from the Exodus to the return from captivity. That these enquiries, however much like *πάρεργα* and foreign to my proper purpose they may at first sight seem, were not, under the circumstances of the case, irrelevant to it, every candid censor, I think, will hereafter allow; and, meanwhile, if the results to which they have led are in any degree satisfactory, whether the enquiries themselves were irrelevant or not, I shall never regret that I entered upon them.

As the three volumes are all preliminary to the Harmony, so is the first of the three preparatory in some sense to the two last. The questions which it discusses are certainly connected with the subject of a Harmony—but, in comparison of those which are

treated of in the second and the third volumes, they are only remotely connected with it. Among these questions some there are, which have exercised the ingenuity of learned men, without their arriving at any satisfactory conclusions, ever since the revival of letters: nor am I vain enough to suppose that they have been settled by my own individual attempts. It will not be laid to my charge, however, that what could reasonably be expected from the exertions of one person has not been performed to the utmost; that I have not endeavoured to sift every question to the bottom; that the pains and labour of the investigation have not been commensurate to the difficulty or importance of the end proposed. If I have erred, it has been on the score of an over-anxious diligence to render my Dissertations even tediously scrupulous and elaborately minute, rather than leave them perfunctory or superficial. Perhaps, too, there are some of these controverted instances, in which I may be considered to have approximated to the truth as nearly as, under the circumstances of the case, was practicable; for, if the results of the speculations of learned men upon such questions are not every where final and decisive, the cause must be ascribed to a defect for which no ingenuity nor industry can compensate, the defect of data. In the course of my researches, it has more than once fallen to my lot to observe that very great names, in every department of sacred literature, have lapsed into mistakes, and mistakes which frequently might have been avoided: nor do I mention this as if to claim any merit to myself for discovering errors into which they had fallen, much less to put myself on a footing of equality with them, but that I may plead the failures of more competent and more learned persons in extenuation of my own; and that the reader may see the

reasonableness of extending the same indulgence to the defects of the present work, wheresoever they may be discovered, which its author has always been ready to extend to those of others.

Before I take my leave of the reader, I am anxious to acknowledge my obligations to the Delegates of the University Press, for their readiness in undertaking the publication of this work.

SYNOPSIS

OF

THE DISSERTATIONS.

IT is perhaps an objection to the form of a work, which consists of a series of distinct Dissertations, that it must appear at first sight irregular and unconnected. There is, in reality, an intimate relation between the several subjects of the ensuing treatises, and the order in which one follows or precedes another. But it will facilitate the comprehension of their mutual coherency, and give the reader a clearer perception of the number and variety of the topics hereafter discussed, if we premise, at the outset, a general account of the object or purpose of the Dissertations, both those in the body of the work, and those of the Appendix; independent of the more particular analysis of each which will be prefixed in the Tables of Contents.

The general body of the work consists of Forty-three Dissertations; each of them devoted to some question, or more, directly connected with the proper business of an Harmony of the Gospel history. The first three are subservient to the fundamental principle of the work; which is rested on the truth of the following propositions: I. That the last three Gospels are regular compositions: II. That St. Matthew's Gospel is partly regular and partly irregular: III. That each of the Gospels was written in the order in which it stands: IV. That the Gospels last written in every instance were supplementary to the prior. It is the

object of the first Dissertation to confirm these propositions by a mode of reasoning, which assumes nothing but the existence of the Gospels themselves: of the second, by the consideration of the historical testimony to the times and order of the Gospels: and of the third, by the examination of St. Matthew's Gospel in detail, compared with the accounts of the rest.

It is the object of the fourth Dissertation to ascertain the true date of the Passover, John ii. 13, the most cardinal date in the whole of the Gospel history, by ascertaining the sense of John ii. 20. The verification of this date gives birth to the fifth and sixth Dissertations: the former intended to determine the rule by which Josephus invariably computes the years of the reign of Herod: and the latter, to shew that neither the evidence of the coin of Herod Antipas, nor the supposed time of the eclipse before the death of Herod, is inconsistent with the date of that death, established in Dissertation v.

The Table of Passovers, or of other Jewish feasts, in the seventh Dissertation, is designed for the sake of reference to the times of such feasts, between certain limits; allusions to which could not but be perpetually recurring in the course of a work like the present.

It is the object of the eighth and ninth Dissertations respectively, to reconcile the testimony of St. Luke, as regards the fifteenth year of the *ἡγεμονία* of Tiberius Cæsar, or the beginning of the government of Pontius Pilate, with the cardinal date established in Diss. iv.

The tenth Dissertation determines the interval between the beginning of the ministry of John the Bap-

tist, and the close of the ministry of Jesus Christ ; or the whole length of time embraced by them both in conjunction, as well as the particular duration which must be assigned to each of them separately.

The eleventh Dissertation proposes to determine the *true* age of our Lord at his baptism, by determining the exact import of the words of St. Luke, at iii. 23.

The object of the twelfth Dissertation is substantially to confirm the following propositions : That the true year of the Nativity was U. C. 750. B. C. 4 : That the time of the year was the spring : That the day of the Nativity was probably the tenth of the Jewish Nisan, and the fifth of the Julian April.

It is the object of the thirteenth Dissertation to confirm the conclusions, previously established, by the citation of testimonies from the writings of the most ancient Christians : especially with regard to the time of the year when our Lord was born, to the length of his personal ministry, and to the year of the Roman emperor in which it terminated.

The fourteenth Dissertation has it in view to demonstrate that the census at the Nativity must have been held when Saturninus was governor of Syria : and thence to deduce the true sense of Luke ii. 2. which assigns it apparently to the presidency of Cyrenius, Quirinius, or Quirinus.

The object of the fifteenth Dissertation is to complete the argument in Dissertation tenth, as well as to confirm many other previous conclusions, by the right exposition of the prophecy of the Seventy weeks : the

consideration of which necessarily involves the question of the chronology of the first twelve chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

It is the object of the sixteenth Dissertation to explain and to reconcile the two genealogies, on the supposition that St. Matthew's is the genealogy of our Lord's reputed father, and St. Luke's the genealogy of his real mother.

It is the object of the seventeenth Dissertation to establish such a personal distinction between those who are called in common the Ἀδελφοὶ of Christ, as will reconcile the Evangelical accounts about them, and no longer leave any difficulty on this point.

The eighteenth Dissertation, which treats of the visit of the Magi, endeavours to prove that the time of this visit was thirteen months posterior to the first appearance of the star, and four months posterior to the birth of Christ; and thence to infer that the star appeared *twice*, once at the Incarnation, and again at the Nativity.

It is the object of the nineteenth Dissertation to harmonise and arrange the particulars of the ministry of John: and, preliminary to this, to determine the true nature and design of his ministry itself. This Dissertation also is connected with the general argument of Dissertation x: and its chief purpose is to establish a necessary, but clear, distinction between the proper office and character of John, in which he agreed with those of Jesus Christ, and the truth of his personal relation to Jesus Christ, in which he differed from him.

The twentieth Dissertation endeavours to shew that, though St. Matthew's account of the order of the Temptation may be the true, St. Luke's is not inconsistent with it.

The twenty-first Dissertation carries forward the series of the Gospel history, and at the same time strictly exemplifies the supplementary character of the Gospel of St. John, by shewing that, beginning his narrative precisely where the other Evangelists had left off theirs, he conducts it regularly down to the point of time where St. Luke, in particular, had begun his again. To this Dissertation the twenty-second is attached, with a view to confirm a statement in the Dissertation itself, involving the question of the computation of sabbatic years: one of which is shewn to have actually coincided with the first year of our Saviour's ministry.

The twenty-third Dissertation, which is divided into four parts, is designed to give a general preliminary or prospective survey of the whole course of our Saviour's ministry, both in Judæa, and out of it. The first part is devoted to the consideration of the ministry in Judæa; and its object is to prove that, as St. John alone has given any account of this ministry, so he has given a complete account of it. Each of the last three parts is devoted to a separate year, down to the middle of the third year in particular, where the review will be found to stop short: and the common purpose of all is not merely to give the student of the Gospel history a clear view of the course and connection of his subject beforehand, but to contribute to the general design of the work, by shewing with what facility the Evangelical accounts, duly arranged, may be made to fill up the periods of time allotted to them—to supply in a great

many instances the most distinct proofs of the accommodation of the later to the prior narratives—and to prepare the way for the discussion of particular questions by a better understanding of the grounds on which they proceed.

The Dissertations, which follow from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-ninth inclusive, are accordingly all devoted to the discussion of such questions: the twenty-fourth being designed to prove the conclusion that the miraculous draught of fishes, in St. Luke, is no Trajection: the twenty-fifth, that the feast which ensued on the call of Levi is no Anticipation: the twenty-sixth, that the sermons from the mount were distinct, and may be related each in its proper place: the twenty-seventh proposing to reconcile St. Matthew's account of the time and manner of our Saviour's interpreting the first of his parables with St. Mark's, or St. Luke's: the twenty-eighth, to adjust St. Mark's account of the question concerning eating with unwashen hands to St. Matthew's: the twenty-ninth, to investigate the proximate cause of the disputes among the disciples concerning precedence, and at the same time to establish a luminous instance of the supplementary relation of St. Mark in particular to St. Matthew.

It is the object of the thirtieth and thirty-first Dissertations respectively, to prosecute the subject discussed in the twenty-third; and to exhibit another clear and decisive proof of the critical accommodation of St. John's Gospel to the first three Gospels in general, and of St. Luke's to the first two in particular.

The thirty-second Dissertation has it in view to determine the locality of the village of Martha and Mary,

so far at least as to prove that it was not Bethany : and by way of corollary to this disquisition to explain and illustrate the circumstances of the unction at Bethany.

It is the business of the thirty-third Dissertation to compare the account of the dispossession in St. Luke with the similar account of St. Matthew ; the result of which comparison is to prove that neither of them is a transposition.

The object of the thirty-fourth Dissertation is to point out the many critical indications of time, which occur in the twelfth chapter of St. Luke, and which all converge upon one and the same conclusion, that the chapter belongs to the last period of our Saviour's ministry.

The object of the thirty-fifth Dissertation is to render it probable that the destruction of the Galileans, alluded to, Luke xiii. 1. was a recent event, and a consequence of the sedition of Barabbas.

The object of the thirty-sixth is to harmonize the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark, in reference to the question concerning divorce : and the object of the thirty-seventh is, by the simple consideration of later and supplementary accounts, to remove every difficulty connected with the miracles at Jericho.

The business of the remaining Dissertations is to harmonize the several accounts of the Gospel history, from the time of the arrival at Bethany before the last Passover, to the day of the Ascension into heaven. This object is effected through six consecutive Dissertations, from the thirty-eighth inclusive to the forty-

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It is the business of the thirty-third Dissertation to compare the account of the dispossession in St. Luke with the similar account of St. Matthew ; the result of which comparison is to prove that neither of them is a transposition.

The object of the thirty-fourth Dissertation is to point out the many critical indications of time, which occur in the twelfth chapter of St. Luke, and which all converge upon one and the same conclusion, that the chapter belongs to the last period of our Saviour's ministry.

The object of the thirty-fifth Dissertation is to render it probable that the destruction of the Galileans, alluded to, Luke xiii. 1. was a recent event, and a consequence of the sedition of Barabbas.

The object of the thirty-sixth is to harmonize the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark, in reference to the question concerning divorce : and the object of the thirty-seventh is, by the simple consideration of later and supplementary accounts, to remove every difficulty connected with the miracles at Jericho.

The business of the remaining Dissertations is to harmonize the several accounts of the Gospel history, from the time of the arrival at Bethany before the last Passover, to the day of the Ascension into heaven. This object is effected through six consecutive Dissertations, from the thirty-eighth inclusive to the forty-

third inclusive — of which the thirty-eighth ascertains more particularly the true date of the arrival at Bethany, and the true date of the procession to the temple: the thirty-ninth, the time of the cleansing of the temple: the fortieth, the order and succession of events on the last day of our Lord's public ministry, and the time of the unction at Bethany: the forty-first, the time of the last supper: the forty-second, the course and succession of events from the evening of Thursday to the evening of Saturday, in Passion-week: and the forty-third harmonizes the accounts of the resurrection itself. The particular purposes, which each of these Dissertations also embraces, are too many and various to be comprehended under any general statement; and will be sufficiently evident from the Table of Contents.

SYNOPSIS

OF

THE APPENDIX.

THE Appendix consists of twenty-seven Dissertations, and four Supplements ; or thirty-one Dissertations in all : each of these Dissertations, with one or two exceptions, being directly connected with some one or more of those which have preceded in the body of the work. The particular object or use of each may be stated as follows :

The first of them supplies an answer to one among other objections to the assumption of those supplementary relations of the Gospels, which the Author laboured to establish in his first Dissertation ; that even supposing the Gospels to have been written in the order in which they stand—and the later in point of time to have been intended as supplementary to the earlier—still there was no means of knowing, from their own intimations at least, where the one were defective, and the others were supplementary.

The second Dissertation considers in brief the principle of classification, on the assumption of which, as the law of narration in the Gospel of St. Luke in particular, it has been attempted to account for the peculiarities of its structure, without supposing it written in a regular historical order.

In the third Dissertation, a number of facts and testimonies are brought together from various quarters ; the joint tendency of which is to imply, that not only Palestine, but almost every other region of Upper or of Lower Asia, which possessed an aboriginal dialect before the introduction of the Greek language among its inhabitants, continued to retain that dialect even after that event. If this point could be sufficiently well established, it seemed to the Author of the present work a just inference, that a Gospel, like St. Matthew's, written for native converts belonging to the church of Jerusalem, would be written in the native or vernacular language of Palestine, much more probably than in Greek.

The fourth Dissertation is intended to verify a statement of Josephus, alleged in the fifth general Dissertation, respecting the length of the Maccabæan or Asmonæan dynasty, from the first of Judas Maccabæus to the capture of Jerusalem by Herod and Sosius, and the death of Antigonus, the last of the Maccabæan princes.

In the fifth Dissertation, the Author has endeavoured to investigate the precise date of the admission of the two adopted sons of Augustus, Caius, and Lucius Cæsar respectively, to the privilege of being present at the public deliberations in the senate, or at the privy councils of Augustus. The decision of this question is of use in determining the just construction of the language of Josephus, with regard to that consultation upon the will of Herod, before Augustus, and Caius Cæsar, by which Archelaus was confirmed in the government of Judæa, not many months after his father's death.

The authority of Dio Cassius has induced many chronologers to place the removal and banishment of Archelaus, U. C. 759, A. D. 6. But Josephus has informed us, that sometime before this removal and banishment he was married to the widow of Juba, king of Mauritania; and it is capable of being proved with an high degree of probability, that Juba himself did not die before U. C. 759. The details of this proof are given in the sixth Dissertation. If the statement of Dio is disproved thereby, it will follow that the precise date of Archelaus' removal cannot be earlier than the latter half of the 37th year from the battle of Actium, the first half of U. C. 760, A. D. 7. The precise date of his accession to the throne, and consequently of his father's death, as the spring or Passover of U. C. 751, B. C. 3: and from that fact, the time of our Lord's Nativity as the year before, U. C. 750, B. C. 4; may be shewn to follow, as corollaries, from this conclusion, either necessarily or with an high degree of probability.

The perusal of such of the works of Ovid, as were written after his banishment to the Pontus, will shew that at, and after, a point of time, which coincides with U. C. 765, A. D. 12, allusions occur in them not only to the fact of a *triumph*, celebrated sometime by Tiberius, but to that of his being in possession of a degree of rank, authority, or preeminence, acknowledged in all parts of the empire, which virtually placed him on a par with Augustus. Now U. C. 765, A. D. 12, is the date to which, upon other authorities, the fact of Tiberius' being invested with proconsular authority—from which investiture St. Luke might calculate the years of his *ἡγεμονία*, supremacy, or government—was

to be assigned. This argument is drawn out at length, in the seventh Dissertation.

Repeated occasions occurring in the course of the work, on which it was necessary to take into account the rate of travelling in ancient times; and more especially the interval requisite for a communication to pass to and fro, between Judæa and Italy; the eighth Dissertation is devoted to this question; and by as large an induction of particulars as may suffice for that purpose, establishes the following conclusion, that not less than six weeks in summer, nor than five or six months in winter, would be necessary for the communication in question.

If any means or data could be discovered for deciding the controverted question, What was the probable duration of our Lord's personal ministry? which would require nothing but the Gospel narratives themselves to supply them, and from the nature of the case might be as easily judged of, and reasoned from, by the most unlearned as the most learned of their readers—such data, it must be confessed, would be of all others the most desirable. Now data of this description are actually furnished by a variety of natural notes of time, incidentally mentioned in the course of the Gospel history. To point these out, and to argue from them separately and in conjunction, is the business of the ninth Dissertation: and it is shewn, as the result of this mode of discussing the question, that the length of our Saviour's personal ministry could not have been less than three years in all, though it might have been more.

The close of the public ministry of John Baptist by

his imprisonment being placed in the spring quarter of A. D. 27, the thirteenth of Tiberius Cæsar; it is the object of the tenth Dissertation to shew that this date of the imprisonment of John is not inconsistent with the date of the fact to which the Scriptural account of his imprisonment refers that event; viz. the marriage of Herod and Herodias: as there is every reason to believe, from the most careful consideration of the accounts of Josephus with reference to the same thing, that the contract of marriage between Herod and Herodias was actually formed, and John Baptist, in consequence of his denunciation of it, imprisoned, at this very time, before Herod's departure to Rome.

The eleventh Dissertation, which must be regarded as strictly supplementary to the twelfth of the general Dissertations, has for its object to render the conclusion, respecting the day of our Saviour's birth, which that Dissertation laboured to establish, still more probable, by making it appear that our Lord was born, in the fulness of time, on the tenth of the Jewish Nisan and the fifth of the Julian April, B. C. 4, because at the time of the institution of the Passover, and the Exodus from Egypt, the tenth of the Jewish Nisan and the fifth of the Julian April, coincided with the date of the Vernal Equinox: and there were many reasons to render it probable *a priori* that the date of the Vernal Equinox would be the date of our Saviour's nativity. The particular year, in which April 5 as truly represented the date of the Vernal Equinox, as March 24 in the year of the nativity, was B. C. 1560: and the ensuing discussion is directed to shew, that B. C. 1560 was the true date of the Exodus from Egypt—that Nisan 10 in that year coincided with April 5; and both with the seventh day of the

week; as they had previously been shewn to do in the year of our Saviour's birth.

The details of this proof in the eleventh Dissertation, involving the chronology of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel; the twelfth Dissertation is devoted to the discussion of this question; and beginning with the first of Rehoboam and the first of Jeroboam, by an induction of particular instances through every successive reign, to the dissolution of the kingdom of Israel, it establishes the general principle that the synchronisms of reigns of Judah and Israel with each other are determined by one rule, and the actual lengths by another. The whole of the purposes, however, to which this Dissertation and the preceding are devoted, cannot well be enumerated in brief; the chronology of the Old Testament, from the Creation to the return from captivity, directly or indirectly, coming under review in one or other of them; and there being none of its leading or cardinal dates, and very few of its particular and subordinate ones, which there has not been occasion to consider.

The chronological value of the note of time at Daniel x. 13. has never been duly appreciated; commentators, generally speaking, having been content to understand it of x. 2. just before; the last thing, in the opinion of the Author of this work, at least, to which it was intended to refer. The Supplement annexed to Dissertation xii. is designed to vindicate it from this misconstruction; and to shew that it was always intended to be understood of the interval between the death of Belshazzar, and the accession of Darius at Babylon. The importance of this conclusion to the chronology of the kings of Babylon is self-evident. In

the course of this discussion, the chronology of the Book of Daniel, and the order and connection of his several visions or prophecies, are necessarily called into question. There is occasion, too, to consider the opinion of Bishop Horsley with respect to the prince of Persia and the prince of Grecia, alluded to in this same chapter of Daniel; and in stating the objections to that opinion, to say something of the disclosures of Scripture on the subject of the invisible world; of the scriptural mode of describing and designating the angels; and of the scriptural doctrine of archon or ruling, in opposition to guardian or tutelar, angels.

The thirteenth Dissertation consists of supplementary matter relating to the opinions and testimonies of the Fathers, produced in the thirteenth general Dissertation, from the earliest period to the fifth century. Under this head, the reader will find a variety of additional particulars concerning Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Origen, Hippolytus Portuensis, and many others, whose names it is not necessary to specify at present: and lastly, a minute investigation of the probable date of the death of the apostle St. John, and of his age at the time of that event.

Some apology, at first sight, may be thought necessary for devoting the fourteenth Dissertation to the discussion of the question of the date of the battle of Pharsalia. Not but that such an inquiry, connected as it is with a variety of classical associations, may justly be supposed to have an interest for classical readers: and if we reflect upon the important consequences entailed by this battle, in laying the foundation of the imperial form of Roman government, and pre-

paring the way for that political state of things in the civilized world, in the midst of which it was always designed by the Divine Providence that Christianity should be ushered into being—it cannot be absolutely destitute of interest even for the student of the Gospel history. But the truth is, the Author of the present work had his attention forcibly directed to the consideration of this question, because it involved a difficulty very much the same in appearance as that which is connected with St. Luke's date of the fifteenth year of the government of Tiberius. What St. Luke has called the fifteenth, the common reckoning of the years of Tiberius would call the thirteenth. In like manner, what one class or description of testimonies would shew to be the date of the battle of Pharsalia, September 22 or 23, another would shew to be August 9. It is possible to reconcile these dates with each other, however much at variance they seem at first sight: and the useful practical inference which we may draw from the fact of such a reconciliation is this, that no two historical statements, each of them resting on a competent authority, however much opposed to each other they may appear, ought hastily to be prejudged as contradictory or inconsistent. St. Luke's exactness and fidelity are abundantly sufficient to vouch for the fact, that if he asserts U. C. 780 to have been the fifteenth of Tiberius, it was so, in some sense or other; and yet it is equally certain that the same year was his thirteenth. Instead of pronouncing either of these statements inconsistent with, or contradictory to, the other, we ought rather to sit down and inquire whether there might not be two such modes of reckoning the years of Tiberius, that what would be his thirteenth according to the one, would be his fifteenth according to the other; just as with respect to the date of the battle of Pharsalia,

there were two such modes of reckoning it, that what was August 9, according to the one, was September 22 or 23, according to the other.

The subject of the fifteenth Dissertation is the *census orbis* at the Nativity; more especially so far as the fact of some such event seems to be implicitly deducible from the testimony of Suidas. In this recurrence to the subject of that census, and in the additional observations supplied by this Dissertation, the Author has not ventured upon so wide a field of speculation as the probable amount of the population of the empire under Augustus; but he has endeavoured to arrive, if possible, at a just idea of the magnitude and number of the inhabitants of the city of Rome, in his reign, and for some time after it: in order to shew, that as the passage in Suidas is read at present, his numbers are almost as much in excess to represent the results of a *census urbis*, as they would be in defect for those of a *census orbis*, in the time of Augustus; and, therefore, retaining the rest of the passage as it stands, to give a colour of probability to the conjectural emendation of its numbers in particular; viz. that of $\delta, \mu\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, instead of $\nu\acute{\iota} \mu\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$.

Upon this question, the Author embraces the present opportunity to observe, that as the principal objection to the simple and *prima facie* construction of Luke ii. 1, which implies that the census at the nativity was strictly a census of the empire in general, and not of the small province of Judæa in particular, is taken from the silence of contemporary history about the fact of any such enrolment of the empire in the reign of Augustus; it seemed to him a very satisfactory answer to this objection to shew that a measure, much the same in prin-

ciple, equally complicated in the execution, and alike important both in a public and a private point of view —was begun and completed in the reign of Augustus, about which nevertheless there is the same silence in the general history of the times. He means a geometrical survey or measurement of the empire; to the fact of which, under the auspices of Augustus, we have the most positive testimony in the *Rei Agrariæ Auctores*, in Cassiodorus, and in others; but not an hint or allusion to it, in Dio Cassius, Suetonius, Tacitus; and nothing but the most obscure and indefinite intimations of it even in the *Geographica* of Strabo. The reader will find this testimony in a note to the fourteenth general Dissertation, vol. i. p. 537.

The sixteenth Dissertation exhibits the two principal dates of the Jewish year, the 15th of Nisan, and the 15th of Tisri, in their corresponding Julian dates, through the first eight years of the Jewish war under Vespasian. The accuracy of this calendar is confirmed in repeated instances by various circumstantial coincidences: and among the collateral questions arising out of it, besides the chronology of the reigns of Nero, Galba, and Otho, one is the determination of the true date of the death of Vitellius; upon which depends the decision of the question, whether Tisri in the year of his death, and consequently Nisan, consisted of 29 days or of 30. A decision of no slight importance to another question, whether Nisan in the Jewish year consisted always of 29 days or always of 30.

The precise date of the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny is of so much importance to fix the true date of the close of the first Jewish war, according to Josephus; and that date, to the exposition of the prophecy of the

Seventy Weeks ; that the Author has judged it worth while to bring all, or nearly all, the notices of its own time, furnished by that work, under one point of view, in the seventeenth Dissertation. In other respects, the interest possessed by this Dissertation, for the classical reader, will perhaps be derived from that part of it which relates to the time of the death of Virgil ; and upon the authority of Pliny, ventures to alter the received date of that event, U.C. 735, to one five years later, U.C. 739, or U. C. 740.

Some apology might perhaps be wanted for the eighteenth Dissertation, which treats of the second Jewish war, in the time of Hadrian ; if the connexion of this war with the former, and thereby with the exposition of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks, did not, in some measure, justify the introduction of this collateral topic into the same work which has treated so largely of the other. And, indeed, if those coincidences between the circumstances of the two wars, for which the Author contends, are founded in fact ; nothing can more strikingly exemplify the wonderful dealings of Providence in all its dispensations, whether for good or for evil, towards this singular people.

The nineteenth Dissertation of the Appendix is strictly supplementary to the fifteenth general Dissertation ; being intended to shew that the chronology of the Acts, from the thirteenth chapter to the end, is not inconsistent with that arrangement and distribution of the twelve preceding chapters, which had been already given in explanation of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. To give a summary of the various purposes to which this Dissertation is subservient, would scarcely

be practicable; the whole of the history of St. Paul, from the time of his second circuit to the Gentiles—the chronology of all his Epistles—and the history of St. Peter, from the point of time when he was last mentioned in the fifteenth general Dissertation, to his death—and many other questions, connected with these topics, being necessarily comprehended in it.

The Dissertation which follows next in order is added as a Supplement to the nineteenth Dissertation of the Appendix, and the fifteenth of the general work: and like them is devoted to the discussion of the prophecy of the Seventy Weeks—having for its object the explanation and confirmation of those principles, on which the proof of the fulfilment of the prophecy had previously proceeded. To enter upon an account of those principles here, would be to anticipate the Dissertation itself. It is hoped that the reader will see no reason to disapprove of this resumption of the subject, as foreign to the proper business of a Gospel Harmony—which is more directly concerned in the right understanding of this prophecy, than harmonists in general seem to have imagined.

The twentieth Dissertation discusses the time of Trajan's Oriental expedition, because of its connexion with the reputed date of the martyrdom of Ignatius, and of Simon, son of Cleopas; and through that, with the decision of the further question, Who are meant by the ἀδελφοί, or brethren of Christ. Subjoined to this Dissertation there is another, upon the Chronology of the Epistles of Pliny—a question, arising out of the former, but too minute to have been introduced into the body of the preceding Dissertation. This inquiry will possess an interest for the Christian student, be-

cause it leads to the determination of the probable date of Pliny's persecution of the Christians of Bithynia.

The twenty-second Dissertation condenses and brings together, under one point of view, the various coincidences which have been established in former parts of the work, with respect to sabbatic years; all conspiring to confirm that system of the chronology of the Old Testament which had been before proposed: and taken in conjunction with the twenty-second Dissertation of the general work, it may be considered to have established a regular series of sabbatic years, from the year of the division of the lands, to the time of the destruction of the temple. In the course of this discussion, the chronology of the kings of Tyre, from Hiram contemporary with the building of the temple, to Pygmalion contemporary with the foundation of Carthage—the date of the foundation of Carthage—the date of the first of Darius Hystaspis—the date of the accession of Xerxes—and the degree of authority to which the Canon of Ptolemy is fairly entitled—and various other topics, are necessarily brought into question.

A calculation of the population of Judæa in the time of our Saviour, could that be determined with any degree of exactness, would serve a variety of useful purposes. First, it would conduce to shew among what number of moral and responsible agents, the brethren of the Son of God according to the flesh, his personal ministry, for the duration of his sojourn with men, was transacted; how many consequently were tried by that ministry; how many were eyewitnesses of his miracles; earwitnesses of his discourses; and in the facts of his history had an opportunity of comparing from their own observation the prophecies previously

on record concerning the Messiah, with their fulfilment in the person of Jesus Christ. Secondly, it would enable the reader of the Gospel narrative to enter fully into the force of those descriptions which so repeatedly occur therein, shewing our Saviour, wherever he was, and wheresoever he was going, and even when purposely studious of privacy, to be followed by *multitudes*, surrounded by *multitudes*, discovered by *multitudes*, and often by multitudes in prodigious quantities. Thirdly, it would supply an answer to a question which probably has arisen in reflecting minds, upon reading the accounts of the daily performance of miracles by our Lord, and frequently miracles in great numbers, but always miracles of a certain kind, requiring the same description of subjects—the sick, the infirm, the possessed of devils, the lunatic, the leprous, the blind, the lame, the deaf, the dumb, the maimed or mutilated—whence could such subjects be supplied in sufficient numbers for such miracles every day to be taking place? The dense and crowded population of Palestine, in all parts, during our Saviour's personal ministry, was competent to supply them. Fourthly, it would also shew, that if the rate of the population of a particular country at different periods of its history is any criterion of the amount of public or private happiness for the same periods, never could the nation of the Jews have enjoyed a larger measure of temporal prosperity, because never was it more populous, than during the period of the Christian ministry. This calculation of its numbers, and the data on which it proceeds, are given in the twenty-third Dissertation.

A short Dissertation is devoted, in the next place, to the consideration of the civil computation of diurnal

and nocturnal time, among the Romans; both because the same method of dividing the hours of day and night was in use among the Jews at the Gospel era, and also with a view to correct an inaccuracy into which Dr. Townson, when professedly treating upon this subject, if the Author of the present work has not mistaken his meaning, had inadvertently fallen.

The twenty-fifth Dissertation is devoted to the particular consideration of St. Paul's last journey to Jerusalem, recorded in the Acts; chiefly because of the objection which has been made to the scriptural account of it—that it could not have been performed within the time supposed. The reader will find the contrary to be the case; and every day satisfactorily accounted for, from the day when St. Paul left Philippi, Monday, March 27, to the day when he was put on his trial before Felix, Sunday, May 21.

The twenty-sixth Dissertation treats of the question of the rate of a day's journey, or the distance which may be ordinarily supposed to have been travelled over, in the allusion to a day's journey on foot—both from its connection with other parts of the present work, and more especially with the Gospel account of the last journey of our Lord to Jerusalem, when after crossing the Jordan out of Peræa, in the morning of the day, and passing through Jericho—he stopped with Zacchæus for the night, before his arrival at Bethany.

The origin of the twenty-seventh Dissertation may be thus explained. Those who have read the Author's work, are aware that he places the Passion on

the Julian April 5, A. D. 30 : which, if correct, implies that the Julian April 5, A. D. 30, coincided with a Friday. But, according to the cycle of the dominical letter, the Julian April 5, A. D. 30, coincided with a Wednesday. In the opinion of the Author of this work, the ἀρχὴ of this cycle is two days behind the truth : in which case, the Julian April 5, A. D. 30, would actually coincide not with Wednesday, but with Friday.

Now among other arguments which may tend to shew that April 5, in the Julian year, A. D. 30, actually fell on Friday, one is, to reason as follows. It appears from independent historical testimony that in such and such years, at a certain distance of time from April 5, A. D. 30, such and such Julian dates of days of the month fell on such and such days of the week. Supposing the Julian April 5, A. D. 30, actually to have coincided with Friday, and the computation of time, according to the Julian year, to have gone on uninterruptedly ever after, would these things actually be the case ?

The Author has applied this method of reasoning to three cases in point, the Julian date of the martyrdom of Polycarp, the Julian date of the martyrdom of Pionius, and the Julian dates of certain of the martyrdoms of the martyrs of Palestine—uniformly with a similar result.

But independent of the final object for which these inquiries were instituted, he feels convinced that none of his readers will be uninterested in such a topic, as that of the time and circumstances of the martyrdom of the apostolical bishop of Smyrna, the venerable Po-

lycarp. To fix the year of this event with the necessary exactness, he has investigated, and as he hopes determined, the order and succession of the Roman presidents of Asia Proper, for the first ten years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, in conjunction with Lucius Verus: chiefly by the help of the extant remains of the sophist of Hadriani or Hadriano -Theræ, and citizen of Smyrna, Aristides, a contemporary of Polycarp. By the light too, which these inquiries have contributed to throw upon the distinctive character of this whole period, in relation to the history of the church—as a ten years' period of more or less of suffering from persecution, affecting in a special manner the churches round about Ephesus—he trusts he has cleared up the meaning, and shewn the fulfilment of Revelation ii. 10, in the Epistle to the Church of Smyrna: which commentators heretofore have thought it sufficient to refer to an event more than two hundred years distant when the prophecy was delivered—the great persecution under Diocletian.

The two concluding Dissertations are both supplementary to the twenty-seventh. The first of them arises out of the allusion to the Paschal controversy, which is brought under discussion in the preceding Dissertation; and it has for its object to investigate the rule by which the observance of Easter was regulated before the council of Nice—among those Christians more particularly, who agreed therein with the rule of the Jews in the observance of the Passover. It is the effect of this investigation to lead to the inference that the Jewish rule in the observance of the Passover, at this time, was diametrically opposite to the same rule in the time of our Saviour; and so to suggest that it must have been purposely changed

meanwhile. The second is devoted to the question of the coincidences between Julian days of the month, and the corresponding days of the week, and the discrepancy, in this respect subsisting, between the indications of the solar cycle, and the conclusions otherwise established in the course of the present work ; and it has for its object the decision of this whole controversy, by pointing at once to the true source of the difference in question, the fact of a correction of the style, amounting to two days exactly, which there seems to be almost demonstrative reason to suppose must have been made by the council of Nice ; but which has been hitherto overlooked.

The remainder of the Appendix consists of Tables, Indexes, &c. of which it is not necessary to give any particular account in this place. The Author will observe only that some of these tables may be found of use to the readers of Josephus, as well as to the student of the Gospel history ; especially the third, which gives the names and succession of the presidents of Syria, from the time when Syria was reduced to a Roman province, U. C. 691, B. C. 63, to the close of Josephus' History of the Jewish War, U. C. 828, A. D. 75 : the fourth, which enumerates the Procurators of Judæa, from the time of the reduction of Judæa to a Roman province, U. C. 760, A. D. 7, to the close of the Jewish war, as before, U. C. 828, A. D. 75 : and the fifth, which exhibits the high priests of the Jews, from the first of the number appointed by Herod, in the first year of his reign, dated from the capture of Jerusalem, U. C. 717, B. C. 37, to the destruction of the temple, and consequent dissolution of the religious polity of the Jews, U. C. 823, A. D. 70. On each of these tables the Author has bestowed all the care and

pains in his power, to render it as exact as possible: yet from the nature of the case, the dates assigned in repeated instances, though probably not far from the truth, are after all, and must be, only conjectural*.

* A list of such editions of authors, quoted in the course of the work, as it was necessary to specify, will be found in Table XII. among the above.

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JOANNIS MILTONI FABULÆ, SAMSON AGONISTES ET COMUS, GRÆCE. Oxonii, excudebat S. Collingwood, Academiæ typographus, MDCCCXXXII. Veneunt apud J. H. Parker, &c.

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HARMONY OF THE GOSPELS.

DISSERTATIONS.

DISSERTATION I.

On the regularity of the Gospels, and on their supplemental relations to each other.

THERE are two questions which necessarily concern the Harmony of the Gospels, and therefore will deserve to be considered at the outset of the present work ; one, how far any of the Gospels is a regular history—and the other, how far any one of them is supplemental to the rest.

Now, any of the Gospels would be regular which should contain no transpositions in the order of events ; but every transposition must be either an Anticipation, or what I shall hereafter call, by way of distinction, a Trajection, of something : and these terms are the reverse of each other. An Anticipation is the relation of a fact before its proper time and place ; and a Trajection is the relation of a fact after them.

The first observation, therefore, which we may make is this ; that the regularity of any of the Gospels in this sense, does not concern either its integrity or its continuity ; for regular order is not necessarily uninterrupted or continuous ; and an history may be defective in parts, that is, may exhibit omissions in the detail of

intermediate events, which yet relates nothing out of its order upon the whole. If the regularity of the Gospels were not to be thus distinguished from their continuity, not one which we possess could be considered a regular account.

In the next place, the regularity of a particular Gospel concerns the details or succession of a certain narrative at one time, compared with the details or succession of the same narrative at another. It might not then be possible, by the help of that single Gospel, to determine whether its order were regular or not; for unless it had itself premised to each of its accounts such notes of time, or of sequence, as would infallibly have ascertained their relation to the whole or to each other, no one could have undertaken to decide what parts were given out of their place, and what were not. It is, consequently, by a comparison with the rest of the Gospels that this regularity is to be determined concerning one of them: a comparison, however, which is not practicable, except when that one goes along with some one or more of the rest, and their several accounts coincide.

Now this coincidence, to a greater or a less extent, was naturally to be expected from them; for as they all begin upon the whole alike, and all end with the same point of time, and all profess to give an account of what was transacted between these extremes, their general outline must be the same; and they could scarcely fail to contain much common matter, or to touch upon numerous passages in the same succession of events: and the more complete or continuous any one of them might be in itself, the more frequently would it be likely to coincide with the rest. In all these instances, the order of one is necessarily a check upon the order of another; and the inversions of one, if any such exist, are ren-

dered both liable to be discovered, and capable of being rectified, by the more precise and definite arrangements of another.

Thirdly, though the regularity of none of the Gospels is to be determined by *a priori* considerations, but solely by the examination of its own structure, and by the juxta-position of the rest, yet, I think, it will be admitted, that antecedent probability, independent of any such examination and comparison, is entirely in favour of the presumption that every one of the Gospels will be found upon inquiry to be a regular account. They cannot be regarded in any light but that of simple histories; and no history as such, whatever be the subject to which it relates, can, consistently with its own nature and purposes, disregard the order of time. It would be altogether a false conception of the nature of the Gospels, to consider them as mere memoirs of the life and actions of our Saviour: or though they might be so considered, yet the antecedent expectation would not be invalidated thereby; for simple biography is still a species of history, and is, or should be, naturally as observant of regularity as history.

There may be exceptions to this rule in each department; that is, occasions when, for particular reasons, both biographists and historians may choose to excuse themselves from the strict observance of order in their accounts; which is the case with the Lives of the Cæsars by Suetonius, and with the Roman History by Florus. No such writer, however, could do this as matter of course, or without acknowledging the general rule, even when he was deviating from it; much less could he be at liberty to deviate from it, if he had expressly promised, and so far bound himself, to observe it. Of Suetonius at least, and of Florus, it is the fact that they do not allow themselves the liberty in question,

without apprising their readers beforehand of the plan which they propose to adopt—and as it were apologizing for it^a.

On what principle, however, can the Gospel accounts be regarded as simple memoirs of Jesus Christ, two of which, St. Mark's and St. John's, contain not a word of his personal history before the last three years of his life? and a third, St. Luke's, for a considerable part of the whole, may just as reasonably be considered a memoir of the life of John the Baptist? The truth is, they are each what their name of Gospels, or *Εὐαγγέλια*, implies them to be—an history of the rise and progress of the Evangelical, that is, the Christian, dispensation—which each supposes to have been first formally begun by the ministry of John the Baptist, and each carries forward through the ministry of Jesus Christ, and all conduct downwards to the ministry of the apostles. Nor is any one of them, even in this sense, a separate or independent account; but, like the subject to which they each relate, they are so connected together, that the entire history of this one entire scheme, is that which is made up of them all.

These considerations being premised, I affirm that the Gospel of St. Matthew is partly regular and partly irregular, but that the part which is regular, is more than seven times as great as the part which is not so; and that the Gospels of St. Mark, of St. Luke, and of St. John are regular throughout. The proof of the first assertion, which maintains the irregularity of one of these Gospels, though only in part, is so far the most important; but as it cannot be fully made out, except by a long and elaborate examination of St. Matthew's Gospel, I have reserved it for consideration by itself. The proof of the second, which affirms the regularity of the

^a Suet. Aug. 9. Florus, i. Proëm. 5. Cf. ii. 19, 5.

remaining Gospels, would be supplied by the inspection of the Harmony merely; to which I might consequently refer.

But with regard to the first of the number, St. Mark's, I shall here observe that, if any instances which appear like deviations from regular order, are to be found in his accounts; these, as it may be shewn, are either no such deviations, or justified by the necessity of the case. The most remarkable, if not rather the only examples of this kind, are the account of the death of the Baptist, and the account of the unction at Bethany; neither of which is properly a transposition. There is not in general much, which this Evangelist relates independently of St. Matthew or of St. Luke; and even that is so connected, by proper notes of time and of succession, with what goes before or follows after it, as to leave no doubt concerning its position. It is in particulars, not in generals, that he differs most from the other two; so that the question of his regularity is seldom to be distinguished from the question of theirs: and yet, with a view to the determination of this question under any circumstances, it is much oftener that we must have recourse to St. Mark, than to either St. Matthew or St. Luke. Indeed, so definite, exact, and regular is he throughout, that, but for the comparative defect in the outline which his Gospel exhibits, none could more deservedly be assumed as the basis of arrangement for the rest.

The same kind of remark may be made upon the Gospel of St. John; the order of which being affirmed or distinctly implied all along, there can scarcely be a shadow of reason to dispute its regularity from first to last. The account of the unction at Bethany is the only point on which a question can be raised, whether it is regular or not: and if that account is irregular in

the other Evangelists, it must be regular in St. John. If, then, this Evangelist is not so fitly to be selected for the basis of an Harmony, as some one of the rest, it is owing to the peculiarity of his Gospel in a very different respect; the nature of which is to be discovered from its supplemental relations to the rest.

With regard to the Gospel of St. Luke, as there is no Gospel, not even St. Matthew's, which has been and is still more generally reputed to be irregular, I shall enter upon the proof of my former assertion, somewhat more at large: stating both such reasons as may tend to raise the presumption of its truth *a priori*, and such as contribute to confirm this presumption *a posteriori*; the former, shewing what was to be expected from the Gospel in question; and the latter, appealing to what is actually the case with it.

I. The Gospel of St. Luke possesses a preface, which is not the case with any other of the Gospels; and that a preface strictly so called—a model of conciseness, and yet of sufficiency; asserting, in the most compendious form, whatsoever an introductory admonition might be expected to assert—the motive which induced the author to undertake his work—his own qualifications for its execution—the method which he proposed to observe in the details of it—and the end which he had in view by it. Now prefaces of this kind are not commonly premised except to regular histories; and if St. Luke's Gospel is seen to agree at the outset with any formal and methodical history, this is some argument that it will be found to agree with such an history, in the subsequent arrangement and distribution of the work.

II. It is his own declaration that he proposed to write *in order*, and, consequently, to observe the course of time and succession in the detail of events;

for I know not what other meaning can be put on the words in question: ἔδοξε καμοὶ παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε ^a— which may be rendered literally as follows: It hath seemed good to me also, who have carefully attended to the course of all things from the beginning, to write *of them* in order for thee, most excellent Theophilus*.

* As far as concerns the present argument, the important terms in this text of St. Luke are, παρηκολουθηκότι, ἄνωθεν, and καθεξῆς: upon the last I shall speak by and by, and on the first, in the next Dissertation. But, as to the middle term, it occurs thirteen times in the New Testament, (vide Schmidti Concordantiam,) and never in more senses than one of these two, either of *from above*, in the sense of *from heaven*; or of *from above*, in the sense of *from the top*, *from the first*, *from the extreme point*, or *beginning*, of *any thing*; in which last it is almost synonymous with ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. The instances of its use in the former sense are, John iii. 31. xix. 11. James i. 17. iii. 15, 17. No one will suppose that St. Luke's use of ἄνωθεν here, is to be classed among this number: his junction of it with the verb παρακολουθῆσαι, in the sense of *to go along with any thing*, *to investigate a subject*, *to conduct or prosecute an inquiry*, must effectually bar this construction. The instances of the latter sense, under which I class what is hardly to be distinguished from it, the sense of *afresh* or *anew*, are Matt. xxvii. 51. Mark xv.

38. John xix. 23. iii. 3. 7. Gal. iv. 9. Acts xxvi. 5. and this of Luke i. 3. The instance at Acts xxvi. 5. is exactly a parallel instance to this; προγινώσκοντές με ἄνωθεν, which was expressed just before by τὴν... βίωσίν μου τὴν ἐκ νεότητος, τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένην ἐν τῷ ἔθνει μου: and it is so much the more important, because it is an instance of the use of the word in such a sense there, by the same writer who uses it here.

I have noted repeated examples of its occurrence in a similar manner in Josephus—out of which I shall produce only these three: ἦν ἔσχον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἄνωθεν οἱ κρατοῦντες: A. xvi. vi. 1—ὅτι πάσης τιμῆς ἄνωθεν ἐπιτυγχάνοντες: A. xvi. vi. 8—ἄνδρας ἄνωθεν φίλους αὐτῷ, or perhaps, αὐτῷ: A. xvi. viii. 3. So also, in other writers of this period: αὐ χθές καὶ πρόην, ἀλλ' ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐσαν: Aristides, Orat. liv. 673. l. 17.—ἐπεὶ... συγκεκληρωμένον ὥσπεν ἄνωθεν ἔχομεν. Ibid. 691. 8—ἀλλ' αἱ περὶ θεῶν δόξαι, ἀρξάμεναι ἄνωθεν, διὰ πάσης φιλοσοφίας ἦλθον: Maximus Tyrius. Diss. x. 3.

In all these cases, it has only one and the same meaning, that of marking out some extreme point backward; the furthest

^c Chap. i. 3.

These words, it is true, have been often cited, and as often considered decisive, or not decisive, upon the question at issue, as the opinions of harmonists have previously espoused this or that side of the debate; but their natural and obvious construction, apart from such prejudices, is clearly to convey the promise of a regular account. No account, however, can be considered a regular, that is, a methodical and orderly account, which contains such transpositions as have been freely supposed in St. Luke's Gospel; transpositions consisting of anachronisms, and ὕστερα πρότερα or the contrary, of every possible extent; and instead of order and method, exhibiting only confusion and perplexity. The assertion of the writer's personal qualifications for his undertaking, which appears in the same declaration, was doubtless intended to prepare the reader for the expectation of a regular account. One who had thoroughly investigated a certain subject, was competent to write upon it in order; for he must have investigated it in order: and, if the subject was historical, it would be as natural and as easy to trace things down from their source, as up to it. The method of the historian would be only the reverse of the method of the inquirer, and the one as regular as the other.

The use of the terms ἐξῆς and καθ'εξῆς is peculiar to St. Luke, in whose Gospel and in the Acts, conjointly, each of them occurs five times, sometimes as descriptive of the course and succession of time—at other times of

point at which it is necessary to begin, and to pursue thenceforward, any series or course of things: it means, therefore, not only, *from the first*, as such, or, *from the beginning*, simply, but, *from the first, and thencefor-*

ward; from the beginning downward. In order to describe the course of an historical investigation, this is its most natural and appropriate sense; and in this sense it is, as I think, used by St. Luke in his preface.

the course and succession of events—yet always as descriptive of a direct, continuous, and orderly succession only. There is one instance, in particular, where he employs the word, as in his preface, to describe the course of a certain narrative, which is plainly a regular one: ἀρξάμενος δὲ ὁ Πέτρος ἐξετίθετο αὐτοῖς καθεξῆς^c. Nor can the import of the term in either case be better illustrated than by the parallel passage from Thucydides; γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐξῆς, ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο^d. It seems, then, that to write ἐξῆς, and to write ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο, in the estimation of Thucydides, were synonymous phrases. Why not, therefore, in the estimation of St. Luke *?

III. The regularity of the Acts of the Apostles, considered as the second part, or the continuation, of the same history of which the Gospel is the first part, and the commencement. This connection between the two

* Cf. also Thucydides, ii. 1: γέγραπται δὲ ἐξῆς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγένετο. Numerous examples of the use of the synonymous term ἐξῆς or ἐφεξῆς, might be produced from classical writers, shewing that it always denotes *order, regularity, continuity*, and the like. Thus, δηώσοι πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐφεξῆς, that is, as it follows immediately after, ξυνεχῶς: Xen. Hell. iv. vi. 4. 5—ἡ μὲν πρώτη τὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ἐπὶ τὰ γενομένων, ἔργα, ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, ὡς ἐγένετο: Appian, Præf. ad Histor. 14—εἰ τὸν τε χρόνον ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς πόλεως ἐφεξῆς διέλθοιμεν: Isocrates, Orat. iv. 26—τίνος πρώτου μνησθῶ, καὶ ποίου δευτέρου; τὸ γὰρ ἐφεξῆς με λέγειν διαπέφενγεν: Id. Orat. xv. 148—ἵν' ἐφεξῆς, καὶ κατὰ

μικρὸν, πρὸς ἕκαστα τῶν κατηγορημένων ἀπολογήσωμαι: Æschines, Orat. ii. 26—οὐδὲν παραλείπων, ἀλλ' ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα ὑπομνήσκων: Id. Ibid. 28—τί πρῶτον δεῖ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀντιδεδωκότας, καὶ τί δεύτερον, καὶ τᾶλλα δ' ἐφεξῆς: Demosthenes, Orat. xlii. 1—μετὰ δὲ...ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι: Herodotus, ii. 111—πρὸς τοὺς ἐφεξῆς τῶν λόγων, καὶ συνεχεῖς, καὶ δὴ τρέψομαι: Aristides, Orat. xiii. 239. 1. 23—ἐπὶ ᾧ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς, ἀλλὰ παραλιπὼν δύο ἡμέρας: Ælian, de Natura Animalium, v. 32. Lastly, οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι τὰ γενόμενα ἐπιδείξαι ὡς ξυνέβη ἕκαστον, οὕτως ἀπαγγέλλουσι, τὸ πρῶτον, πρῶτον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον, δεύτερον· καὶ τᾶλλα ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως: Dio Chrysostom, Orat. xi. 316. 35.

^c Acts xi. 4.

^d Lib. v. 26.

is ascertained by the preface, prefixed to the Acts also ; which is not merely addressed to the same Theophilus, but expressly refers to the Gospel, as the first part of a continuous account. If the Gospel, already written, is thus called the first part, the Acts, about to be written, must be the second. Now the Acts are a regular history ; so much so, that no ingenuity of criticism would be able to establish the fact of a single transposition therein. On the principle, then, that there should be an unity of plan and execution, where there is evidently an unity of subject and design, the same regularity which predominates in the second, is clearly to be expected from the first part of the same work : unless it should be contended, that the history of our Saviour's ministry did not admit of an orderly narration, while the history of that of the apostles did ; or that St. Luke had reasons for regarding the course of time and succession in the latter—contrary to those which compelled him to disregard it in the former.

IV. For an integral period of the Christian history, and through an integral portion of its own contents, the Gospel of St. Luke is regular, and consistent with the professions contained in the preface. For first, proposing to deduce that history from its earliest point of time, he begins with the conception and the birth of the Baptist, and afterwards passes to the conception and the birth of Jesus Christ ; that is, he begins with the private history of each, before he proceeds to the public. Secondly, as far as was practicable, without actually violating the order of events, he manifests a strict anxiety to separate the private history of the Baptist from the private history of Christ. There were some circumstances connected with the conception, which preceded the birth of Christ, but followed upon the conception of John : these he has related, as

historical precision required, between the two. But after the birth of John, when there was nothing in his private history any way connected with the private history of Christ, he dispatches that history once for all; summing up in a single sentence—The child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts till the day of his shewing unto Israel^e—the substance of thirty years, before he proceeds to the account of the birth of Christ. Why was this done, except that the course of the history might be left free to begin, and to continue, in like manner the account of the birth, the infancy, and the domestic privacy of Christ? all which are next related, and in a strictly methodical order.

Again, being arrived at the point of time when the public ministry of both the Baptist and Jesus Christ was about to commence, he begins with the ministry of John, and dispatches, as before, the ministry of John, before he says a word about the ministry of Christ: of which distinction there cannot be a clearer proof than that, after a regular account of the preaching, the teaching, and the testimonies of John, he concludes the whole by the history of his imprisonment, before he relates even the baptism of Christ. This was to introduce an anachronism of probably four months in extent; but it is manifestly an anachronism introduced on purpose, to keep the unity of his next and his principal subject unbroken; that so the history of our Saviour's ministry might begin and be continued from his baptism forward, without any admixture of the history of John. In this case, then, the exception, instead of weakening, serves rather to confirm our assertion.

V. From the time of the commencement of the history

^e Chap. i. 80.

of this ministry, to the end of the Gospel of St. Luke, there is no instance of a supposed transposition, which, upon a fair and dispassionate examination, will not turn out to be quite the contrary. The merits of the examination in all these cases, I must leave to the judgment of others; but if the argument in each of them can be sufficiently made out, it will manifestly be decisive upon the present question. There can be nothing irregular in this Gospel, if what has been hitherto reputed so, is in reality no such thing.

I will observe, however, that the eviction of such a conclusion upon one occasion, becomes the ground of some presumption in its favour upon another; and its eviction in a plurality of instances, by determining so far the character or plan of the work, amounts to a moral certainty of its general truth. Hence even the more doubtful examples might be defended by appealing to the implied testimony of the more unimpeachable; for the better it has been ascertained that transpositions have never occurred, the less likely it must be considered that they will still be found to occur.

Nor ought it to be objected, that by introducing distinctions like these, we multiply the number of identical events; for, in the first place, no two events can be identical, which are not exactly the same; and many may be similar, which yet are really different. We need not have recourse to the *principium indiscernibilium*; however true it may be, that if two things agree in ninety-nine points, and yet disagree in one, they cannot be absolutely the same: especially as the very reverse of this supposition is more frequently the case; viz. that the things in question, about whose identity we are inquiring, differ in ninety-nine points, and agree, perhaps, in one.

This leads me to observe in the next place, that

some of these events are falsely reputed to be the same, and are not even similar: others are proved by the testimony of the same Gospel to have happened more than once: and as to them all in common, it is better, far better, on every principle, that, whether actions or discourses, they should be considered to have occurred again, provided they can thereby be kept distinct, than that the Gospel historians should be set at variance, and their mutual credibility be seriously endangered, by obstinately pronouncing such accounts to be the same. There is no risk of any mischievous consequence, and but little antecedent improbability, in the former case, while there is the utmost hazard to the cause of Christian truth in the latter. In a ministry of three years' duration, every day of which, upon the whole, was similarly employed, it must be allowed that a great deal of historical matter might, and even would, come over again: the same incidents in general would frequently transpire; similar, and almost identical miracles would often be performed; the same discourses, in the way either of general or of special admonition, would be repeatedly delivered. It will be allowed too, that any one Evangelist, who had recorded such things in one such instance of their occurrence, might pass them over, for that very reason, in another; while a different Evangelist, who had not mentioned them before, might think fit to relate them afterwards. And this is precisely the state of the case in respect to such supposed identical events; that they are not found twice over in the same Gospel, nor at corresponding points of time in different Gospels. But we cannot conceive that inspired historians should differ so widely in their account of the same things, as, on a contrary supposition, they must differ—and yet retain their title to inspiration, and consequently to infallibility. The

most gratuitous assumptions are necessary upon this principle, to explain away their differences, and to reconcile them with each other; assumptions, which are warranted by no rules of sound and sober interpretation; and which, in any other case, where the question might concern the authority of profane historians, would appear revolting to men's common sense, and would not be tolerated for a moment; assumptions, consequently, which must be received with blind submission, or, if any one presumes to call them in question, which no one will be able to establish.

I trust that when I am making these remarks, I shall not be suspected of being actuated by any ambition of novelty, any supercilious disdain of received opinions, or absurd affectation of paradox. Much less would I be suspected of a desire to deal precipitately and rashly with so grave and important a subject as the credibility of the Gospel history; which depends upon the fidelity and mutual consistency of the Gospel historians. I am but expressing that which, to my own feelings and apprehensions, appears the real state of the case; that, according to most of the received systems of harmonizing the Evangelists, a man must surrender up his powers of judgment and discrimination, before he can be satisfied with their results. Nor does this imply any reflection on the Evangelists themselves; who ought not to be made responsible for the mistakes of those who may have dealt injudiciously with them; and whose separate or common authority, instead of being impaired, may in reality be further strengthened and confirmed, by pursuing a different course. If such and such parts of their respective narratives are not actually the same, it is in vain to attempt to make them so, without submitting these several accounts to a kind of torture like that of the bed of Procrustes. The wisest

and safest proceeding is to give up what is untenable, and to stand only upon what admits of defence. There is sufficient, in all such instances, justly to imply that the subjects of comparison are different from each other, but there is far from sufficient to prove that they are the same; there is not that agreement which we should have a right to expect to meet with in the account of identical events.

Besides, it is not duly remembered in these cases, that the Gospel history, as we possess it, is at the utmost a very incomplete history, and far from being adequate to fill up the period which it must be supposed to have occupied. By distinguishing between merely similar events, we contribute to remove this defect; but by confounding those which were really distinct, we abridge still more what was previously too short. Nor yet, while I contend that there is much in the Gospels, really different, which may appear to be the same, would I contend, on the principle of Osiander, that nothing is the same in them, which might be thought to be distinct. St. Matthew's Gospel exhibits irregularities, which I am entirely disposed to admit: yet even these will not be found to constitute four chapters out of twenty-eight; and still less will the order of narration, even in these, be found affirmed to be the order of succession. And having said thus much, at present, on the question of the regularity of the Gospels, I shall proceed to that of their supplemental relations to each other.

We possess the Gospels arranged in a determinate order, which, having been from time immemorial the same, it may be presumed was not originally adopted, except for sufficient reasons. The only deviation from the general rule is in the order of the Italic versions, and of one Greek manuscript, the Codex Bezae, which

in other respects bears an affinity to those versions. If the Gospels were written by the authors whose names they bear, this arrangement could not have been produced by any personal regard to the authors themselves, as partly apostles, and partly apostolical men; for in that case the two middle Gospels would necessarily have followed after the two extreme ones—as they do, and most probably for this reason, in the instances of exception just mentioned. Nor yet could the same arrangement have been determined, as the order of the Epistles may, in some measure, have been determined, by any like regard to the parties for whom they were written; because, not being addressed, except in the case of St. Luke's Gospel only, to any person or persons in particular, the Gospels would not appear to be designed but for the Christian world in general. The most probable supposition, therefore, is, that the order, in which they have been always arranged, is the order in which they were originally written: and, independent of external testimony to the truth of this conclusion, it is so far confirmed by internal evidence, that St. Matthew's Gospel, the first of the number, exhibits plain indications that it was composed expressly for an Hebrew community of Christians, and in Palestine, and very probably, early in the Christian history; while St. John's, the last of the number, shews that it was written neither for Jews, nor in Judæa, nor until late in the same history: and with regard to the intermediate two, there is similar evidence that neither of them was written for Jews, or among Jews—nor so early in the Gospel history as St. Matthew's, though earlier than St. John's.

These indications I shall point out, as they fall in my way hereafter; and waiving for the present, the consideration of the historical testimony either to the

dates or to the order of the Gospels, I shall confine my attention to a single argument, applicable in some degree both to their times and to their order conjointly, but more especially to their order; which it is in the nature of an harmony to bring more immediately into view, and of the most perfect harmony, to exhibit most effectually. This argument is the simple statement of what one Evangelist is seen to have done in the way of supplying, connecting, or filling up another. If it appears that wherever the accounts of one were imperfect or defective, there the accounts of another come in with additional matter, and so far fill up the omission; and if this adaptation of one to another is perceived to hold good not merely here and there, or in single instances, but almost every where, and through the whole of a Gospel; and not in parts of each, where both or where all possess any thing in common, only, but then more especially when the supplemental Gospel, and that which it supplies, in other respects stand most alone, and detached from each other; I think every one must allow that the supplemental Evangelist wrote not only after, but with an express relation to the more defective; and, therefore, that he had seen and was acquainted with his Gospel. It is utterly inconceivable that in four distinct and independent histories, each of which was composed apart from the rest, any such clear and decided coincidences should be found to hold good: nothing but design and the direct accommodation of one, and consequently a later, to another, and consequently a prior account, could be adequate to produce them. This method of reasoning, therefore, demonstrates a double conclusion; viz. not merely which Gospels were later than which, but which Gospels were written with the knowledge of which: and it is manifestly different from that other mode of argument

with a view to the same result, which does not proceed upon the collation of one Gospel with another, or of large and integral portions of one with those of another, both being considered in respect to the order of the narrative, or to the succession and connection of the particulars recorded in each—but upon the comparison of detached and isolated passages, tending to the eviction of verbal coincidences between them, and consequently relating to the letter of the accounts. Nor is it merely a different mode of reasoning from that, but, for reasons which will appear elsewhere, perhaps a stronger and more conclusive also; though even those verbal coincidences, where they are too numerous, too close, and too continuous, to be explained on any principle but that of design, would so far lead to the inference that one Evangelist must even have transcribed another. Both the modes of argument, it is true, coincide together in one result, as well as with the direct conclusion presumptively deducible from the order of the Gospel-arrangement: and whatever weight the latter in particular may possess, an harmony, which necessarily brings most of those parallel passages into juxta-position, and enables every one to judge of them for himself, has a natural tendency to exhibit that weight also in its full force.

To begin, therefore, with that Gospel, which has always been the last in the order of arrangement, the Gospel of St. John: and to specify its adaptation to the rest.

I. From the time of the commencement of the personal ministry of the Baptist, to the time of the baptism of Jesus Christ, when John first became acquainted with the person of Christ—there was little or no hiatus in the former accounts; but from the time of that baptism to the commencement of the ministry in Galilee, posterior to the termination of the ministry of John, if

we except only the forty days' fast, there was. The extent of this hiatus I shall endeavour to determine in its proper place ; and I hope to shew it to have been so critically filled up by St. John, that his account begins where the former accounts had left off, and leaves off for a time, where those had been resumed.

II. After the commencement of the ministry in Galilee, a casual expression, even in the former Gospels, might have intimated that a passover was just over, and that Jesus had probably been up to Jerusalem in attendance upon it. But St. John's Gospel alone ascertains the allusion, relates the visit, and determines the time of the passover in question to the beginning of our Lord's second year.

III. Each of the former Evangelists had given an account of the first instance of the miraculous feeding : but none had specified the time when it happened, nor the particulars of the memorable discourse to which it gave occasion. St. John has specified both.

IV. The course of events, as recorded by these Evangelists, from the time of that miracle to the next event after the last return of our Lord to Capernaum which they mention, will establish the fact of an hiatus in the accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark, of six months at least in extent, and in St. Luke's, of four ; which four, if they are supplied at all, are supplied entirely by St. John, and with the same critical adaptation both to the point where all three had left off, and to the point where St. Luke in particular had begun again, as was before mentioned under Article I.

V. From the period of the arrival at Bethany, before the last passover, to the time of the resurrection ; and from this time, to the conclusion of the Gospel history ; it is capable of proof that St. John's Gospel is altogether supplemental to the rest, and no where more so

than in the account of the celebration of the last supper, and in that of the proceedings on the morning of the crucifixion.

Now in these five Articles the whole of this Gospel is comprised ; and all these being supplementary, it follows that the whole of this Gospel is supplementary ; it has scarcely an integral sentence, and certainly contains no integral fact or discourse in general, which is not *embolimaïc* ; which does not stand by itself, while it connects and supplies the rest. The proof of our position, then, with regard to the last in the order of the Gospels, is complete and satisfactory. Let us now apply the same criterion to the next to that, St. Luke's : the Gospels prior to which would be St. Matthew's and St. Mark's.

I. Each of these Gospels had omitted the private history of John the Baptist before the commencement of his public : St. Mark's had omitted the private history of Christ before the same period ; and St. Matthew's had related no more of it than what may be proved to have been subsequent to the third or fourth month after the conception, and not later than the return from Egypt ; that is, no more than was comprehended within six months before, and twelve months after the nativity. Each of these omissions, as far as it is supplied by any Gospel, is entirely supplied by St. Luke's.

II. Neither St. Matthew nor St. Mark had specified the time when the Ministration of the Kingdom was begun by the first appearance of John ; nor the age of our Lord at his baptism ; both which were points of importance, and both are defined by St. Luke. St. Matthew had not given the natural genealogy of our Lord, a point of still greater importance ; and St. Mark had given no genealogy at all : St. Luke has supplied this defect.

III. Neither St. Matthew nor St. Mark had mentioned the first visit to Nazareth; though this might have led in its consequences even to the choice of Capernaum, which the former does mention: St. Luke has supplied this omission.

IV. St. Matthew and St. Mark had related the call of the four individuals, Andrew and Peter, James and John, to be disciples; but not the miracle which preceded their ordination to be apostles. This also is supplied by St. Luke.

V. St. Matthew had omitted altogether both the ordination of the Twelve, and the sermon which ensued upon it; St. Mark had related the former, but omitted the latter: St. Luke has related both.

VI. St. Matthew and St. Mark had each omitted the second general circuit of Galilee; an omission of some months in extent: St. Luke has filled it up.

VII. St. Matthew and St. Mark, after the last return to Capernaum which they record, had not resumed the thread of their accounts, until Jesus, in the course of his final journey to Jerusalem, was passing out of Perea into Judæa; an omission, as I stated before, of at least six months in extent. St. Luke has largely supplied this defect; beginning with the commencement of that last progress, and conducting it up to Jerusalem through a period of probably two months, and a part of his Gospel which reaches from ix. 51. to xviii. 14. (that is, through almost one half of the whole) entirely by itself.

VIII. After the reunion of the three accounts, which is on the way from Jericho to Jerusalem—the miracle on one blind man before the entrance into Jericho; the visit to Zacchæus; the parable of the minæ; many circumstances in Passion-week, before the last supper; many circumstances at that supper; at the agony in the garden; at the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrim;

at his examination before Pilate; on the way to Calvary; on the morning and evening of the day of the resurrection; are peculiar to St. Luke, and include large and integral portions of his account. The same argument then, which applied so strongly to St. John, is proportionably applicable to St. Luke: for, if all which his Gospel possesses independent of St. Matthew and of St. Mark, were to be collected together by itself, it would amount to more than two thirds of the whole.

Nor is it possible to evade this reasoning with respect to St. Luke, while it is acknowledged to hold good with respect to St. John. It might be said, perhaps, that if St. Matthew and St. Mark had both written after St. Luke, and had both purposely omitted all those particulars of his narrative, which consisted of matter not found in them, his Gospel would still have appeared, in all these respects, as supplementary to their's as before: and this argument would admit that St. Matthew and St. Mark must each have seen and each have written after St. Luke, though St. Luke had not seen, or not written after them. If the argument, however, were of any avail to prove that St. Matthew and St. Mark had both written after St. Luke, it must also prove that St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, had all written after St. John; for the cases are precisely parallel; and if the argument is palpably absurd as applied in the latter case, it ought to be considered no better as applied in the former. It was even more probable, *a priori*, that the three first Evangelists, writing after St. John, would purposely omit almost every thing recorded by St. John, than that St. Matthew and St. Mark, writing after St. Luke, would omit so much of what was recorded by St. Luke. The particulars contained in the Gospel of St. John might have been omitted, without inconvenience, by a subsequent Gos-

pel. The Gospel of St. John is altogether independent of the rest, and relates almost entirely to scenes and occasions in our Saviour's ministry, to which there is nothing correspondent in them. But the very reverse is the case with the subject matter of the three first Gospels respectively. The accounts of St. Matthew and St. Mark are every where interwoven by some proper community of relation, with the accounts of St. Luke; so that they could not be, without great violence to them all, detached asunder.

The supposition itself, however, especially when contrasted with the state of the case in reference to St. Matthew's Gospel, is preposterous and unnatural. It is directly contrary to the ordinary course of improvement, which under all circumstances is to advance, and not to retrograde; to proceed from less perfect to more so; and particularly in a second, as opposed to an original attempt; where a certain model of excellence being already before the mind, it is not necessary both to conceive and to execute for the first time. It was consequently possible and probable, that a later Gospel might be found to improve on a former, and to introduce order instead of disorder, completeness instead of deficiency, if such blemishes were perceptible in prior accounts; but, if it was not impossible, it was highly improbable, that it would be found to do just the reverse: which yet St. Matthew, and even St. Mark, must have done, if they wrote after and with the knowledge of St. Luke; substituting perplexity for orderly arrangement, obscurity for clearness, defectiveness and indistinctness for fulness and precision.

Moreover, there are references in St. Luke's Gospel to some prior one, which must have been either St. Matthew's or St. Mark's: and there are similar references in St. John's throughout to all these three—and in one

instance particularly there is a reference, which can scarcely be disputed, to St. Luke's. Nor is it a greater objection to this last Evangelist, that he omits much of what is related by the other two, than it would be to St. John, that he omits almost every thing supplied by the former three. Besides which, for all these omissions in St. Luke a very sufficient reason may be discovered; viz. either that he knew the same particulars would come over again, where he proposed to record them; or that they resembled what he had recorded elsewhere already; or that they expressly concerned the Jews, and did not interest the Gentiles; or that they implied something derogatory to the apostles; or that they had been related, and amply related, by his predecessors. Of these reasons, the most uniform are the first and the last, one of which will account for almost every instance of his omissions; and the last is as certain as the first: since even where he goes along with St. Matthew and St. Mark, it is still a characteristic of St. Luke to be more concise than the latter, but more circumstantial than the former.

The references in question will be occasionally pointed out hereafter; at present I shall specify no more than two, one of them reflexive, and the other prospective; the former to St. Matthew's Gospel, the latter to St. Mark's; but each of them, as it seems to me, a critical reference, and capable of standing with such a relation, only where St. Luke has placed it. The first is, Luke xvii. 4. and the second, Luke xii. 41, 42. In the former our Lord alludes to the question of St. Peter at Matt. xviii. 21. and in the latter declines to answer the very question, which he virtually answers at Mark xiii. 37. It will be allowed at least, that Mark xiii. 37. furnishes exactly the answer to the question which was asked at Luke xii. 41. And what confirms the

supposed coincidence in each of these cases, is the proximity of the time, as well as the agreement of the sense ; for Matt. xviii. 21. was less than six months prior to Luke xvii. 4. and Luke xii. 41. was only a few weeks earlier than Mark xiii. 37. Nor could we infer that St. Mark's Gospel was posterior to St. Luke's, because the answer is found in the former and the question in the latter, any more than that St. John's Gospel was later than St. Luke's, because the reference to the miracle at Capernaum is found in St. Luke, at iv. 23. but the account of the miracle only in St. John, at iv. 46–54. All this period in the Gospel history of St. Luke is a blank in that of St. Matthew and St. Mark.

There is another prospective allusion in St. Luke to both St. Matthew and St. Mark in conjunction, which also deserves to be mentioned. The parable of the barren fig-tree, found in his Gospel, chap. xiii. 6–9. but omitted in theirs, serves to prepare the way for the account of the malediction judicially inflicted on a similar tree, and for a similar fault, which they do record ; St. Matthew, xxi. 18, 19. and St. Mark, xi. 13, 14. These different accounts mutually illustrate each other ; for the moral of the parable, which is a prophetic allegory, and the end of the malediction inflicted upon the tree, which was purely symbolical, it might be shewn, conspire together, and are in fact the one the completion of the other. The fig-tree on mount Olivet, and the fig-tree in the parable, bear the same typical relation ; and the curse pronounced upon the former is but the execution of the sentence, which had been already passed upon the latter, and only for a time suspended.

We should do an injury to the most perfect character which ever existed, were we to doubt whether the conduct of our Saviour was uniformly wise and con-

sistent ; whether he could do or could say at one time, what would better have been said or done at another. We should expect thus much under any circumstances even from ordinary wisdom and prudence ; much more from such wisdom and such prudence as his. Now these qualities of his conduct are discoverable only from the corresponding qualities of his actions ; and those qualities of his actions are to be judged of only from their place in his history ; that is, from their reference to times and occasions. It has been often remarked that our Lord's actions or discourses were frequently determined by particular conjunctures of circumstances which had transpired already : it may be said with equal truth that they were as frequently determined by conjunctures still to come. In all these cases it would produce equal confusion to detach either of the two things from its proper correlative ; to place that first in the order of arrangement, which should come last in the order of succession ; or the reverse. It is essential also to the *ὁμοιοπάθεια* of his common nature, that when he was placed in circumstances calculated to excite certain feelings or emotions, he should have felt, and acted under his feelings, as another man would have felt and acted.

In no part of the Gospel history do these incidental references to times and occasions, and these traits of nature and propriety, appear more strikingly or with an happier effect, than in the portion comprehended between Luke ix. 51. and xviii. 14 : yet there is none which the dubious arrangements of harmonists have more disordered and obscured. If each of these particular narratives is regarded as it stands, and simply in its relation to another, and to the course of events before and after it—I would challenge any one to point out a position where any of them would have appeared so natu-

ral and appropriate, as where St. Luke has already placed them : and I urge this manifest congruity of the parts, as the best argument of the right chronological disposition of the whole. Next to positive indications, which admit of no question, it is to these indirect notices, which are scarcely less satisfactory than the positive, that every harmonist ought to attend. His duty would consequently be very inadequately discharged, who should not observe and should not profit by them ; though even his merit, who should do both, would be the merit only of an accurate observer, and of a faithful reporter of his observations. The business of an harmonist, in these respects, is much like that of one who has to arrange a cabinet of pictures : the qualities of the pictures in all situations will be the same, but the due perception of those qualities will not be possible, except from their proper point of view. The taste and the judgment of the arranger are legitimately called into exercise here : it is his duty to find out this proper point of view, and to dispose of his pictures accordingly.

With regard to the second Gospel, it would be much more difficult to decide whether St. Mark's Gospel was written before St. Luke's, or *vice versa*, if each were to be referred to the other only, than as both admit of being referred to St. Matthew. But the evident accommodation of St. Mark's to St. Matthew's, proofs of which will be pointed out by and by, demonstrates that St. Mark had seen St. Matthew's ; and the evident accommodation of St. Luke's to both demonstrates that he had seen both : for such is the accommodation in the former case, that St. Luke could not have been supplementary to either without being supplementary to the other. The mode of reasoning, therefore, which has been adopted by Griesbach, and by others after him ; as

the result of which, by an elaborate comparison of these three Evangelists together, it is intended to shew that St. Mark does not contain more than twenty verses which he might not have taken either from St. Matthew or from St. Luke—though, for argument's sake, we were to concede its premises—would still be insufficient to warrant the conclusion which is grounded upon them. It is impossible that St. Mark's Gospel should agree with St. Luke's, where St. Luke's also does not exhibit any symptoms of agreement with St. Mark's; and this appearance of agreement between them would be produced alike, whether St. Luke copied from St. Mark, or St. Mark copied from St. Luke. The question then which concerns their order must be determined on very different principles.

Again, it would be a great mistake to regard St. Mark as the mere abbreviator of St. Matthew, though this mistake would concede the question of time: for, not to mention what he supplies independent of St. Matthew, his original and his equal authority as an historian, appears from his rectification of the order of St. Matthew, where that was inverted and irregular; from the changes, omissions, additions, explanations, allusions, which are discoverable even in their common accounts, in reference sometimes to things, sometimes to persons, sometimes to words; all which distinguish his narrative from St. Matthew's, and all, or most of them, are adapted to a very different class of readers. How little the character of a mere abbreviator applies to him is placed beyond a question by a predominant and palpable mark of discrimination, which runs through the whole of his Gospel, and which any one may judge of, at first sight; viz. that where St. Matthew, the supposed original, is notoriously concise and defective, St. Mark, the supposed abbreviator, is al-

ways the most plenary and diffuse, and *vice versa*. Nothing of this kind would be characteristic of an abridgment.

Again, St. Matthew's Gospel being taken in conjunction with St. Mark's, there are clearly omissions in the former which are as plainly supplied by the latter. Of this number, I shall specify the following.

I. Omissions which concern integral facts; as the first instance of our Saviour's teaching, after the commencement of his ministry in Galilee, and followed by the miracle on the demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum; the account of a circuit, in the neighbourhood of the lake of Galilee; that most important event, the ordination of the twelve apostles; one additional parable, among those which were first delivered; two miracles performed at Bethsaida, in Decapolis; and three personal manifestations of our Lord alive, after his resurrection: all which things the Harmony will exhibit in their places hereafter.

II. Besides those instances where a concise account of St. Matthew's is expanded into a circumstantial detail by St. Mark, the latter is frequently so accommodated to the other as to end where he begins, or, *vice versa*, to begin where he ends. Mark ix. 33-50. concludes where Matt. xviii. 1-35. begins: Mark vii. 25. takes up Matt. xv. 24. Mark vii. 32-37. comes in exactly between Matt. xv. 29. and xv. 30. Mark viii. 12. concludes Matt. xvi. 1-4. Mark viii. 19, 20. follows on Matt. xvi. 10. and, what is among the most striking instances of all, Mark xvi. 5-8. in his account of that event, begins precisely where Matt. xxviii. 6. in his account just before, had made an end.

III. In such cases, and especially where one of the narratives continues or is continued by the other, that one, it is manifest, presupposes the accounts of

the other, and without that supposition would scarcely be intelligible; of which Mark viii. 12. is a remarkable instance; for it passed altogether in private, after the answer to the demand, as recorded by St. Matthew, xvi. 1–4. had been returned in public. It is clear that the exordium of the narrative at Mark iii. 22. presupposes the fact of a recent dispossession, and without that would be almost inconceivable; yet this dispossession is related by St. Matthew only, xii. 22.

IV. Even in their common accounts, something is often supplied by St. Mark, critically explanatory of something in St. Matthew. Mark iii. 21. serves this purpose for Matt. xii. 46. and Mark iii. 22. and iii. 30. by ascertaining the fact of a double blasphemy, one against the Spirit, and the other against our Saviour, serve it still more so for Matt. xii. 24. and xii. 31–37. which last is directly founded upon that distinction. Mark iv. 10. explains the circumstances under which Matt. xiii. 18–23. was delivered; and Mark x. 35. compared with Matt. xx. 20. explains Matt. xx. 24. which without that would not be so apparent. The same observation would hold good of numerous passages besides, if my limits would permit me now to cite them.

V. Closely as St. Mark adheres to St. Matthew, one object is still kept in view by him throughout; viz. to rectify his historical transpositions; to ascertain what he had left indefinite; and to fill up his numerous circumstantial omissions. No two Gospels in all these respects can be more the ἀντίστοιχα of each other, while in the general outline they are absolutely ἀντίστροφά :

..... hac in re scilicet una
Multum dissimiles, at cetera pæne gemelli f.

f Hor. Epp. i. x. 2.

VI. The very deficiencies in St. Mark, or the consideration of what St. Matthew possesses which is not to be found in St. Mark, by implying a tacit reference to the Gospel of St. Matthew, confirm, rather than invalidate, the same conclusion. There is one such omission relating to their common accounts of the resurrection and of the manifestations of Christ, viz. the account of the manifestation in Galilee; which is almost the only one related by St. Matthew, and must have been intentionally omitted by St. Mark. In preparing for this manifestation, up to a certain point they go along with each other, which is sufficient to prove that St. Mark was aware of the fact of it, as much as St. Matthew; and, consequently, that his silence as to the ultimate result, is not to be resolved into ignorance. The fact of the manifestation itself is all which is wanting to complete the account of it in St. Mark. St. Matthew has added this, St. Mark has omitted it, clearly for no reason so probably as because it might be known from St. Matthew.

But his most regular omissions are in the account of our Saviour's discourses; in which a Gospel, composed as his was, for the instruction of Gentile converts, and especially in the account of our Lord's moral discourses, it was, *a priori*, to be expected would have been the most full. There are numerous occasions upon which he specifies the fact that our Saviour taught the people; there is not one, if we except the teaching in parables, which was itself a deviation from the ordinary mode of his teaching, upon which he specifies what was taught. On two occasions, a comparison first with St. Matthew, and again with St. Luke, will shew that, unless he had purposely avoided it, the course of the narrative alone must have led him to give more or less in detail an account of instances of teaching more solemn and

more instructive than usual ; which were the two sermons from the mount, one at the close of the first circuit of Galilee, the other at the ordination of the apostles : both, events related in their place by St. Mark. Perhaps his omission of this second sermon might be excused on account of its omission in St. Matthew also, to whom, in the general outline of his narrative, he adheres throughout. But no reason can account for the omission of the first, except that it had been recorded by St. Matthew, and that St. Matthew's Gospel would go along with St. Mark's ; in which case, to have repeated so large a portion of what had been fully related in that, would have been absolute tautology. There are similar omissions in the history of the teaching in parables ; of the apostolic charge ; and of the prophecy on the mount ; besides many others which might be pointed out ; all defensible on the same principle, but on that only. There is one remarkable occasion when, as St. Matthew shews, St. Mark stopped short on the verge of a long and interesting parable, subjoined by our Lord in explanation of that very sentence, which is the last thing he does record^g.

VII. The verbal coincidences which are found in the text of these two Evangelists, are so numerous, that in an harmony duly arranged they may be discovered in every page ; and were I to exhibit them now in detail, I must transcribe almost the whole of St. Mark, and more than half of St. Matthew. What is most to be observed, they appear in the simply narrative part, where, *a priori*, they were least to be expected ; as well as in the account of discourses, where there was greater likelihood of their occurrence. Two persons, giving an account of what was said or spoken

^g Mark x. 31. Matt. xx. 1.

by another, might be expected to fall more or less into the same phraseology ; but in merely historical particulars, the very same things substantially might have been recorded, though not a word of the accounts had been the same. Yet the mind of St. Mark was so thoroughly imbued with the sentiments and the language of St. Matthew, that he falls into his ideas and his expressions, as matter of course, almost every where. It is observable also, that these verbal coincidences, as a general characteristic of any two of the Gospel accounts, are much more perceptible between St. Matthew and St. Mark, than between either of them and St. Luke ; the best proof of which is, that even where all three are accompanying each other, St. Mark may still be found adhering *verbatim* to St. Matthew, when St. Luke departs from both. Among the number of words and phrases, peculiar to the Gospels or not peculiar, novel or familiar, which constitute the material of their respective compositions, (if any one, by the help of a good concordance and a careful perusal, will take the trouble to examine them in detail,) such as are common to St. Matthew and St. Mark will be found to be many times as considerable in amount, as those which are common to St. Matthew and St. Luke. Nor can I discover any very striking idiom of St. Matthew, which may not be found also in St. Mark. The use of *καὶ ἰδὸν* is one such idiom ; but it occurs once in St. Mark ; and *ἰδὸν*, without the *καὶ*, occurs ten times. *Καὶ ἰδὸν*, it is true, is repeatedly to be found in St. Luke. But, on the other hand, *ἴδε*, which is more peculiar than *ἰδὸν*, occurs six times in St. Mark, and four times in St. Matthew ; but not once in St. Luke. The use of *εὐθέως* in rather a singular and redundant manner, is reckoned a peculiarity of St. Mark : but this use of it is not perceptible after the first two chapters ; and as

to the employment of the term ἀπλῶς, though St. Mark has it forty times, St. Matthew has it fifteen; and even St. Luke, who is as much attached to the use of παραχρῆμα instead of it, has it eight. It is a common idiom too of St. Matthew and St. Mark, which is far from being equally predominant in St. Luke, to employ in historical narration the present tense; and not the past. They say, Jesus calleth, where St. Luke says, Jesus called; or Jesus saith, where he has, Jesus said; and so in numberless instances. It is another, that they are found to use phrases which are not classically pure, promiscuously with others of like kind, which are; whereas St. Luke is more uniformly correct. Thus, οὐ μὴ τελέσητε—οὐ μὴ ἀπολέση—οὐ μὴ τιμήση—οὐ μὴ ἔσται—οὐ μὴ γέσωνται—οὐ μὴ ἀπαρνήσομαι, occur indifferently in them; but in St. Luke the same construction is, οὐ μὴ γέυσονται—οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσει—οὐ μὴ ποιήσει—and the like. It is true, the same promiscuous usage is observable also in St. John: but surely these, and the other circumstances which I have mentioned, must establish the fact of a closer verbal connection between St. Matthew and St. Mark, than between either and St. Luke: and, perhaps, even for this connection a reason may be assigned hereafter, which will make it cease to appear surprising.

I am well aware that the inference deducible from these analogies, as I am obliged to state them at present, does not come with half the force which the nature of the premises would warrant. It depends upon minute comparisons; on critical accommodations of one text to another; on nice and delicate points of omission and supplement, indefiniteness and definiteness, implication and statement; which can never be fully appreciated until they are exhibited in their proper place, and with their mutual relations, by the text of

the Gospels themselves. The reader, therefore, is at liberty to suspend his judgment, with respect to the above assertions, until I can unfold my proofs of them more particularly.

It must be observed, however, once for all, that in most of these instances, whatever be the point under discussion, the conclusions at which we arrive, over and above their connection with that point, and besides the proper arguments by which they are established, are confirmed also by some relation, reflexive or prospective, to something else; by their agreement with other conclusions, before established or coming to be afterwards established; which yet it is not always in my power to point out. This general argument in favour of the whole, resulting from the mutual harmony and congruity of the parts, must be observed and applied by the reader, as he goes along, for himself: and, notwithstanding it must be thus collected, it is among the most decisive criterions of truth. It is impossible that in a merely artificial system, which was not founded in truth, any such congruity of distinct and distant particulars should every where hold good: we might as reasonably expect that the atoms of Epicurus, by mutual collision, would be shaken up into organized worlds, as that the parts of the four Gospels, through a period of three or four years' duration, should by any arbitrary arrangements be made so consistent with each other, that no flaw nor disproportion would be visible in the integrity and symmetry of the whole. The criterion of a just hypothesis is to solve all the phenomena to which it can be applied; to account for the least things as well as for the greatest: and no harmony can be perfect which is not consistent with itself from first to last; or with a general appearance of consistency, will not bear the test of a particular exa-

mination. The cement which consolidates the materials of a building is as important to its strength and its integrity as the stones or the bricks ; and in the distribution of the parts of an harmony, the minuter and less prominent analogies are those which must ultimately connect and confirm the whole.

It is this supplementary relation of the three first Gospels to each other, which furnishes the best and most fatal objection to a favourite hypothesis of the German school ; an hypothesis invented principally to account for the verbal coincidences between the Gospels ; assuming the existence of some *πρωτεναγγέλιον*, or primary document, whence, though unknown to each other, the authors of them all derived the materials of their histories in common. The reception of this hypothesis might account for verbal agreements ; but it would not account for the supplemental arrangement of facts. The material relations might have held good, even though the verbal coincidences had not existed ; and, on the same principle, the material relations are not necessarily explained, even when those coincidences are accounted for. It would be a moral impossibility that St. Mark, compiling an independent Gospel from any document, though the same might have been used by St. Matthew, should be found in the choice and collocation of his facts to be thus exactly accommodated to St. Matthew ; or that St. Luke, while doing the same, should be thus critically accommodated to either. No combination of chances, no random or lucky coincidences, nothing but premeditation and design, could have produced this conformity. The use of common materials would account for no instance of material agreement, which was not an absolute and an entire agreement ; and of such absolute and entire agreement there is not an instance in any two out of the

four Gospels. Detached passages in St. Mark are not identical with detached passages in St. Matthew, but at the utmost only similar and supplementary to them; and supplementary relations, while they necessarily possess some agreement with prior and defective, possess necessarily some disagreement also. Nor is it the parts only which are supplementary to the parts; but the wholes which are supplementary to the wholes: which while it enhances the degree of the coincidence, increases in the same proportion the difficulty of accounting for it on any principle but that of design.

Yet the supposition of this *πρωτευαγγέλιον* is but an inadequate contrivance, even for the purpose which it was intended to serve. I will state the theory of the most ingenious among its advocates, the translator of Michaelis; not with a view to controvert it, but to exhibit the shifts and expedients to which, before his system is reduced to a feasible shape, its author is obliged to have recourse. After demonstrating the insufficiency of every other supposable case to explain the phenomena both of congruity and of incongruity in the three first Gospels, he proceeds to subjoin an hypothesis of his own, which he conceives would be capable of accounting for every thing^f.

He supposes, 1st, an original Hebrew document, containing solely a narrative of facts; which he denominates \aleph . 2dly, A version of this document into Greek; which he denotes by $\bar{\aleph}$. 3dly, The same Hebrew document, but with additions either to the circumstances of its former accounts, which he distinguishes by $\aleph + \alpha + \beta + \gamma$; or of entirely new accounts, which he calls $\aleph + A + B + \Gamma$; or of both incorporated with each other; the various forms of which conjunctions cannot be otherwise expressed than by the various combinations of $\alpha + \beta + \gamma$ and $A + B + \Gamma$ with \aleph . 4thly, A supple-

^t Michael. Introd. Dissertation on the Origin of the three first Gospels, chap. xv.

mentary Hebrew document, which he denotes by ב, called a Γνωμολογία; that is, a narrative no longer restricted to facts, but containing a collection of Precepts, Parables, and other Discourses: and of this document also he supposes a double edition, each comprising some things peculiar to itself, besides what they both had in common. All these documents, it is necessary to assume, existed before the composition of a single canonical Gospel; the two first, א and נ, both in Hebrew and in Greek; the last, by a singular anomaly, though very essential to the author's argument, in the Hebrew only, and not in the Greek. I call this a singular anomaly; for if the document נ, by itself, was speedily translated into Greek, the same document, with the supposed additions, however many those might have been, ought to have been as speedily translated also. But this would not serve for the hypothesis of the author, which requires that St. Luke and St. Mark should have something to translate for themselves from Hebrew into Greek; and should not merely copy or transcribe from the existing Greek.

These several documents put together, it is easy to conceive, might exhibit the whole of the facts, and the whole of the discourses, which the Gospels possess in common. Yet even these assumptions are purely preliminary; they provide the materials only for the future Gospels. It still remains to shew how St. Matthew, using exclusively the Hebrew; St. Mark and St. Luke, independent of each other, embodying in their narratives the Greek; the translator of St. Matthew, by taking St. Mark and St. Luke along with him, and where the Greek text of St. Mark was sufficiently close to the Hebrew of St. Matthew, transcribing from St. Mark; where the Greek text of St. Luke agreed with the Hebrew of St. Matthew, copying from St. Luke;

and where St. Matthew himself had made alterations in his original documents, making corresponding alterations in the versions obtained from St. Mark or from St. Luke; all together might ultimately exhibit each of the three Gospels in its present state.

A series of assumptions such as these, every one of which is purely gratuitous, is only a concatenation of improbabilities; the difficulty of which increases with every succeeding step. The existence of any one, much more of all, of these documents is as much a matter of fact as that of the philosopher's stone, or of the *quinta essentia* of Aristotle; and the theories which have been or may be built upon the assumption of it, are as well founded as the cosmogonies of the ancient philosophers; to which, in their mutual incompatibility, and in the facility with which they are set up and pulled down, they bear no unfit resemblance. Yet such is the system of contrivances to which the masters of learning have recourse, in order that one Evangelist may be kept in the dark as to the existence of another; and yet fall unawares into an agreement with him. To say nothing of any other objection to such systems, it must surely be the height of inconsistency to suppose that each of the Evangelists might be largely indebted to some common documents, and yet none of them indebted to each other; as if it made any difference whether St. Mark had copied from St. Matthew, and St. Luke from St. Matthew and St. Mark, or all three from some *πρωτ-εναγγέλιον* in common: or as if the former were a less sufficient, or a less satisfactory means of accounting for the resemblances between them, than the latter. In short, it must be confessed that in the assumption of this hypothesis, and in the purposes to which it has been applied, scepticism and credulity have gone hand in hand. If we believe in the inspiration of the Gospels, (and I

will venture to say there is no one fact in the Gospels themselves which can invalidate that belief,) the supposed existence of fountains or sources, from which the Evangelists derived their materials, is not more precarious than unnecessary. St. Paul was doubtless well informed in every circumstance of the Gospel history; yet that information was conveyed to him by immediate inspiration. St. Luke affirms that he possessed a perfect knowledge of his subject, that is, that he had accurately investigated it, from the first; and the perusal of his Gospel confirms the assertion: for that exquisite nicety of arrangement; that skill with which the plan of his work was forecast; (a skill which appears as strikingly in what he omits as in what he relates;) and that scrupulous regard to accuracy, even in the smallest matters, which may be discovered throughout it, are proofs both of his entire mastery of his task, and of a religious veneration for truth. And as to the phenomena, both of agreement and of disagreement, about which so much is said, they may all be otherwise accounted for.

I have met with no arguments against the supposition that one Evangelist might have seen another, which did not appear to me either to be of no weight in themselves, or to be founded in an ignorance of the actual relations of the several Gospels to each other. Nor can I imagine any which may be urged *a priori* against this supposition, and the consequent supplementary character of the Gospels, except some one of the following; which I shall proceed to set down and to examine individually.

I. A Gospel, which was supplementary to another, would have contained nothing in common with that; would have consisted entirely of fresh matter.

Now one Gospel is known to be supplementary to

another from its internal relations to that other: and no work could be known, from the evidence of such relations, to be in any manner accommodated to another, which did not possess something in common with it. It was a possible case that St. Luke, though writing after St. Mark, might have incorporated in his own Gospel the whole of St. Mark's; inserting only in their proper places the matters omitted by St. Mark: by which means he would have composed a Gospel containing the Gospel of St. Mark, and yet unquestionably supplementary to it. This possible case in part is an actual case. A portion of St. Mark is incorporated with St. Luke; and a portion of St. Matthew with St. Mark: yet, notwithstanding what they all contain in common, the latter in each case may still be supplementary to the former. There is no necessity that a later Gospel, in order to stand in such a relation to a prior, should be altogether independent of it. It is enough for our argument, that the one should be clearly supplementary to the other in parts; and in parts where supplements were both possible and proper: and even while it serves to connect or to fill up another, it may possess a connection and an integrity of its own.

If we except, however, the events of Passion-week, which, from their immense interest and importance, it was justly to be expected would be related more or less by all the Evangelists; there is in reality scarcely an integral period of our Saviour's ministry, during which they go along with each other, or can be said to contain any thing in common. The Gospel of St. John consists entirely of independent matter; and what St. Mark's possesses, akin to St. Matthew's, abounds in so much more of detail, compared with that, that even in their common narrations, his Gospel may be said to proceed by itself. Nor was it possible for this Evangelist to

rectify the transpositions of his predecessor, or to supply his historical deficiencies, without going over the same accounts ; though in a different order of succession, and with a greater distinctness of circumstances. And with regard to St. Luke, if the same incidents or discourses occurred more than once in our Saviour's ministry, and he is found to relate them on the later, where the others had related them on the prior occasions ; these cannot in justness be considered examples of matter in common between him and them. Yet in those passages which are strictly such, it may be observed that in more than one instance St. Luke is intentionally concise ; avoiding as much as possible the unnecessary repetition of what had been sufficiently said before ; and even in common accounts, abounding in supplementary matter. His narrative of the ministry of John the Baptist, compared with St. Matthew's or St. Mark's, is a striking illustration of this truth. In short, I have already observed that no one Gospel could be known to be either defective, or supplementary, of itself. When we contrasted, indeed, the paucity of particulars related in each, with the length of the period which each must be supposed to occupy, we might conjecture that each must be defective somewhere : but we should not have been certain that it was so, much less should we have known where, had we not possessed other accounts to compare with its ; and unless the result of this juxta-position had been not merely to detect hiatuses in the continuity of one, but to exhibit also the supplement of those hiatuses in another.

II. If one Evangelist had seen the Gospel of another, he would have avoided all appearance of contradiction or difference between that and his own.

Now, though for argument's sake we were to admit

that such differences may be presumed to exist, still, as the lesser of two evils, we might reckon it a fortunate circumstance. The adversaries of Christianity have laid hold of these seeming discrepancies, and magnified them much beyond the truth; and so far they may have been productive of evil. But had the state of the case been apparently the reverse; had the Gospel-accounts, in the immense variety of particulars which they record, been uniformly harmonious, smooth, and consistent; they would have been laid open to the charge of collusion: a much more serious objection. The charge of contradiction we are able to rebut; the suspicion of collusion, under such circumstances, it might not have been so easy to remove: the antecedent probability makes for us in the one case; in the other it would have made against us. It is possible that the testimony of witnesses may be too close, and too literally in unison, to seem altogether the testimony of independent witnesses; and it is a good sign in favour of the truth and the honesty of the whole of an account, that there are points of difference between its parts—if those points affect circumstantial, not essentials—the subordinate particulars, but not the principal facts; which is the true description of apparent Gospel discrepancies. Hence it is far from being worthy of regret, that there are seeming difficulties in the several Evangelical accounts; that a nice attention to every particular, an accurate consideration and comparison of statements, the allowance of neither more nor less than those statements will warrant, the juxta-position of long and circumstantial passages, touching upon each other in numerous points, and a critical accommodation of one narrative to another, are necessary to discover how they agree together. The result is the perception of an admirable harmony

in them all, which, under such circumstances, can be the effect of truth alone; which no ingenuity of contrivance on their part, no latitude of construction on ours, could uniformly elicit from falsehood and fiction.

And this leads me to observe, that the actual existence of differences is a gratuitous assumption, which ought to be well established, before any argument is founded upon it. In none of those instances where one Evangelist appears to contradict another, is it capable of proof that he actually does so; however frequently harmonists and commentators have assumed, and reasoned from the assumption of, the contrary. Where this misconstruction of the case has arisen from confounding together distinct, though in some respects similar events, the blame ought in justice to attach not to the ambiguity of the Evangelists, but to the hallucination of the critic: and even in those accounts which are indisputably the same, and at points of their narratives which indisputably coincide together, I can discover no other source of an apparent contrariety but this; viz. that one Evangelist is less explicit than another; that one omits, another supplies; one defines, another leaves indefinite, in relation to the same things. The whole amount of difference in such instances is reducible to an excess of something on one hand, and a defect of the same on another; which no candid judge will confound with contradiction. For contradiction must surely be understood of what any two possess, or any two assert, in common; not of what the one possesses or the one asserts, but not the other. Tried by this rule, their accounts will never clash; none will affirm that which is met directly by the denial of another. As to implied contradictions, or such as would result from assuming that one Evangelist says so and so, and thence inferring that he is

at variance with another, who says differently, we might imagine them *ad libitum*; but they would all be imaginary, and each, in the given instance, a *petitio principii*, or the begging of the point in question.

For example; St. Luke says^g that, when our Lord's parents had made an end of τὰ κατὰ τὸν νόμον Κυρίου, they returned to Nazareth: where, if I assumed that he says they returned immediately, I should make him contradict St. Matthew, who shews that they remained for a time longer at Bethlehem; and even went down into Egypt. But this would be to beg the question, which turns in this instance on the very point, whether St. Luke means that they returned immediately, or not. St. Mark and St. Luke relate the cure of only one demoniac at Gadara: if, therefore, I assumed that only one was cured, I should make them contradict St. Matthew, who relates the cure of two. But this also would be a begging of the question. St. Matthew relates the cure of two blind men, *after* he has related the passing of our Lord through Jericho; if, therefore, I assumed that he asserts also the cure of both *after* that passage, either I should make him contradict St. Luke, who asserts the cure of one blind man *before* that passing, or I should be obliged to suppose a triple miracle. But this also would be to beg the question, which turns upon the point whether St. Matthew does assert the fact of his two cures *after* the passage, or not. The basis of all these seeming contradictions is overthrown by the admission of supplemental Gospels; and by the supposition that the later necessarily accompanied the prior. By these means, what appears to be contradiction is seen to be really explanation; and instead of confusing and perplexing, clears up and ascertains. The writers of these common accounts were too well

aware of their ultimate agreement and consistency, to be afraid of the effect of an apparent collision: they neither apprehended it themselves, nor supposed it would be objected to them by others. In all such instances they either borrow light, or they communicate it; they are as critically adapted to each other in what they omit, as in what they supply: sometimes presupposing the circumstances already on record, preliminary to their own accounts; at other times connecting, separating, and defining the old, by additional particulars of their own. That they have done this, without professing to be doing it, ought to be no objection; for what they have done still proves as clearly why it was done, as if the reason of the act had been premised to it.

III. If a later Evangelist had seen an earlier, especially if St. Mark had seen St. Matthew, he would not have ventured, in the arrangement of his facts, to depart from the order of St. Matthew.

There are two assumptions, each of them precarious, on which this argument, if it is entitled to any weight, must proceed: first, that a later Evangelist, like St. Mark or St. Luke, could not be an original and independent authority, as well as a prior, like St. Matthew; secondly, that the order of a prior, like St. Matthew, must necessarily be chronologically exact. With respect to the first of these, those in particular who suppose a common document, the basis of the three first Gospels, are obliged to admit that St. Mark and St. Luke were as much aware what was true, or what was false in this common document; where it might be trusted, and where it could not; as St. Matthew himself. Now whence did they derive their information? Certainly not from St. Matthew; at least from no written account by St. Matthew. But if they derived it from any source distinct from St. Matthew, so far they were independ-

ent of St. Matthew ; and so far their authority was as original as his. Much more, if we suppose St. Mark the disciple of St. Peter, and St. Luke the disciple of St. Paul ; teachers, whose authority was equal to that of St. Matthew ; whose testimony was as original as his.

They, who deny the coequal and coordinate authority of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, are bound to shew what rank or authority the two latter are entitled to at all. If, out of three Gospels which we possess, one only is original and independent, of what use are the other two ? and why have we three Gospels, and not one alone ? and what authority can any historian retain, whose order and arrangement, however exactly determined by himself, may be disturbed *ad libitum* ; whose assertions are not to be received, without distrust, on the plainest matters of fact ? Venerable as is the name of an apostle of Jesus Christ ; and great as is the authority of an eyewitness and an earwitness of the Gospel ; the next degree of regard, even humanly speaking, would be due to *their* eyewitnesses and to *their* earwitnesses also ; to the first converts and disciples of apostles, though not apostles themselves.

Whatever St. Matthew affirms, is entitled to belief on St. Matthew's responsibility ; and what St. Mark or St. Luke affirm, is entitled to belief on his. St. Matthew may require no confirmation by St. Mark or by St. Luke ; and yet he may receive it from him. One unexceptionable witness is sufficient to decide a certain question, and yet he may be supported by more ; none of whom is necessary to the credibility of the former witness, though all may contribute their share to the credibility of the thing attested. To suppose that St. Mark contradicts St. Matthew, or St. Luke contradicts either ; or to argue in the former case that because St. Matthew

was an eyewitness, and St. Mark was not, St. Matthew must be right, and St. Mark must be wrong; is fortunately to suppose or to argue from a case which does not exist. But, until this case can be made out, it is just and reasonable, and necessary to the joint authority of all, that we should allow to each a separate and an equal weight. Admit their common inspiration, and we have no other alternative. The consequence of a common inspiration is a common infallibility; and in a common infallibility, there can be no difference of degree or variety of kind: all inspired writers must be infallible alike, or none can be so.

With regard to the second assumption; it is no necessary consequence, that because a prior Evangelist was an eyewitness or an earwitness of what he recorded, therefore he would give an account of it in a strict chronological order: no more than that one, who was not an eyewitness or an earwitness, would do the contrary. It is clear that this question, in a given instance, is never to be determined by *a priori* reasonings; but by an appeal to the matter of fact. We might consider it probable, for such and such reasons, that St. Matthew would be a regular historian; but we could not be satisfied that he was so, without examining his history itself: nor would it be possible to examine it properly, without a comparison with some other accounts; nor could we take those accounts along with St. Matthew's, except as of equal authority to St. Matthew's, and as competent to decide, in doubtful instances, even upon the regularity of St. Matthew himself. This investigation and comparison will be the business of a separate dissertation; and the result of both, I trust, will be to demonstrate that, account for them as we may, there are transpositions, of each description, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, from

which a later Evangelist would be at liberty to depart ; and which may be admitted without injury to the credibility of St. Matthew, but can scarcely be denied without some degree of danger to the authority of St. Mark, or of St. Luke.

IV. If one Evangelist had taken any thing from another, it is to be presumed that he would have named his authority.

But, first, for what purpose, may we ask, must he have named it? To give weight and support to his own? Now an original and independent authority would not need, with this view, to quote any other ; or if he did so, it would be *ex abundanti*. If St. Mark was inspired as well as St. Matthew, he could not be required to refer to St. Matthew, even when he followed St. Matthew ; and though he might borrow from St. Matthew, he would not derive his acquaintance with what he borrowed, from him. If St. Mark wrote under the auspices of St. Peter, then, even when he was following St. Matthew, unless St. Peter's teaching had been different from St. Matthew's, he would not be obliged to quote St. Matthew. And what would hold good of St. Mark, in reference to St. Matthew, would hold good of St. Luke, in reference to both.

Secondly, St. Mark nowhere appeals by name even to his own teacher St. Peter ; nor St. Luke to his own teacher St. Paul. Thirdly, It is not the practice of one canonical writer to refer to the compositions of another, though contemporary with his own and known to himself. The writer of the Acts could not be ignorant of the ten Epistles, which St. Paul had written within the period of time embraced by the Acts ; yet he nowhere alludes even to their existence. There is such an allusion to them in the Second Epistle of St. Peter^h ;

^h Chap. iii. 15, 16.

but it is to St. Paul's Epistles in the complex, and to none by name in particular. The author of the Epistle of Jude quotes from this Epistle of St. Peterⁱ; but he does not specify the name of St. Peter. Fourthly, The silence of St. John, concerning any former Gospels, though he was acquainted with the three in being before his own, and in order to the due connection and explanation of his own accounts presupposes their's, is a case in point.

Fifthly, If St. Matthew's Greek Gospel was published along with St. Mark's; if the one accompanied the other from the first; and both together were always supposed to constitute one work; the objection from the silence of St. Mark falls to the ground: it never could be unknown, whether it was professed or not, what relation his Gospel bore, and was originally intended to bear to the Gospel of St. Matthew. And if this objection falls to the ground with respect to St. Mark, it ceases to be of any weight with respect to St. Luke. The example of St. Mark was a precedent for St. Luke to follow; and it might both produce and justify his silence, with respect to each or to either of his predecessors.

Lastly, The argument from the verbal coincidences, and from the material relations of the several Gospels, remains the same; and never can be affected by any silence of the authors themselves. To establish the reality of these accommodations of one to another, it is not necessary that they should be expressly called such; no more than that a likeness or copy, to be what it is, should bear externally the name of its original. A likeness is no likeness, which requires any notification of what it is, but a visible resemblance to the original. Let the picture be placed by the side of the

ⁱ Jude 17, 18. 2 Pet. iii. 3.

original, and if it is faithfully taken, any one ought to be able to judge of its resemblance to that. St. Matthew's Gospel serves as the prototype with respect to St. Mark's ; and both their Gospels do so, with respect to St. Luke's : and we must first shew that the features of resemblance, on the one side, have no counterpart to answer to them on the other ; or that the features of resemblance, in the one case, might have been produced independently of any counterpart in the other ; before we can reasonably doubt whether one of them is the original, and the other a copy from it.

V. If a later Evangelist had seen and transcribed an earlier, he would have retained his text throughout ; what he transcribed he would have transcribed entire, without any verbal alterations whatever.

Now this argument also assumes that a later Evangelist could not be as much an independent writer—rejecting or retaining matter at his own discretion—as an earlier : concerning which enough has been said already. It assumes also, that two distinct writers, even when both were giving an account of the same things, could not express the same sense either in perfectly different words, or in words partly the same, and partly different : phenomena, each of which may be exemplified at any moment, by comparing together two or more different versions of a given author, into the same language.

We must distinguish, however, between the bearings of the argument in general. As applied to the purely narrative parts, common to two Gospels or more, no one will suppose it to be of any force : and as applied to the accounts of words spoken, in which accounts the most remarkable verbal coincidences, intermixed with differences, are observed to hold good ; it is as little worth. There was no more reason, *a priori*, why

fresh matter might not be introduced into the account of discourses, than into the account of facts; and as little, why the same original matter, as recorded in one Gospel, might not be somewhat differently expressed in another.

Such an antecedent possibility of change or difference would be precluded only by this supposition; viz. that a prior Gospel, in every instance, had recorded first, the whole of what was said, and, secondly, the whole exactly as it was said; in which case, a later Gospel could neither have introduced fresh matter, nor perhaps have altered the terms of a former account. But, of these suppositions, we can never be sure that the first in any instance holds good; and we may have presumptive reason in many instances to be sure that it does not: and as to the second, unless it could be proved that all the discourses, or accounts of words spoken, recorded in the Gospels, were spoken in the language in which they are recorded, that is, in Greek, we may be sure that in no one instance does it hold good. Every account of such a discourse, on record in the Gospels, is a *translation* of what was actually said: and in the terms of a translation, alterations affecting the language but not the sense, might be freely made. If St. Matthew's Gospel was written in the language which our Saviour, while he was conversant in his ministry among the Jews, may most reasonably be supposed to have spoken, it is possible that it might often have retained the very words which he spoke. But in the present Gospels there are only three pure and unmixed instances, of which this assertion would hold good; Talitha cumi^k, Epphatha^l, and, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani^m. If St. Mark, then, retains the language of St. Matthew in some respects, and deviates

^k Mark v. 41.

^l Mark vii. 34.

^m Matt. xxvii. 46. Mark xv. 34.

from it in others; it must be remembered that he deviates from a translation of what was actually spoken; and whether in so doing he approaches nearer to, or recedes further from the original, no one now can undertake to say. The same would be true of St. Luke, who, in such instances, where he differs from St. Mark, differs from St. Matthew also.

Yet among these examples of occasional verbal differences amidst remarkable verbal agreements, it is easy to discover that, while the sense remains the same, some new beauty, some force or propriety, is introduced by the change: in which case it is hardly to be considered an objection that the original, in certain minute respects, was not previously so perfect—so elaborated *ad umbilicum*; that it could admit of no improvement from the copy. Thus, in the address of John the Baptist to the multitude, including Scribes and Pharisees, it was indifferent whether he had said, according to St. Matthew, καὶ μὴ δόξητε; or according to St. Luke, καὶ μὴ ἄρξῃσθεⁿ: yet the latter is the more appropriate of the two; for it is implied that they were not to *think*, that is, to *begin*, to say so and so, in answer to this very address of John; and in vindication of themselves under his stern rebuke. When St. Matthew says, ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων, St. Mark says, ποιήσω ὑμᾶς γενέσθαι ἀλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων^o; which is to the same effect as the former, but evidently softens the harshness of the metaphor. When St. Mark says, μὴ δύνανται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος . . . νηστεύειν, St. Luke says, μὴ δύνασθε τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ νυμφῶνος . . . ποιῆσαι νηστεύειν^p; a more appropriate answer to those, whose question and exception were intended to *make* our Lord's disciples fast. When St. Mark says, ἐπίβλημα

ⁿ Matt. iii. 9. Luke iii. 8.
Luke v. 34.

^o Matt. iv. 19. Mark i. 17.

^p Mark ii. 19.

ῥάκους ἀγνάφου, St. Luke says, ἐπίβλημα ἱματίου καινοῦ^q; both, synonymous forms of expression, but the latter plainer and simpler, and, as opposed to ἱμάτιον παλαιόν, the more ἀντίστοιχον of the two. When St. Matthew says, καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι ὑπὸ ἐξουσίαν, St. Luke adds, τασσόμενος^r; which both ascertains the meaning much more clearly, and might have been actually said. Where St. Matthew had said, μήτε ἐσθίων, μήτε πίνων, St. Luke expresses it, (but in the first instance only,) μήτε ἄρτον ἐσθίων, μήτε οἶνον πίνων^s; the propriety of which addition is obvious. At the close of the parable of the sower, St. Matthew places the result in the descending series; ὁ μὲν ἑκατόν—ὁ δὲ ἐξήκοντα—ὁ δὲ τριάκοντα: St. Mark, in the ascending, ἐν τριάκοντα—καὶ ἐν ἐξήκοντα—καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν^t: where, while the sense is still the same, the arrangement has an happier effect.

It would not be possible for me, however, at present, to examine in detail all the instances, such as these, which might be cited; the intelligent reader will notice them hereafter for himself. It is sufficient to observe, that by far the greatest part of the variations in question are resolvable into the principle of ellipsis, or of the supplement of fresh matter, (which yet might actually have been spoken,) over and above what was before recorded: many are purely synonymous; many, the effect of mere compendium of speech; others, on the contrary, of amplification: none should create any difficulty, since even where the difference is greatest in words, there is still an agreement in the sense.

In short, it cannot be denied that the Gospel of St. Matthew exhibits the evidence of two facts, one, that of great scantiness of detail in the purely narrative parts; the other, that of great circumstantiality in the account

^q Mark ii. 21. Luke v. 36. ^r Matt. viii. 9. Luke vii. 8. ^s Matt. xi. 18,
19. Luke vii. 33, 34. ^t Matt. xiii. 8. Mark iv. 8.

of discourses. In the former, then, there was clearly room for supplementary matter; but in the latter, except on one supposition, (*viz.* that much, of what had been so minutely related by him once, at a certain time and place, came over again at another,) there was little or none. Now, in favour of this supposition, it is a remarkable coincidence, first, that all those parts, or nearly all, in the Gospel of St. Luke, about the identity of which with corresponding parts in St. Matthew's, a question is commonly raised, are the accounts of discourses; secondly, that they all, or nearly all, occur in places of the Gospel of St. Luke, the corresponding periods to which, in the Gospel of St. Matthew, are total blanks. But where was matter, omitted by St. Matthew because of its resemblance to what he had recorded before, so likely to be found omitted, as there? and what reason was so likely to produce the blanks in his Gospel in question, as this, *viz.* that such matter did occur and might best be omitted there? where, too, on the other hand, was a supplementary Gospel so likely to abound in fresh matter, as there?

I shall illustrate each of these positions by the following specimens of coincidences in parts of the Gospel of St. Luke, either with what St. Matthew had recorded previously, or with what he would record afterwards; both because they are specimens of unquestionable recurrences, and, consequently, could not have been brought together by any Harmony rightly disposed; and chiefly, because they all belong to a period in St. Luke, of which it may be demonstrated that it is absolutely without any thing to correspond to it in the Gospel of St. Matthew or of St. Mark.

I. MATTHEW xi. 21—23.

Οὐαί σοι, Χοραζίν·
οὐαί σοι, Βηθσαϊδάν·

I. LUKE x. 13—15.

Οὐαί σοι, Χοραζίν·
οὐαί σοι, Βηθσαϊδά·

MATTHEW xi. 21—23.

LUKE x. 13—15.

ὅτι εἰ ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἐγένοντο αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, αἱ δυνάμεις αἱ γενόμεναι ἐν ὑμῖν, πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ πάλαι ἂν ἐν σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῷ

· · · · ·

μετενόησαν.

πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν·

Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως, ἢ ὑμῖν.

καὶ σὺ, Καπερναοὺμ, ἢ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθείσα, ἕως ἄδου καταβιβασθήσῃ.

καθήμεναι,

μετενόησαν.

πλὴν

Τύρῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται, ἐν τῇ κρίσει, ἢ ὑμῖν.

καὶ σὺ, Καπερναοὺμ, ἢ ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑψωθείσα, ἕως ἄδου καταβιβασθήσῃ.

II. MATTHEW xi. 25—27.

II. LUKE x. 21, 22.

Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν, καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις.

ναί· ὁ πατήρ·

ὅτι οὕτως ἐγένετο εὐδοκία ἔμπροσθέν σου.

πάντα μοι παρεδόθη

ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου·

καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει

τὸν υἱόν,

εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ·

οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει,

εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός,

καὶ ὃ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱός

ἀποκαλύψαι.

Ἐξομολογοῦμαί σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν, καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις.

ναί· ὁ πατήρ·

ὅτι οὕτως ἐγένετο εὐδοκία

ἔμπροσθέν σου.

πάντα παρεδόθη μοι ^u

ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου·

καὶ οὐδεὶς γινώσκει

τίς ἐστὶν ὁ υἱός,

εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ·

καὶ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ,

εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός,

καὶ ὃ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱός

ἀποκαλύψαι.

III. MATTHEW vi. 9—13.

III. LUKE xi. 2—4*.

Πάτερ ἡμῶν,

ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,

Πάτερ ἡμῶν,

ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,

* I have given the text of the Lord's prayer according to St.

Luke's Gospel, as it stands in Mill's edition. It must be ob-

^u μοι παρεδόθη.

MATTHEW vi. 9—13.

ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
γεννηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου,
ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·
τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν, τὸν ἐπιούσιον,
δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν
τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,
ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν
τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν·
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς
εἰς πειρασμόν·
ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς
ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

LUKE xi. 2—4.

ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
γεννηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου,
ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς·
τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν, τὸν ἐπιούσιον,
δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν·
καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν
τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν·
καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίεμεν
παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς
εἰς πειρασμόν·
ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς
ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

IV. MATTHEW vii. 7—11.

Αἰτεῖτε· καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν·
ζητεῖτε· καὶ εὕρήσετε·
κρούετε· καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν.
πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν, λαμβάνει·
καὶ ὁ ζητῶν, εὕρσκει·
καὶ τῷ κρούοντι, ἀνοιγήσεται.
ἢ τίς ἐστὶν ἐξ ὑμῶν ἄνθρωπος,
ὃν ἐὰν αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρτον,
μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ;
καὶ ἐὰν ἰχθὺν αἰτήσῃ,
μὴ ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ;
· · · · ·
· · · · ·
εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς, πονηροὶ ὄντες,

IV. LUKE xi. 9—13.

Αἰτεῖτε· καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν·
ζητεῖτε· καὶ εὕρήσετε·
κρούετε· καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν.
πᾶς γὰρ ὁ αἰτῶν, λαμβάνει·
καὶ ὁ ζητῶν, εὕρσκει·
καὶ τῷ κρούοντι, ἀνοιγήσεται.
τίνα δὲ ὑμῶν, τὸν πατέρα,
αἰτήσῃ ὁ υἱὸς ἄρτον;
μὴ λίθον ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ;
εἰ καὶ ἰχθὺν,
μὴ ἀντὶ ἰχθύος ὄφιν ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ;
ἢ καὶ ἐὰν αἰτήσῃ ὠδόν,
μὴ ἐπιδώσει αὐτῷ σκορπίον;
εἰ οὖν ὑμεῖς, πονηροὶ ὑπάρχοντες,

served, however, that in the time of Origen (Opera, i. 226, 227. de Oratione, 18: 240. C—D. 256. C. de Oratione, 26, 29.) several parts were wanting in that text, (as they still are in many MSS.) which at present appear there. Such are the words, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς: the integral petition, γεννηθήτω τὸ θέ-

λημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς: and that at the end, ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. As to the text of the same prayer in St. Matthew's Gospel, it stood in Origen's time almost precisely as it stands at present in the Greek Vulgate, with the exception of the doxology at the end.

MATTHEW vii. 7—11.

οἴδατε δόματα ἀγαθὰ διδόναι
τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν,
πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν,
ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς,
δώσει ἀγαθὰ
τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν ;

LUKE xi. 9—13.

οἴδατε ἀγαθὰ δόματα διδόναι
τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν,
πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὁ πατήρ,
ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ,
δώσει πνεῦμα ἅγιον
τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν αὐτόν ;

V. MATTHEW x. 26—33.

Οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι κεκαλυμμένον,
ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται·
καὶ κρυπτόν,
ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.
ὃ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ,
εἵπατε ἐν τῷ φωτί·
καὶ ὃ εἰς τὸ οὖς ἀκούετε,
· · · · ·
κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων.
· · · · ·
καὶ μὴ φοβηθῆτε

ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ σῶμα,
τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν
μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτείνειν.

· · · · ·

φοβήθητε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν
δυναμένον καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα
ἀπολέσαι ἐν γέεννῃ.

· · · · ·

οὐχὶ δύο στρουθία
ἀσσαρίου πωλεῖται ;
καὶ ἐν ἑξ αὐτῶν
οὐ πωλεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,
ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν.
ὑμῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς
κεφαλῆς
πᾶσαι ἡριθμημέναι εἰσὶ.
μὴ οὖν φοβηθῆτε·

πολλῶν στρουθίων διαφέρετε ὑμεῖς.

· · · · ·

V. LUKE xii. 2—9.

Οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκαλυμμένον ἐστίν,
ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται·
καὶ κρυπτόν,
ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.
ἀνθ' ὧν ὅσα ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἶπατε,
ἐν τῷ φωτί ἀκουσθήσεται·
καὶ ὃ πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἐλαλήσατε,
ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις,
κηρυχθήσεται ἐπὶ τῶν δωματίων.
λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν τοῖς φίλοις μου·
μὴ φοβηθῆτε

ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὸ σῶμα,
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
μὴ ἐχόντων περισσότερόν τι ποι-
ῆσαι.

ὑποδείξω δὲ ὑμῖν, τίνα φοβηθήτε·
φοβήθητε τὸν, μετὰ τὸ ἀποκτείνειν,
ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντα

ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γέενναν.

ναὶ, λέγω ὑμῖν· τοῦτον φοβήθητε.

οὐχὶ πέντε στρουθία
πωλεῖται ἀσσαρίων δύο ;
καὶ ἐν ἑξ αὐτῶν

οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιλεησμένον,
ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ τρίχες τῆς
κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν
πᾶσαι ἡριθμῶνται.

μὴ οὖν φοβεῖσθε·

πολλῶν στρουθίων διαφέρετε.

λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν·

MATTHEW x. 26—33.

πᾶς οὖν ὅστις ὁμολογήσει ἐν ἐμοὶ
ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ὁμολογήσω καὶ γὰρ
ἐν αὐτῷ
ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου,
τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.
ὅστις δ' ἂν ἀρνήσῃται με
ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ἀρνήσομαι αὐτὸν καὶ γὰρ
ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πατρὸς μου,
τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

LUKE xii. 2—9.

πᾶς ὃς ἂν ὁμολογήσῃ ἐν ἐμοὶ
ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμολο-
γήσει ἐν αὐτῷ
ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἀγγέλων
τοῦ Θεοῦ.
ὁ δὲ ἀρνησάμενός με
ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ἀπαρνηθήσεται
ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀγγέλων
τοῦ Θεοῦ.

VI. MATTHEW vi. 25—33.

Διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν·
μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν,
τί φάγητε, καὶ τί πίνητε·
μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν,
τί ἐνδύσῃσθε.
οὐχὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πλείον ἐστι τῆς
τροφῆς,
καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος;
ἐμβλέψατε
εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ,
ὅτι οὐ σπεύρουσιν, οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν, ὅτι οὐ σπεύρουσιν, οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν·
οὐδὲ συνάγουσιν εἰς ἀποθήκας·
καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν, ὁ οὐράνιος,
τρέφει αὐτά·
οὐχ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον διαφέρετε
αὐτῶν;
τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν, μερίμνων,
δύναται προσθεῖναι
ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν ἕνα;
καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος τί μεριμνᾶτε;
καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ
πῶς αὐξάνει·
οὐ κοπιᾷ, οὐδὲ νήθει·
λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν· ὅτι

VI. LUKE xii. 22—31.

Διὰ τοῦτο ὑμῖν λέγω·
μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν,
τί φάγητε·
μηδὲ τῷ σώματι,
τί ἐνδύσῃσθε.
ἡ ψυχὴ πλείον ἐστι τῆς
τροφῆς,
καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος.
κατανοήσατε
τοὺς κόρακας,
ὅτι οὐ σπεύρουσιν, οὐδὲ θερίζουσιν·
οἷς οὐκ ἔστι ταμεῖον, οὐδὲ ἀποθήκη·
καὶ ὁ Θεὸς
τρέφει αὐτούς·
πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμεῖς διαφέρετε
τῶν πετεινῶν;
τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν, μερίμνων,
δύναται προσθεῖναι
εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν ἕνα;
εἰ οὖν οὕτε ἐλάχιστον δύνασθε,
τί περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν μεριμνᾶτε;
κατανοήσατε τὰ κρίνα
πῶς αὐξάνει·
οὐ κοπιᾷ, οὐδὲ νήθει·
λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν·

MATTHEW vi. 25—33.

οὐδὲ Σολομὼν, ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ
αὐτοῦ,
περιεβάλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων.
εἰ δὲ τὸν χόρτον,
τοῦ ἀγροῦ σήμερον ὄντα,
καὶ αὐριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλό-
μενον,
ὁ Θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέννυσιν,
οὐ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς,
ὀλιγόπιστοι;
μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε, λέγοντες·
τί φάγωμεν; ἢ τί πίωμεν;
ἢ τί περιβαλώμεθα;
· · ·
πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη
· · ·
ἐπιζητεῖ.
οἶδε γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν, ὁ οὐράνιος,
ὅτι χρήζετε τούτων ἀπάντων.
ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν
τοῦ Θεοῦ,
καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ,
καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται
ὑμῖν.

LUKE xii. 22—31.

οὐδὲ Σολομὼν, ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ
αὐτοῦ,
περιεβάλετο ὡς ἐν τούτων.
εἰ δὲ τὸν χόρτον,
ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ σήμερον ὄντα,
καὶ αὐριον εἰς κλίβανον βαλλό-
μενον,
ὁ Θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέννυσιν,
πόσῳ μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς,
ὀλιγόπιστοι;
καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ ζητεῖτε
τί φάγητε, ἢ τί πίνητε·
· · ·
καὶ μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε.
ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
τοῦ κόσμου
ἐπιζητεῖ.
ὑμῶν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ οἶδεν
ὅτι χρήζετε τούτων.
πλὴν ζητεῖτε τὴν βασιλείαν
τοῦ Θεοῦ,
· · ·
καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται
ὑμῖν.

VII. MATTHEW xxiv. 45—51.

Τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν
ὁ πιστὸς δούλος καὶ φρόνιμος,
ὃν κατέστησεν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ
ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ,
τοῦ διδόναι αὐτοῖς
τὴν τροφήν ἐν καιρῷ;
μακάριος ὁ δούλος ἐκεῖνος,
ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ
εὕρησει ποιοῦντα οὕτως.
ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅτι
ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ

VII. LUKE xii. 42—46.

Τίς ἄρα ἐστὶν
ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος καὶ φρόνιμος,
ὃν καταστήσει ὁ κύριος
ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας αὐτοῦ,
τοῦ διδόναι
ἐν καιρῷ τὸ σιτομέτριον;
μακάριος ὁ δούλος ἐκεῖνος,
ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ
εὕρησει ποιοῦντα οὕτως.
ἀληθῶς λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅτι
ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῦ

MATTHEW xxiv. 45—51.

καταστήσει αὐτόν.

ἐὰν δὲ εἶπῃ ὁ κακὸς δούλος ἐκεῖνος
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ·

χρονίζει ὁ κύριός μου ἐλθεῖν·
καὶ ἄρξεται τύπτειν

τοὺς συνδούλους,
ἐσθίειν δὲ καὶ πίνειν,

μετὰ τῶν μεθύοντων,

ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ οὐ προσδοκᾷ,

καὶ ἐν ᾧρᾳ, ἣ οὐ γινώσκει,
καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτόν,

καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ

μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν θήσει.

ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς,

καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων.

LUKE xii. 42—46.

καταστήσει αὐτόν.

ἐὰν δὲ εἶπῃ ὁ δούλος ἐκεῖνος
ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ·

χρονίζει ὁ κύριός μου ἔρχεσθαι·
καὶ ἄρξεται τύπτειν

τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς παιδίσκας,
ἐσθίειν τε καὶ πίνειν,

καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι,

ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ οὐ προσδοκᾷ,

καὶ ἐν ᾧρᾳ, ἣ οὐ γινώσκει,
καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτόν,

καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ

μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει.

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It would be easy to multiply these extracts, by the production of similar passages; but, for our present purpose, *these* may suffice; since there is sufficient in any of them to prove that St. Luke must have seen St. Matthew, and yet that he did not transcribe him slavishly, or *ad litteram*; and though he made certain changes in his text, yet he made none without some reason. Nor shall I now argue the question whether our Saviour, on these later occasions, actually repeated *verbatim*, what he had said on the former. If what he said upon each of two occasions was substantially the same, and as said upon either had been already accurately reported by St. Matthew; I think this would be enough to induce St. Luke to make St. Matthew's text the basis of his own; and, adhering to that upon the whole, to alter its arrangements or its terms, only where some change was necessary, to adapt what was said afterwards, to what had been said before, or what was said before, to what would be said again.

VI. The same supplementary relation of one Gospel to another furnishes the best answer (if any answer is conceived to be requisite) to the question why we have four Gospels, and neither more nor fewer than four. Without searching for mystical and fanciful reasons, such as some of the Fathers have imagined in explanation of this fact*, let us only suppose that a prior Gospel was incomplete, and a later one was designed to bring it nearer to perfection, both being considered as the history of a certain period and course of things, in common; and we account for the fact. The first three Gospels relate almost solely to the ministry of our Lord in Galilee, the last almost solely to that in Judæa; but in the ministry in Galilee, and in the ministry in Judæa, severally, the complex of the Christian ministry collectively was necessarily comprised. When, therefore, the account of each of these ministries, in particular, had been added to the Canon of Scripture, the account of the Christian ministry, on the whole, might be considered complete; so that, after the Gospel of St. John in addition to the three former Gospels, though any other Apostle had still survived, who might have written a fifth Gospel, yet a fifth Gospel was not to have been expected.

As to the further question, why one Gospel might not have sufficed, or why the first and original Gospel did not contain by itself as much as all the four in conjunction; this is an unreasonable question, and certainly a very different one from the former. Admit that on any account, St. Matthew's Gospel was not a

* Vide Irenæus, *adv. Hæreses*, lib. iii. cap. xi. p. 220. l. 24—223. 21—Hieronymus, *Opera*, iii. 702. *ad. med.*: iv. *Prolegomena in Matthæum*—Theophylact, O-

pera, i. 2. A—D: 173. C—174. B—Arethas, in *Revelat.* iv. 6. apud *Œcumenium*, ii. 691. A—D.

complete history of the Christian ministry, and we explain the origin of St. Mark's: admit that even both were not complete, and we assign a reason for St. Luke's: admit that all the three were more or less defective, and we account for the addition of St. John's. The four Gospels thus successively composed, as to the outline and general connection of their subject, became at length complete; and, with respect to the details, if what has been omitted was still the same in general with what has been recorded, this was a conceivable omission; unless, according to the strong language of St. John, by recounting every thing which Jesus said or did, and by omitting nothing, the whole world were to have been filled with Gospels.

And, hence, if any one should be disposed to object, that with three Gospels already in being, a fourth was not to be expected—or with two in being, a third; the reply to the objection would be obvious. On the principle of such an objection, either one Gospel only was to be expected, or, if there must be more than one, there might be any number. If even three Gospels stood in need of a supplement, they might receive it from a fourth; much more if two of them stood in need of a supplement, might they receive it from a third. The matter of fact is undeniable; viz. that the fourth Gospel was written after the first three, and, in all probability, the third after the first two; and to admit that they were written after them, but to deny that they were added to them, would be palpably absurd with respect to St. John's, and a plain begging of the question with respect to St. Luke's. It is self-evident that the four Gospel accounts, when all laid together, furnish a much more comprehensive and complete history than any three, and much less any one or any two, of them, could have furnished without the rest; it is

an equally certain, and a much more critical circumstance, that each being taken as it stands, those which contribute most to the integrity and comprehensiveness of the whole, are those which come last in the order of succession, and not those which come first. Who then will maintain that this is no indication of a progressive advancement towards perfection ; nor the natural result of a number of concurrent, but successive, attempts to bring the Gospel history nearer and nearer to a final state ?

Nor is it of any avail to reply, that the first three Gospels are something *communis generis*, but the last is of a character peculiar to itself ; for they are all histories of one and the same ministry, and so far must be classed together. What passed in Judæa was as much a part of this ministry as what passed in Galilee. The times and occasions, when our Saviour was employed on the one, fill up the proper periods, and supply the proper links, in the continuity of the whole, as well as those when he was employed on the other. The history of the one by itself would necessarily exhibit hiatuses, which could be filled up only by the history of the other ; and even the history of either, as narrated by one, or by more, of the Evangelists, might exhibit hiatuses which could be filled up only by later and additional accounts. In short, it is absurd to pretend that, whereas we have actually four Gospels, we had no occasion for more than three : or, whereas we had three, we did not want more than two. It is a reflection upon the Gospels themselves, and derogatory to the wisdom and spirit, under the suggestion and with the guidance of which we believe them to have been written, that any of them should be considered superfluous. Nor is it more derogatory in these respects, than contrary to the matter of fact ; for if the several

Gospels be duly arranged, and each of them be examined in its order, both as what it is in respect to itself, and as what it is in respect to the rest, it will then be seen whether any of them, independently of the intrinsic value of its own contents, can be pronounced superfluous ; or may be dispensed with as unnecessary to the rest.

This very consideration, however, of the wisdom and inspiration with which, and under which, the Evangelists must be supposed to have written, may be converted into an argument that any one of them in particular might be expected to have sufficed for its proper purpose, without the assistance of the rest. Nor do I deny the general position, that each of the Gospels must have sufficed for its proper purpose : but if in this position it is implied, that the proper purpose of any one of them was to be complete and sufficient, independently of the rest, it assumes the point at issue ; for this proper purpose may have been just the reverse ; viz. to be complete along with the rest ; and not to be independent of them, but to presuppose them : and either of these cases, *a priori*, was just as possible as the other. No one could undertake to say for what particular use and purpose any one of the Gospels was written, unless this use and purpose had been previously declared by the Gospel itself ; which is actually true of St. Luke's Gospel only, and virtually of none but St. John's besides.

I have repeatedly had occasion to observe that it is only by the possession of four distinct Gospel-histories, all relating to a common subject—and by the comparison of one of them with another ; that we are enabled to discover deficiencies in any of the number. We might have suspected the existence of deficiencies even with one Gospel ; but we could not have detected

it except with more. The length of time, for which our Saviour's ministry must have lasted, admits, in my opinion, of being presumptively collected even from *one* of the four Gospels, aided by such data as are independent of them all; and this length of time being once determined, it would follow of necessity that no one Gospel, as it stands, could be complete or continuous, throughout; they must all be interrupted and defective somewhere. It is the natural and proper effect of later and supplementary Gospels to detect these deficiencies, as well as to fill them up, in prior. They shew us in what parts of the common history their predecessors stood in need of completion or connection, while they complete and connect them also. And hence we may anticipate another objection, which some one perhaps may desire to see answered.

VII. The most defective written Gospel, combined with the oral teaching either of its author, or of any others who were competent to have orally supplied its defects, would have been as sufficient for the purposes of a Gospel as the most complete. I admit this; but solely because oral teaching, under such circumstances, must have been abundantly sufficient for all the purposes, which could have been contemplated by a written Gospel; though with no written Gospel whatever. The eyewitnesses, or earwitnesses, of our Saviour's personal history were competent to have made it known to others by word of mouth, without resorting to written accounts: and on the same principle, these eyewitnesses, or earwitnesses, were competent to have orally supplied at any time the defectiveness of such accounts.

But this method of compensating for the imperfections of written Gospels, by actual recurrence to oral communications, would be confined to the lifetime of

the original witnesses ; and be accessible to those only, who were their contemporaries, and had the benefit of their personal instructions. And hence it is, that so long as the Apostles themselves were still resident, and still employed in teaching, among a particular church, no written Gospel, perhaps, was yet to be expected ; and the historical testimony to the producing cause of any written Gospel, and more especially of the two first, St. Matthew's and St. Mark's, by representing them as first and properly intended by way of substitutes for personal and oral teaching, does so far confirm this expectation. The same consideration furnishes the best account of the lateness of St. John's Gospel in particular ; which, as compared with the dates of the rest, would otherwise be something extraordinary : for as St. John's Gospel was certainly the last of the Gospels, so was its author the last, or among the last of the Apostles, who survived to the period of its composition. While a single Apostle was still left, the possibility of supplying the defects of written accounts by personal and oral communication with original witnesses, was not yet precluded : but when he also was dead, it was probably cut off for ever. And hence it may justly be regarded as a providential coincidence, that the Gospel, which completed the canon, and while it recognised and sanctioned the rest, added what was still most indispensably necessary to the integrity of the Gospel history ; was written not only many years after the former, but, if testimony is to be believed, at the close of the life of St. John.

Are we, however, to suppose that, in the composition of written Gospels at first, the necessities of contemporary Christians, or those of the church in all ages, would most properly be consulted ? Were written Gospels originally left defective, because while the

first witnesses and teachers of Christianity were still alive, it was indifferent whether they were defective or complete? I cannot acquiesce in this conclusion, which appears to me to derogate more from the wisdom and inspiration, under which the Gospels were written, than any thing which has yet been considered. On the contrary, it is much more reasonable to assume, that the necessities of later ages would be immediately consulted in the composition of written Gospels, because written Gospels would be every thing which later ages could have to depend on. The first converts to Christianity were instructed in Christian facts and doctrines by word of mouth; and might derive, as the occasion required, confirmation, explanation, or supplement from the testimony of original witnesses: the Christians of all succeeding times have had no other authentic source of instruction in either, but the Scriptures which these witnesses have left behind them; and as these are more or less complete in themselves, in the same proportion are the necessities of the church adequately or inadequately supplied now, in comparison of then. It is extremely objectionable in the principle, to consider the final end of any of the Gospels as purely temporary; and not less erroneous in the application, to account for its structure upon that ground. The very reverse is more probably the case: and we ought to consider not what any of the Gospels might have been once, so as to have fulfilled its proper use at the time; but what it ought to have been originally in order to be serviceable afterwards. On this principle, either each of the Gospels, as it came from the hands of its proper author, ought to have been complete in itself; or if any prior Gospel was originally incomplete, sometime or other it was to be presumed, it would be supplied, and made complete,

by a later. Oral communications might compensate for deficiencies at first ; nothing but additional written accounts could compensate for them ultimately.

And, for this reason, it may justly be contended that, though a particular Gospel might be written for a particular purpose, (as St. Luke's for the instruction of a certain convert, Theophilus,) still this would not invalidate the possible truth of its supplementary relation to other Gospels : for it never can be proved, that a particular purpose, as concerned one, might not be combined with a general purpose, as concerned many more ; nor that the instruction of a contemporary, and the perpetual benefit of future ages, might not both be consulted in the same provision. For this reason also, though Theophilus might have been already acquainted with St. Matthew's Gospel, or with St. Mark's, (which, however, is a gratuitous assumption, and allowed by me only for argument's sake,) still, if those two Gospels stood in need of supplement, St. Luke might address to him a third Gospel, supplementary to them both. Nor would it make any difference whether Theophilus was acquainted with these Gospels, or only St. Luke ; whether Theophilus was aware that they were deficient, or only St. Luke. If St. Luke's Gospel was designed in any way as supplementary to their's, it would retain this relation—it would still be supplementary to them, under all these circumstances alike.

I see no mode, then, of explaining away the perceptible relations to each other in the structure of the four Gospels, or of obviating the inference from them, except by denying that these relations are supplementary, or by resolving the relations into accident. With respect to which modes of explanation, the first either begs the question, or contradicts the matter of fact ; it begs the question, if, admitting the relations, it denies

that they may be supplementary; it contradicts the matter of fact, if, admitting that they may be, it denies that they are so. And with respect to the second; to allow that the relations are supplementary, and yet to question whether they were designed, is the extravagance of scepticism, and the height of credulity, at the same time; of scepticism, in shutting the eyes to the plain and natural inference from such coincidences—of credulity, in endeavouring to account for them by what is infinitely more improbable. Design might both produce and explain these relations: accident, we may justly suspect, never could have produced them; and we may still more confidently maintain, never can satisfactorily explain them.

But, if we must resolve them into design of some kind or other, and yet still refuse to believe that the authors of the Gospels, so related, were acquainted with each other's compositions; there is but one alternative left; the authors of the later Gospels must have been supernaturally controlled—and in the selection, disposal, and circumstantial narration of their respective accounts, must have been, unconsciously to themselves, adapted in this critical manner to one another, by the direction of the Holy Ghost. This supposition would serve for the purposes of our argument as well as any other; for if the later Gospels are actually supplementary to the prior, it is indifferent to the Harmony of their contents, how they came to be so. But who would deliberately acquiesce in this solution, rather than in the simple and natural alternative, opposed to it? which, with no violence to antecedent probability; with no risk to the infallibility or credibility of the Evangelists; without denying their common inspiration, yet without the interposition of this principle needlessly, or straining it to a degree which

is the utmost it can bear ; will account for the same effect just as well.

VIII. Having said thus much upon the material relations, I shall conclude with a few more observations upon the verbal coincidences, perceptible in the Gospels.

I have heard it asserted that these coincidences might be explained, without supposing the Evangelists to have seen, or consulted, each other ; upon the following principle. If the Apostles had long been conversant in oral teaching, and daily in the habit of reciting more or less of the Gospel history, before any of the Gospels had been written ; it is a possible result that by degrees they would fall into an uniformity of style and manner ; which at last would become habitual, and might shew itself in their written accounts. But that this explanation will not account for the coincidences in question, appears to me almost self-evident. The force of habit, or the natural tendency of constant repetition, to produce uniformity in the language, or the details, of particular accounts, might explain the uniformity of oral teaching, but not necessarily of written ; it might produce an uniformity in the oral teaching of any one Apostle as compared with itself, but not necessarily as compared with that of others ; it might account for the teaching of one person, at one time, being perhaps even, *verbatim*, the same with his teaching at another, but not for *his* teaching, and that of *many* others, being, *verbatim*, the same at all times alike. Different individuals, however constantly employed in the relation of the same things substantially, would yet fall into different styles and modes of relating them—each into his own ; which might be rendered by habit familiar to him, but would not become so to the rest.

Besides, it is a precarious assumption, though necessary to the very foundation of this argument, that the same passages in the Gospel history should be considered to have so repeatedly come over again, that, by relating them every day, an habit would be formed of uniformly relating them alike. Nor can it ever be satisfactorily proved, that the oral teaching of the Apostles was confined to any one language; or, if it was, that, for many years after the commencement of their Gospel ministry, this language was not Hebrew, rather than Greek. But the written teaching of the Apostles, such at least as it has come down to us, has never been in any language but Greek; which must add to the difficulty of accounting for the verbal coincidences in the Gospels: for on this principle, the written teaching of the Apostles, as it has come down to us in the Gospels, is not a mere copy, but a translation, of their oral.

Moreover, the phenomenon, for which we have to account, is not why two or three persons should, *verbatim*, have taught alike, but why two or three persons should, *verbatim*, have written alike: not, why the writing of one certain person should have agreed, *verbatim*, with his oral teaching, but, why the writings of two or three different persons should have agreed, *verbatim*, with the oral teaching of as many more; not, why the teaching of the same person, whether by writing or by word of mouth, should have always agreed with itself, but why the oral teaching of three different persons, St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, if not, St. Matthew, St. Peter, and St. Paul, separately represented in writing, should be, *verbatim*, the same in each case.

In short, the principle in question would not account for more than the following supposition, which yet is not the actual state of the case; viz. that any one

Christian Evangelist, after having preached the Gospel in a certain language, and for an adequate length of time, by word of mouth, should at last have committed his teaching, in the same language still, to writing: in which case, his oral and his written teaching might be expected to agree; that is, the latter would be only a transcript of the former. But even of this agreement none would be able to judge, who had not first heard the oral, and afterwards read the written: that is, only the contemporaries of the teacher and writer himself.

If, indeed, it could be seriously maintained, that the credibility of either of the two later Evangelists was immediately endangered, by supposing him to have seen St. Matthew's Gospel; I should be among the first to subscribe to the hypothesis of the German school, or to any other which might be contrived to solve the existing phenomena, and yet keep them in the dark with respect to each other. This danger, however, is least of all things to be apprehended by those, who believe the Evangelists, in the composition of their several Gospels, to have consulted the same documents, or made use of the same materials. They would be bound, on their own principles, to admit that they might safely have consulted each other: and it would be better, on every account, to refer St. Mark to St. Matthew, and St. Luke to both; which would be to refer them at once to a known and accredited authority; than to refer all three, perhaps to unreal and imaginary, and certainly to uninspired and unauthoritative documents, the composition of persons totally unknown.

It is considered no objection to the credibility of St. John, even when he accompanies the first three Gospels, that he had seen and was acquainted with them; and I would inquire of those who feel any alarm

on this score, whether, if they knew that St. Mark had repeatedly heard or conversed with St. Matthew, they would think him, on that account, less competent to write a Gospel. Instead of this, they must say he would be more so. I would inquire again, then, what difference there could be between hearing and conversing with St. Matthew, and reading his work? Would not the one be as good, and as authentic a source of information as the other? Is the credibility of St. Mark increased, the more of the original eyewitnesses and earwitnesses of the Gospel he had personally seen and heard? is it all at once impaired, if he perused a Gospel by any of them? The truth is, unless every one of the three first Gospels was composed at the same time, and in different places, (concerning which question more will be said hereafter,) it would be a moral impossibility that St. Matthew's Gospel could actually be in existence, before St. Mark wrote his, and yet not be known unto him; and equally so, that, if known unto him before he wrote his own, it could be deliberately disregarded by him, when he was writing it. The same impossibility will hold good of St. Luke; so that, except on the supposition before mentioned, we could not, however much we might consider it necessary, keep a later Evangelist in ignorance of the existence of a prior. But, in fact, the whole basis of this imaginary danger is overthrown by the supplementary relation of the later Gospels. It is peculiar to that relation, both to imply the existence of prior Gospels, and yet not to borrow authority from them.

The preface of St. Luke speaks of Gospels in being before his own, which he must, consequently, have seen; and the existence of which he urges as an argument for undertaking his own: which may be considered a proof that he commended the design, though

he did not vouch for the merits of the execution, of such productions. These Gospels, it is true, were the composition of persons who had derived their information from the ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται, and the ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπηρέται, of the Word; and this being a description of the original witnesses and ministers of the Gospel, it implies that *their* authors in particular were not such, but some of those who had been converted by them. Hence the Gospel of St. Matthew, as the composition of an Apostle himself, is clearly excluded from the number; and the Gospel of St. Mark, as virtually the composition of St. Peter, and as, at least, only *one* Gospel, whereas, these Gospels are spoken of as *many*; can hardly be included in it.

Now it would be too much to assume, that, whatever mixture of false or erroneous matter might also be blended with them, even these histories did not contain something authentic: yet St. Luke had seen, and was acquainted with them, or, we may justly presume, he would not have referred to them. It is *a fortiori*, therefore, to be supposed, that he had seen and was acquainted with the canonical Gospels, at least if any such were then in being: for surely apocryphal* Gospels, the work of uninspired and fallible, how-

* Though I have applied the denomination of apocryphal to these Gospels alluded to in the preface of St. Luke, I think it but right to observe, that I am far from supposing they were such compositions as would now be understood to be meant by that name; the titles and fragments of which, together with the similar remains of many like productions, are collected in the Codex Apocryphus of Fabricius, &c. Such compositions as these, of which so many in the course

of time came to be palmed on the Christian world, under the title of a Gospel, according to one authority, or Acts, &c. according to another, in all probability were none of them as yet in being. The precise time of the fabrication of such works in the greatest number, as far as I have seen reason to conclude, was the end of the first, and the beginning of the second century.

The histories alluded to by St. Luke were, in all probability, as

ever well-meaning, men, were not to be read and examined in preference to these. Nor, though this had been the case, was it to be expected that St. Luke, in a reference of this kind, would be found alluding to those which were canonical, along with those which were not. For in the first place, this would have been to confound the canonical with the apocryphal; to degrade the one and to advance the other; as if there were no difference between the works of Apostles, or of apostolic men, and the compositions of ordinary historians: and, secondly, to have paralleled the conception of his own Gospel by the example of St. Matthew or of St. Mark, and not rather by that of well-meant, though uninspired, productions, would not have become the humility and meekness of profession and purpose, which are especially characteristic of the Christian Evangelists.

It would seem, then, that the body of historical testimony, on which the material truths of our religion are mainly founded, was not completed, nor ever designed to be completed, at once. The foundation of it might be laid

honest and faithful as historical compositions in general are; and no doubt were written and published by their several authors in their own names and persons. They were merely uninspired productions, containing about as much of truth, and withal about as much of error and imperfection, as ordinary human histories in general. Gospels of this description, if we may call them by that name, were such as the Christian world were likely to have published and circulated among them first; and being mere human productions, however serious and well meant, it is no wonder that after the composition and general diffusion of the several canonical Gospels, they gradually

fell into disuse and oblivion; so that their very recollection might pass away, and no mention of them be perpetuated in ecclesiastical history. Epiphanius' assertion that St. Luke alludes to apocryphal gospels, strictly so called, the work of Cerinthus or Merinthus, as he styles their author, is unsupported by proof from testimony, is confuted by the reason of the thing, and irreconcilable with the date of the age when Cerinthus in particular must be supposed to have flourished, or to have become notorious as an heresiarch: which date is not earlier than the end of the first century, long after the composition of St. Luke's Gospel.

early, and on the scene of the birthplace of the Gospel; but the superstructure was not finished until late, and in far distant regions. The first and original Gospel, the only true *πρωτευαγγέλιον*, was St. Matthew's. Around this, as their common centre, the rest were compiled in their turns; and, like diverging but concentric expansions, each succeeding embraced a wider sphere than the preceding. St. Mark, in a strictly historical sense, includes more than St. Matthew; St. Luke, than St. Matthew and St. Mark; and St. John, than all the three: because each, in addition to his proper narrative, adopts, and virtually incorporates with his own, the narratives in existence before it. It is this mutual relation which, instead of impairing the credibility of any one, wonderfully enhances the joint authority of all. The evidence of four competent witnesses, all converging upon the same point, is better than the evidence of any one by himself: and if, besides what each supplies in particular, St. Mark recognises St. Matthew, St. Luke recognises both, and St. John recognises all the three; we are put in possession of a cumulative amount of testimony, so much the stronger and more indissoluble, because it is cumulative, and not single.

To exhibit this cumulative and progressive evidence in its natural dimensions and its full force, is the most legitimate purpose, and the most appropriate result of a well constructed Harmony; and in whatever degree this design may be successfully effected, the praise should be ascribed to the nature of the case, and not to the merit of the harmonist. It is another result of the mutual relation of the Gospels, and, consequently, another advantage of an harmonized system which proceeds on those relations, that though the detail of particulars in the Christian history may still be partial and incom-

plete, the general outline of facts will be found to be distinct and continuous. The individual events of our Saviour's ministry, at the individual points of its duration, may be very imperfectly related; and that is a defect which no Harmony can supply: but the manner in which it was employed on the whole; the account of what was doing at any of those periods, in general; it might be supposed, *a priori*, we should always be able to ascertain—the Gospels, however concise, must have supplied data for thus much. And in possessing even this outline of three years and an half; in being able to discover, and to appreciate, how it was filled up on the whole; we should possess, perhaps, as much as it might concern us to possess: we should be able to discover and appreciate enough, if not for our curiosity, yet at least for our sober conviction. The details in each of the Evangelists are the details of detached events; and, if we except St. John, the events, which each does relate, may be related as specimens of those which are suppressed; or may have been selected for special reasons, from the great body of facts suppressed. There is no reason, but one of these two, which can be assigned, why so little should actually have been left on record, where so much more might have been recorded: and the second appears to me much the more generally applicable. We do not possess the most incalculably small part of what might have been related of our Saviour's miracles; and for every special relation of such a miracle, a special reason, I think, may be discovered, sufficient to have produced it. The same thing is true of his discourses: every thing there is even more special. Deduct from the sum of the discourses on record, all the parabolic, which are one extraordinary class; all the prophetic, which are another; all the controversial, which are a

third ; and all the moral or didactic, which were delivered *pro re nata* ; and what remains in the shape of regular, formal, and systematic instruction, such as constituted our Lord's daily employment, and is always implied when he is said to have *taught* the people, but the two sermons on the mount ? And even these have been considered the same.

Lastly, it is an obvious remark, and not inapplicable to the nature of our present discussion ; that, out of four distinct works, all relating to a common subject, and three of them possessing certain supplemental relations to each other, and to the first ; if any one could be properly selected as the basis of an arrangement for the rest, this would seem to be most naturally the first. If all the rest were ultimately formed or collected about the first, this first must be the centre of union to the rest. St. Matthew's Gospel, then, would seem to have the best right to be made the basis of an Harmony : and if St. Matthew's Gospel had been uniformly regular, like St. Luke's or St. Mark's, this right could not have been disputed. But so long as there are irregularities in a particular historian ; whatever precedence he may claim in point of time, until those irregularities are corrected, he cannot be implicitly trusted as an historical criterion for others. These last must not be accommodated to the first ; but the first must be rectified by the last. St. Mark's Gospel performs this service for St. Matthew's ; and St. Mark's Gospel is so closely adapted to St. Matthew's, as to make up almost one work with that : which being the case, St. Matthew's Gospel, along with St. Mark's, is the true and proper basis of an Harmony for St. Luke's, or St. John's : within which, and about which, there is nothing in either of them that may not naturally and conveniently find its own place.

DISSERTATION II.

Historical investigation of the Times and the Order of the first three Gospels.

THERE are few things in the study of Biblical Antiquities more extraordinary than the difference of dates which we find assigned to the four Gospels; so much so as almost to obtrude the conviction that concerning the true time of their composition nothing was ever known for certain; or what might once have been known was speedily lost and forgotten. In the midst of such contradiction and perplexity, the only safe course which is left us at the present day, is that, which assuming merely an unquestionable fact, the existence of the Gospels themselves, argues from their observable relations to each other in the manner, and with the effect, stated in the preceding Dissertation: and there is this reflexive proof of the wisdom and the certainty of that course, that as far as testimony is clear, determinate, and consistent with itself, so far the results which we obtain from that course, are corroborated by testimony also.

For the purposes of an Harmony the question of the order is a more important one than the question of the times of the Gospels: nor is it merely the more important, but generally speaking the more capable, on the strength both of internal and external evidence, of a satisfactory solution. The language of the Fathers, however much at variance upon the latter point, is sufficiently uniform upon the former: since with one exception only, which regards the testimony of Clements Alexandrinus, considered as the author of the Ὑποτυπώσεις—Papias, Hegesippus, Irenæus, Tertul-

lian, the Latin Presbyter of the second century^a supposed to be Caius,—Pantænus, Origen, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Jerome, and a multitude of others, if it were necessary to specify them by name; do all either actually or impliedly affirm that the Gospels were written in the order in which they stand. Nor is any great weight to be attached to that single testimony of Clemens, which is much too vague and indefinite to be set in opposition to a cloud of witnesses on the other side; and besides, with a possible mixture of error, does actually contain some truth. For one of the Gospels, which exhibit a genealogy, was unquestionably written before the rest: and this being an acknowledged fact, it was amply sufficient for the foundation of so general an assertion, delivered ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων, as that which Eusebius^b ascribes to him; viz. that the Gospels which contain the genealogies were written first*.

There is scarcely a date of the age of any of the Gospels upon record, which, if it were worth the while, might not be shewn upon good grounds to be purely conjectural; and, consequently, entitled to little or no regard. I shall exemplify this truth in one instance only; the date which Theophylact, and others as well as he, assign to the Gospel of St. Mark; μετὰ δέκα ἔτη τῆς ἀναλήψεως. The date of the ascension, as assumed

* It is but due to the reputation of Clemens Alexandrinus to observe, that there is good reason to suspect the Hypotyposes not to have been *his* production: and consequently to conclude that he is not answerable for every statement which they are said to have contained. Vide Photii Bibliotheca, Codex

109 and 111. Compare also Codex 106, which gives an account of another work, bearing the same name, though in *seven* books, not in *eight*—ascribed to Theognostus of Alexandria; which seems to have very much resembled this reputed work of Clement's.

^a Rel. Sacræ, iv. 3.

^b E. H. vi. xiv. 216. A.

by them, being the eighteenth of Tiberius, U. C. 785, the tenth year from that date exclusive, is U. C. 795. Now U. C. 795. was the second of Claudius; and in the second of Claudius St. Peter was currently supposed to have first visited Rome. This date, then, was probably assumed from the conjunction of another fact with that; viz. that St. Mark was at Rome at the same time with St. Peter; and that St. Mark wrote his Gospel there, while they were both there together.

Yet no date is or can reasonably be assigned to the first three Gospels, which would not prove that they were all in existence before A. D. 70, the year of the destruction of Jerusalem: nor any, except the date of Theophylact, (thirty-two years after the ascension,) be assigned to the last, which would not prove it to have been written long after that event: and were we to substitute, in the terms of this date, for the ascension, *the destruction of Jerusalem*, that also might be an exact measure of the truth.

With respect, indeed, to the Gospel of St. John; I wish it to be understood that none of the observations, which will be made in this Dissertation, is intended to be applied to that. The lateness of the composition of this Gospel I consider to be an incontrovertible point; and that little credit or advantage would now be gained by disputing it. The preponderance both of internal and external evidence is here altogether upon one side; and even those, who maintain the hypothesis of an early date, are obliged to confess that the allusion to the pool and the porches at Bethesda, John v. 2, is the only presumptive argument in their favour, which the Gospel itself furnishes. Now, according to Pausanias^c, who was writing in the reign of Marcus

^c Arcadica, viii. 16.

Aurelius, the tomb of Helena, the queen of the Adiabenes, whom Josephus also proves to have been buried within three furlongs of Jerusalem^d, was still existing in his time, though Hadrian had razed the city to the ground*. It is equally possible that the porches of Bethesda might have survived until the beginning of the reign of Trajan. In any case, the pool, a natural spring, would still be in existence; and Eusebius and Jerome, in their chorographia of Judæa, do both allude to it accordingly†.

* The monument of queen Helena was still extant at a much later period; viz. in the time of Eusebius and Jerome. Vide Eusebius, E. H. ii. xii. 50. A. and Hieron. Operum iv. Pars iida 673. *ad med.* Epitaphium Paulæ Matris. The tomb of James the Just, near the temple, is said by Hegesippus, (apud Eus. E. H. ii. xxiii. 65. C.) and by Jerome. De SS. Eccles. ii. to have existed to the time of Hadrian.

With regard to the testimony of Pausanias, the precise time when he was writing, was late in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, so that the tomb of Helena was extant even then.

I incline to the opinion that, in the time of St. John, the porches of Bethesda were actually still in existence; and that this is the reason why he speaks of them accordingly. If we have no direct testimony to the truth of this supposition, yet neither is there any to the contrary. We know nothing exactly of the local situation of the pool. It might be within the walls of Jerusalem itself; and the lan-

guage of St. John (ἔστι δὲ Ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις) favours that supposition: in which case it would be the more likely to survive the destruction, produced by the siege of Titus. Irenæus thought it the same with the pool of Siloam, (Opera, 305. l. 13. Adv. Hær. iv. xix.) and so Prudentius (i. 344. Apotheosis, 680): but probably with no more reason than Tertullian, who always speaks of Bethesda by the name of Bethsaida: as for instance, Operum iv. 191. De Baptismo, 5. There is no reason to suppose that the ancient Jerusalem did not in a great measure survive the first siege; especially the part on the west and south, the most remote from the temple. The new city, the site of which was different from that of the old, arose in the reign of Hadrian.

† The words of the original, πέντε στοὰς ἔχουσα, it is known to scholars, would bear to be rendered, Which had (ἥτις εἶχεν) five porches; as well as, Which has (ἥτις ἔχει) five porches. This use of the present participle in

^d Ant. xx. iv. 3.

If, then, there is any uncertainty as to the order of the Gospels, it concerns the first three only; and, of those three, the two last rather than the first. And the uncertainty which concerns even these may possibly be owing to the proximity of their respective times: since, though the Gospel of St. Luke were actually written later than the Gospel of St. Mark, it could not, as we shall see hereafter, have been written much later. And this is the most remarkable circumstance in the dates of Theophylact; viz. that he makes the Gospel of St. Mark only two years later than the Gospel of St. Matthew; and the Gospel of St. Luke only five years later than the Gospel of St. Mark: both which statements, or at least the latter of them, in one sense may be true.

In order to any solution of the present question, even as thus restricted, it would manifestly be necessary that we should know something of the personal history of the Authors of the Gospels; more especially, when, and where, they were first converted: on which points, however, as every one may be convinced by consulting Cave or Lardner, we are almost totally in the dark. The tradition which makes St. Mark and St. Luke both to have been disciples of our Lord, and even members of the Seventy, is absolutely childish and absurd. If the Mark who is spoken of,

the sense of the imperfect tense, which would be justifiable in any author, is especially common in St. John. Thus, And no man hath gone up into heaven, only he who came down from heaven, the son of man who was (ὁ ὢν) in heaven^e. He

who came (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) from above is over all things: he who was (ὁ ὢν) of the earth is of the earth, and speaketh of the earth^f. He was the candle which did burn and shine (ὁ καίόμενος καὶ φαίνων^g). To which instances many more might be added^h.

^e John iii. 13.
xi. 17. 31. xii. 20.

^f iii. 31.

^g v. 35.

^h v. 5. vi. 33. 46. 50. ix. 8.

1 Pet. v. 13, was Mark the Evangelist, he is spoken of there as the *son* of Peter; which in the language of the Apostles means one whom they themselves had converted. St. Luke in his preface clearly distinguishes himself and Theophilus from such as had been original eyewitnesses, and original ministers, of the Word; and he must possess a peculiar sagacity for such discoveries, who can divine from the account relating to the two disciples at Emmaus, Luke xxiv. 13–35. that one of these was St. Luke, the writer of the Gospel. No tradition of this kind can go further back than the time of Papias: yet Papias distinctly affirms of St. Mark at least, that he had been neither an hearer nor a follower of the Lord, before he wrote his Gospelⁱ; and the Roman Presbyter referred to above, who was contemporary with Pius, the tenth Bishop of the church of Rome^k, affirms the same thing of St. Luke*.

* Rel. Sacræ, iv. p. 3. l. 9: by the author of the fragment in question, St. Luke is called *medicus*, and St. Paul's companion: but (l. 13.) he is said not to have known the Lord in the flesh: which sufficiently proves that he did not consider him to be one of the Seventy.

Neither did Tertullian consider St. Luke to be one of the Seventy; as he supposes him to have derived his knowledge of the Gospel from St. Paul, and to have become a disciple later than him: Operum i. 188. Contra Marc. iv. 2.

No catalogue of the names of the Seventy had come down to the time of Eusebius (E. H. i. xii. 30. C. D.): which is enough to prove that the *extant* cata-

logues of them were either unknown to him, or considered by him to be unworthy of credit. The most ancient of these is that ascribed to Hippolytus Portuensis. And as to those, whom he mentions from the Hypotyposes, Liber v; Barnabas, Sosthenes, (the ἀρχισυνάγωγος of Corinth,) Cephas, Thaddæus, James, the brother of Jesus—the two last were apostles; Cephas was only another name for St. Peter; Sosthenes was converted by St. Paul at Corinth; and Barnabas, as it appears from the Acts, could not have been a believer before the day of Pentecost. Of the whole number, thus mentioned traditionally, the only two who are likely to have been of the Se-

ⁱ Euseb. E. H. iii. xxxix. 113. A. ^k Ibid. iv. xi. 124. A. Rel. Sacræ, iv. 5. l. 21.

It is much more necessary to observe that Mark, the reputed convert of St. Peter, and the author of the Gospel, cannot have been the same person even with Mark, the nephew or sister's son of Barnabas: for this Mark is mentioned, Col. iv. 10. Philem. 24, as the companion and fellow-labourer of St. Paul in Rome at a time when, if he had been there, he must have been the companion and fellow-labourer of St. Peter; and, what is yet more decisive, he is still mentioned in

venty, are Matthias and Justus, the two persons, pitched upon before the day of Pentecost to succeed to the place of Judas Iscariot. The abstract of the lives and ministry of the apostles, and other evangelists, prefixed to Oecumenius, in *Novum Testamentum*, quotes the same book of the Hypotyposes, for the above traditions, and others to a like effect. Cf. also, i. 86. B. in Acts ix. 10: where Ananias is said to have been of the Seventy: and i. 731. A. B. in Galat. ii. 11: where Eusebius' authority is cited, that Cephas, there mentioned, was not Peter the apostle, but another person of the same name.

It has been argued that St. Luke was an eyewitness of the facts which he records in his Gospel, because he speaks of himself at the outset as *παρηκολουθηκὼς ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*. Nor would I deny that *παρακολουθεῖν*, used absolutely, may stand for the actual observation of an eyewitness. It is so used by Josephus, *Contra Ap.* i. 10. *ἡ παρηκολουθηκότα τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἡ παρὰ τῶν εἰδόντων πυνθανόμενον*. But it is much more frequently used to describe the process of an historical inquiry. *Μήθ' ὅσα*

ἐπαθὼν Ῥωμαῖοι . . . ἡ ἔδρασαν ἡμᾶς, παρακολουθήσας: *Jos. Vit.* 65. p. 98—*μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας τοῖς ἡμετέροις γράμμασι παρακολουθεῖν*: *Contra Ap.* i. 23.

It is to be observed that St. Luke says he had attended in this sense to all things *ἄνωθεν*, or, *from the first*: and if this be understood of his having been actually an eyewitness of them; since he begins his accounts so far back as even the birth of John the Baptist, thirty years before the commencement of his public ministry, at least; it will follow, on this principle, that he was a spectator or eyewitness even of the birth of John the Baptist; and of what he next relates, consecutively upon that. The truth is, though *παρακολουθεῖν* may be used to describe the observation of an eyewitness, *παρακολουθεῖν ἀκριβῶς*, which is the phrase employed by St. Luke, can be used only for the researches of an inquirer. No one could be said to have followed up, or to have attended carefully, to what he had been merely present at; nor except he had formed from the first a design of committing it to writing: which cannot be supposed the case with St. Luke.

the same capacity, 2 Tim. iv. 11, at a time when, as we shall see hereafter, St. Mark the Evangelist was either not alive, or not at least in Asia. Besides which, the Mark of the Acts had a proper Jewish name; which proves that he bore the name of Mark merely as a surname; but whether the same thing is true of Mark the Evangelist is not so certain.

With regard to St. Luke, we know no more of his antecedent history than what may be collected from Col. iv. 14: viz. that he was by profession a surgeon or physician: and hence may have arisen the tradition that he was also a manumitted slave. It was unquestionably the practice among the Greeks and Romans of this time, to educate some of their domestics in the science and practice of medicine or surgery, which were then synonymous; to whom, for particular services, they often gave their liberty as a reward. Augustus' celebrated physician, Antonius Musa, was a freed-man¹: the same thing would appear of Anti-stius, the surgeon of Julius Cæsar; and of Glyco, the surgeon of the consul Pansa^m; and the fact in general is clearly proved by the references in the marginⁿ.

It does not follow, however, because many who professed medicine had been, or were still, slaves, that therefore none who professed it was free-born. We can infer no more than this; viz. that if St. Luke, whether a slave, a freed-man, or free-born, professed the science of medicine, he was probably a Greek. Almost all such professors in the city of Rome were foreigners—which means Greeks: Omnesque medicinam.. professos.. civitate donavit^o—Τὴν τε ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοτέχεσις ἔλαβεν^p—Peregrinosque omnes,

¹ Dio. liii. 30.

^m Suet. Jul. Cæs. 82. Aug. 11. Ciceron. Ep. ad Brut. vi.

ⁿ Suet. Jul. Cæs. 4. Cai. 8. Nero. 2. Plin. Ep. x. iv. v. vi. Sen. de Benef. iii.

24. ^o Suet. Jul. Cæs. 42.

^p Dio. liii. 30.

exceptis medicis et præceptoribus...urbe expulisset^q: and Pliny the elder distinctly affirms as much: Solam hanc, (sc. medicinam) artium Græcarum nondum exercet Romana gravitas in tanto fructu: paucissimi Quiritium attigere, et ipsi statim ad Græcos transfugæ^r. In the time of Strabo there was a celebrated school of medicine near Laodicea in Phrygia; and a little before his time there had been a similar school at Smyrna^s. And hence it is that the names of medical men, such as occur in contemporary history, are manifestly the names of Greeks: as of Charicles, the physician of Tiberius; Alcyon, the physician of Caius; and Xenophon, the physician of Claudius^{*t}.

Eusebius, followed by Jerome, would imply that St.

* Plin. H. N. xxv. 38: Invenit et patrum nostrorum ætate rex Juba, quam appellavit Euphorbiam, medici sui nomine. frater is fuit Musæ—Juliani Opera, 207. C. D. Oratio vii: ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, τῶν ἰατρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι τὸ δέον ἐπιτάττουσιν· ἐὰν δὲ ἅμα τις οἰκέτης γένηται τὴν τύχην, καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἰατρὸς, πράγματα ἔχει, κολακεύειν ἅμα καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν δεσπότην ἀναγκαζόμενος—In his address Ad Sen. Populumque Atheniensem, 277. C. he speaks of one of his confidential servants as his physician. Cicero, Oratio Pro Rege Deiotaro, 198. 1: the commentator has it: Deiotarus . . . legatos miserat Romam Hieram, &c. . . quibus servum suum Phidippicum medicum adjunxerat—Cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 70: Valerius Max. i. vii. 1. 2: Plutarch, Jul. Cæsar, 34: Cato Minor, 70: Antonius, 59: Dio, lxviii. 15. Gallicani

Cassius, 10. Apuleius, ii. 38. De Magia Oratio: also p. 52—Philostratus, Vita Apoll. Ty. an. viii. 3. 404. A: καλῶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς μάρτυρας. εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι, Σέλευκος τε ὁ ἐκ Κυζίκου, καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ὁ Σιδωνίος . . . καὶ μαθηταὶ δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριάκοντα εἶποντο: which is supposed to pass at Rome, in the time of Nero and Domitian. Tunc corpore sano | Advocat Archigenem, onerosaque pallia jactat.—Juven. vi. 234. Cf. xiv. 252.

The fact is that the first work on medicine, published at Rome, was a translation of the medical works of Mithridates, by Lenæus the freedman of Pompey, about A. D. 63: just as one of the earliest on husbandry, or the *Res Rustica*, was translated from the Punic of Mago, the Carthaginian: Plin. H. N. xxv. 3. A. Gellius, xvii. 16.

^q Suet. Aug. 42. ^r H. N. xxix. 8. ^s xii. vii. sect. 20. 245. ^t Tac. Ann. vi. 50. xii. 67. 61. Jos. Ant. xix. i. 20.

Luke was a native of Antioch^u; and there is a reading in the Codex Cantabrig. at Acts xi. 28. συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν, which, if genuine, would make him a member of that church, prior even to the first mission of St. Paul to the Gentiles. But this manuscript abounds in unauthorized readings: nor is it countenanced in this instance by other and better testimonies. The first intimation that he was already a convert, and already attached to St. Paul, and already an active partner in the work of propagating the Gospel, occurs as in the vulgate text at Acts xvi. 8–10. in the account of St. Paul's second mission; and when he was arrived at Troas.

That St. Luke was devotedly attached to St. Paul (an attachment reciprocal on the part of the Apostle) appears not only from the History of the Acts, but from Col. iv. 14. and Philem. 24; and especially, at a time when that history had ceased, and the close of St. Paul's ministry itself by his martyrdom, was at hand—from 2 Tim. iv. 11. when, as he tells us, Only Luke was with him. It is a natural inference from the proofs of this mutual regard, that he was either his convert, or a favourite disciple. The tradition of Ecclesiastical history is uniform to this effect, and even further than this; to the effect that the Gospel of St. Luke is virtually the Gospel of St. Paul; that, when he alludes to *his own* Gospel, he means the Gospel of St. Luke. I confess, however, that with respect to this last fact, we have no sufficient proof of it; at least from the testimony of St. Paul. We know no more from the Acts and the Epistles in conjunction, than that for seventeen years, or longer—from the middle of the ninth of Claudius to the end of the twelfth of Nero;

^u E. H. iii. iv. 73. C. Hieron. Operum iv. Pars i. Proleg. in Matt. 3. 4. Pars iia. 104. De SS. Eccles. 7. Cf. the argument prefixed to the Acts, apud Œcumenium in Novum Testamentum.

St. Luke was known to, and the companion of, St. Paul.

Moreover, if any one will compare the account of the Sacramental ordinance in both its parts, as given by St. Luke, with the same account, as given by St. Paul^v; he will perceive that the former is literally conformable to the latter: and there is a similar coincidence between Luke iii. 15, 16. and Acts xiii. 25. part of a speech of St. Paul, with respect to a fact in the ministry of John the Baptist, which would lead to the same conclusion; viz. that the writer of the Gospel of St. Luke had been taught and instructed by the Apostle St. Paul. It is manifestly probable, then, that St. Luke was his disciple; and it is possible that he might be his convert also: nor should I consider it an objection that he is no where expressly so called by him, or recognised in the apostolic relation of his Son. The same thing is observable of others who were unquestionably converts of the Apostle; as of Titus, if not of Timothy. Though St. Paul often alludes to the former in others of his Epistles, he no where, except when he is writing to him expressly, calls him his Son. Now we have no Epistle from St. Paul to St. Luke; and, therefore, we do not know whether he would not have addressed him also to the same effect as either of them. Onesimus is the only convert besides, (and that simply when he is writing in his behalf to his master Philemon,) whom St. Paul denominates his Son.

If the personal history of St. Luke first becomes interwoven with that of St. Paul at Troas, Acts xvi. 8—10; the *prima facie* inference from this fact would be, that he first became known to him at Troas; and, therefore, was probably first converted there. It is undoubtedly his practice, at those points of time when he

^v Luke xxii. 19, 20. 1 Cor. xi. 23—25.

was actually in the company of St. Paul, to write in the first person; and as there is no such occasion when he does not so write hereafter, it is reasonable to conclude, there could have been none when he would not have so written before. And this consideration alone should suffice to prove that he is not the same person with Lucius of Cyrene; mentioned at Acts xiii. 1. and probably at Rom. xvi. 21. From Acts xx. 1-6. it may be collected that St. Luke was not with St. Paul when he left Ephesus, to pass through Macedonia into Greece; nor yet when he retraced his steps from Greece into Macedonia: but that he joined him first only at Philippi; though he accompanied him thence. Now the Epistle to the Romans was written while St. Paul was still at Corinth; or on the eve of departing thence, to pass into Macedonia. The name of St. Luke, then, could not have appeared among the salutations in that Epistle: and, consequently, Lucius, a name which does appear there, is not another name for Luke.

Besides which Lucas, as a contraction for Lucius, cannot hold good. Nor even as one for Lucilius; but simply and solely as one for Lucanus: just as Silas stands not for Silius, but for Silanus or Sylvanus. Lucas, at least, for Lucanus, would be of classical authority: for so Lucretius, speaking of elephants^w,

Inde boves Lucas, turrito corpore, tetros—

and Pliny^x: Boves Lucas appellavit, in Lucanis visos. Now Lucanus was a Roman *cognomen*; as the name of Lucan the poet is sufficient to prove*: Lucilius, on the contrary, was a Roman *nomen*; and such as would be called a *nomen gentilitium*: with respect to which,

* Plin. H. N. xxxv. 33: Pin- atque in publico exponi cœpta
gi autem gladiatoria munera, a C. Terentio Lucano.

^w v. 1301. 1338.
Re Militari, iii. 24.

* H. N. viii. 6. Cf. Solini Polyhistor, xxv. 15. Vegetius, de

there was an edict of the Emperor Claudius to this effect^y: *Peregrinæ conditionis homines vetuit usurpare Romana nomina, duntaxat gentilitia*. And while this edict was in force, St. Luke, if he was really a foreigner, could not commonly bear the name of Lucilius; but he might still bear that of Lucanus.

If we may advance a conjecture where there is a total absence of positive information to direct us; St. Luke, though he might first become acquainted with St. Paul, and might even be converted, at Troas, I think, was a native, or an inhabitant, of Philippi. I ground this opinion, first, upon his peculiar mention of Philippi, when the course of the subject leads him first to allude to it; for this is such a peculiarity as appears in his mention of no other city, and might naturally be produced by the mention of his native city*.

* Ἐκεῖθ' ἐν τε εἰς Φιλίππους, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις, κολώνια. Acts xvi. 12. There is so much variation in the readings of this text, that Griesbach is of opinion the words τῆς μερίδος should be *for-sitan*, and the τῆς before Μακεδονίας should be *probabiliter*, ejected: with which corrections it would stand thus: Ἐκεῖθ' ἐν τε εἰς Φιλίππους, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη Μακεδονίας πόλις, κολώνια. There is no authority, however, from manuscripts for reading πρώτης; though that would be an obvious conjecture, and though the division of Macedonia into four regions, called from their order, πρώτη, δευτέρα, τρίτη, and τετάρτη, after the time of Æmilius Paulus, by whom Macedonia was first reduced to a Roman province, is a well authenticated fact, attested by both historians and coins.

Vide Livy, xlv. 20. Diodorus Sic. Fragm. xxvii. Operr. x. 226—232. Eckhel Doct. Numm. Vett. vol. ii. 63.

In the first of these; or the region comprehended between the river Strymon on the west, and the river Nessus, Nestus, or Mestus, on the east; Philippi, anciently called Crenides, (Cf. Scylax Caryandensis, Periplus, Thracia, (Geographi Min. i. 27.) Diodorus Sic. xvi. 3. 8: Strabo, Excerpta, vii. 16, 17. 489: Theophrastus, De Causis Plantarum, v. 20. 346.) was situated. And, on this principle, the received reading may be defended without giving up τῆς μερίδος: for this expression is equivalent to the *one part*; and the one part of any thing necessarily implies that there are more parts of it.

The title of πρώτη or πρώτοι, πρώτης or πρώτων, is repeatedly

^y Suet. Claud. 25.

Secondly, upon the appearance of a closer connection between St. Luke and Philippi, than between St. Luke and any other place.

It is certain that on the first occasion of their meeting, he accompanied St. Paul from Troas to Philippi; but when St. Paul departed thence, he did not accompany him any further. We may presume, therefore that he stayed behind at Philippi. It is certain also, that on the next occasion of their meeting, St. Paul, on his way to Jerusalem for the last time mentioned in the Acts, was joined by St. Luke at Philippi; but had not been joined by him before. I know that these coin-

to be met with upon coins; as applied by cities, of any note or distinction, to themselves, in relation to the rest of the country where they were situated. In one instance, even the rank of the *ἑβδόμοι τῆς Ἀσίας* is so claimed by a particular community; that of the Magnesians ad Mæandrum, (Eckhel, vol. ii. 527.) In all these cases the word is used with, or without the article, indiscriminately, but more frequently without than with it. These considerations may incline us to think that *πρώτη* is so used here in reference to Philippi: which being the case, the text asserts in its favour the *primatus* or primacy either of Macedonia in general, or of Macedonia *πρώτη* in particular. Concerning the *primatus* in question, the reader may consult Eckhel, vol. iv. 282—288. It will be seen, that, however much an object of the ambition or rivalry of particular cities, it was after all, *nominis umbra*: a titular preeminence, but nothing more. It is, consequently, the more remarkable

that St. Luke should speak in such terms of Philippi; and it serves to countenance the conjecture that he had a particular interest in that place; that he speaks of it as one of its citizens, and not as a perfect stranger to it.

The capital of Macedonia Prima, it is true, was originally Amphipolis: but, while Amphipolis had since lost in splendour and dignity, (of which its cursory mention even at Acts xvii. 1. is some proof,) Philippi had gained in the same respects: and from the time that it became a Roman colony, (which its proper style and title, as exhibited on its coins—COL. AVG. IVL. PHILIP.—prove to have been under Julius and Augustus Cæsar,) it might also begin to aspire at the *primatus*. Himerius, a contemporary of Julian, Oratio i. §. 13. 346. speaks of it, as the *πρώτη* of Thrace (or rather Macedonia) in his time: *πόλις μὲν οὖν Θρακῶν ἡμῖν ἡ πρώτη, Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμος*.

cidences are not conclusive; but they must go some way as presumptive arguments; nor can they be so naturally accounted for on any supposition as on this, viz. that if St. Luke had a residence any where, he had one at Philippi. That he should nevertheless have been first found by the Apostle at Troas—when we consider the proximity of Troas to Macedonia, and the possibility that St. Luke had been upon a journey into Asia, and was returning home again—ought to be no objection: nor yet that when St. Paul was at Philippi, he remained part of the time in the house of Lydia^z: for this was after her conversion only, and out of deference to her urgent request. But he had been there some time before that^a; and this interval, which is specified as an interval of some days, might have been spent in the house of St. Luke.

Now Philippi was a Roman colony; and it was usual for the inhabitants of such colonies, even though they were not Romans by extraction, yet, upon acquiring the privileges of Roman citizens, to assume a Roman name. Of this there is an instance in the case of Caius Avianus Philoxenus; who, being enrolled among the citizens of Novocomum, a colony established by Julius Cæsar; though a Greek by birth, took the name of Avianus from his friend Flaccus Avianus, a Roman of rank, well known to Cicero, the writer of the letter^b. I think this is the best account of the origin of St. Luke's Roman name, without having recourse to the unaccredited hypothesis that he was a manumitted slave, who in addition to his proper name, had assumed as usual that of his Patron*: though it must still be confessed that persons

* That manumitted slaves assumed the name of their Patron is well known. Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, i. 47. observes, *οἷδα δὲ*

^z Acts xvi. 15.

^a xvi. 12.

^b Epp. ad Fam. xiii. 35. vide also 36.

libertini generis were frequently enrolled among colonies; of which the colonization of Corinth in the time of Julius Cæsar furnishes an instance ^c †.

It is some confirmation of the same account that Silas, another of the companions of St. Paul at Philippi; if we may reason from the obvious sense of St. Paul's own declaration relating to himself and him, ἀνθρώπους Ῥωμαίους ὑπάρχοντας, corroborated by the historical remark directly afterwards, ἀκούσαντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοί εἰσι ^d; was a Roman citizen as well as St. Paul: and the name of Silas, for Silvanus, is clearly analogous to that of Lucas, for Lucanus. It is a still more remarkable confirmation of it, that when Paul and Silas were thus treated at Philippi, St. Luke was not. It might not be known that Paul and Silas were Roman citizens; but if St. Luke was a native or an inhabitant of the place with such a privilege, it could not but be known what he was. And this knowledge would be sufficient to produce the distinction of his treatment in particular.

Yet the inhabitants of Philippi, a Macedonian city, would still be Greeks; and among the circumstances which are characteristic of a Greek, as such, by exemplifying the modes of thinking and of speaking pecu-

τινα ὃς ἔδοξε τρία ἔχειν αἰδοῖα, δοῦλος ὦν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐλεύθερος, καὶ ἀνθ' ἐνὸς ὀνόματος τρία ἔσχε, δύο τοῦ ἀπελευθερώσαντος προσλαβὼν ὀνόματα. Cf. Lib. v. Somnium 92. The names in question were the *prænomen*, and *cognomen*, not the *nomen*.

† Crinagoras, a poet contemporary with the reign of Augustus, seems to allude to this cir-

cumstance in particular, in the following epigram, Anthologia ii. 132: xx. Οἶους ἀνθ' οἶων οἰκήτορας, ὧ ἐλεεινῇ, | εὖραο. φεῦ μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος ἀμμορίης. | αὐτίκα καὶ πόντον χθαμαλότερη εἶθε, Κόρινθε, | κεῖσθαι, καὶ Λιβυκῆς ψάμμου ἐρημοτέρη, | ἥ τοίοις διὰ πᾶσα παλιμπρήτοισι δοθείσα | θλίβειν ἀρχαίων ὀστέα Βακχιαδῶν.

^c Strabo, viii. vi. sect. 23. 280.

^d Acts xvi. 37, 38.

liar to Greeks; we may specify the phrase at Acts xxviii. 2. 4. of οἱ βάρβαροι, used absolutely to describe the inhabitants of the island Melite. No one but a Greek would have so expressed himself concerning those who were not Greeks; as the inhabitants of this island certainly were not. Nor is the term intended by way of disparagement, but simply of distinction; just as at Rom. i. 14. 1 Cor. xiv. 11. and Col. iii. 11; where Greek and Barbarian are used for the complex of the civilized world; for the more refined, and for the less; for those who spoke a language known to Greeks, and for those who spoke any different from their's. It is used, in short, by St. Luke, as Thucydides has remarked upon its use in his own time^e; an use not yet established in the time of Homer; when even the use of its opposite, Ἑλλην or Greek, was not yet generally diffused*.

But whatever may be thought of these conjectures, it will scarcely, perhaps, be disputed that St. Mark was a Jew; and that St. Luke most probably was not. The very circumstance that St. Mark was a convert, and a favourite convert, of St. Peter, the great Apostle of the Circumcision, would be a strong argument to

* If any city can be supposed to have possessed a nearer relation to St. Luke than another, next to Philippi, this would seem to be Troas; where he is first seen to have joined St. Paul.

This city was originally called, from its founder Antigonus, by the name of Antigonía: the name of Alexandria was given to it after his death. And by this name, as that of the city, with the addition of Troas, to specify the region where it was

situated, is it commonly called in subsequent allusions to it; as by Polybius, v. 111. B. C. 216 or 217: Livy, xxxv. 42. B. C. 194.

St. Luke's manner is to call it ἀπλως Troas: and so uses Philostratus also; Vitæ Sophistarum, ii. Herodes Atticus, 547 A.

Yet this city likewise was a colony both in Strabo's and in Pliny's time; so that a native or a resident of that place also might be a Roman citizen, and bear a Roman name.

that effect in his behalf : and if St. Luke stood in a similar relation to St. Paul, the great Apostle of the Uncircumcision, that would imply the contrary of him. This conclusion is further confirmed by the nature of his profession ; for we may take it for granted that no Jew could practise as a physician except among Jews ; whereas St. Luke must have so practised among Gentiles. Whether he was also a proselyte, before his conversion to Christianity, would be a more difficult question to decide, if St. Paul, Col. iv. 10—14. did not himself expressly distinguish Luke, and Epaphras, and Demas, (both the last, persons whose names would prove them to be Greeks, if the rest of their history did not,) and probably Aristarchus (of whom the same fact seems to be implied by Acts xxvii. 2. xx. 4. xix. 29.) from Mark, the nephew of Barnabas, and from Jesus surnamed Justus—(the same neither with the Justus, or Joseph, mentioned Acts i. 23. nor yet with the Justus mentioned Acts xviii. 7.)—as persons who were not of the Circumcision, from others who were. A proselyte who had received the Jewish law *in toto*, and consequently had been circumcised, could not afterwards have been thus distinguished.

It has been conjectured that one of the parents of St. Luke, as in the case of Timothy, might be a Gentile, and the other a Jew ; but I know not on what foundation this conjecture can be shewn to rest. It seems to me more probable that he belonged before his conversion simply to that class of persons, who are sometimes mentioned in the Acts, in conjunction with the Jews, and yet must be distinguished even from proselytes ; under the appropriate title of the εὐσεβεῖς, or σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν, among the Gentiles. Nor will any one, I should imagine, subscribe to the sentiment recorded

by Jerome^f: *Licet plerique tradant Lucam Evangelistam, ut proselytum, Hebræas litteras ignorasse*—and again^g: *Evangelistam Lucam tradunt veteres Ecclesiæ tractatores...magis Græcas litteras scisse quam Hebræas*. No assumption can be more gratuitous: for the perusal of his Gospel and of the Acts must satisfy every impartial reader that he was as well versed in the Hebrew as in the Greek; and, so far as we can judge, did not derive his acquaintance with the Scriptures of the Old Testament even from the Alexandrine version.

The internal evidence of the Gospel of St. Mark is altogether in favour of the presumption that the writer of this Gospel in particular must have been a Jew; and whether a Jew of Palestine, or not, yet intimately acquainted with the language, the topography, the idioms of Palestine; and familiar with the habits and associations of a native Jew. And the argument derived from this evidence, is rendered so much the stronger, because in all or most of those respects which characterize a native Jew, St. Mark agrees with St. Matthew and St. John, who were unquestionably native Jews; and differs from St. Luke, who was unquestionably not a native Jew. Among these discriminating circumstances I shall specify the following: *θάλασσα τῆς Γαλιλαίας*, or, *θάλασσα*, (*ἀπλῶς*)—*τὸ πέραν*, or, *τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης*—*ὁψίας*, *ὅτε ἔδυν ὁ ἥλιος*—*τὰς κωμοπόλεις**—*Βοανεργές*. *ὃ ἔστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς*—*τὸν Κανανίτην*—*τα-*

* The towns of Judæa, populous as they were, might well be called by this name. Yet the word occurs in contemporary

profane writers. See Strabo, xii. iii. §. 31. p. 128: vi. §. 1. p. 185.

^f In Gen. xlv. 26. *Operum* ii. 544. *ad princip.* ^g In Is. vii. *Operum* iii. 63. *ad calcem.* Cf. iii. 237. *ad calcem*: iv. *Pars* i^a 148. *ad princip.* *Pars* ii^a 104. De SS. Eccles. vii.

λιθὰ κοῦμι—κοιναῖς χερσί· τοῦτ' ἔστιν· ἀνίπτοις—κοινῶσαι
 —ἐφφαθά—ῥαββί—ῥαββονί—Βαρ-τίμαιος, υἱὸς Τιμαίου
 —ῶσαννά—ῶσαννά ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις—τὸ πάσχα, καὶ τὰ
 ἄζυμα—Γεθσημανῇ—τὸ ὄρος τῶν Ἑλαιῶν—ἄββᾶ· ὁ πατήρ
 —Γολγοθᾶ· ὃ ἔστι . . κρανίου τόπος—ἐλωῖ, ἐλωῖ, λαμμά σα-
 βαχθανί—παρασκευή· ὃ ἔστι· προσάββατον—κορβᾶν· ὃ ἔστι·
 δῶρον—ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ—ἧς εἶχε τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς—
 ὅπου ἤκουον ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐστιν—εἰ δοθήσεται σημεῖον—οὐκ ἂν
 ἐσώθῃ πᾶσα σάρξ—οἷα οὐ γέγονε τοιαύτη—Συροφοίνισσα
 —τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά—πλοιάριον—συμπόσια, συμπόσια
 —πρασιαί, πρασιαί—δύο, δύο—ἀπ' ἀρχῆς κτίσεως—πάσῃ
 τῇ κτίσει—ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας—Ἡρωδιανοί—ἄρσεν καὶ θήλυ
 —βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως—τὴν γῆν Γενησαρέτ—Δεκάπο-
 λιν—ἀπὸ Ἀριμαθείας—κ', τ. λ.

These are by no means all the instances which might be produced ; but they are sufficient to characterize a native Jew, or one only not a native : and they are not to be found in St. Luke : whose cautiousness in avoiding the use of the same expressions even where he retains the sense ; or in substituting equivalent, and generally speaking more intelligible, phrases in their stead—is truly remarkable, and proves indisputably that he wrote neither for Jews, nor with the long confirmed habits and associations of a Jew. That St. Mark also did not write for Jews, nor for persons previously acquainted with Judæa, is not less apparent from the character of his Gospel compared with St. Matthew's : but that he himself was a Jew, or intimately familiar with Judæa, does not admit of a question.

The same conclusion is confirmed by his own testimony ; if, as I conjecture, the young man, alluded to^h at the time of our Saviour's apprehension, was St. Mark the Evangelist ; though not yet a convert to the Gospel. For, on no principle except that of the personal

^h Mark xiv. 51, 52.

connection of this anecdote with the history of the writer, can we conceive a reason sufficient to have caused its introduction into the body of a narrative, with which it would otherwise have absolutely nothing to do. What use, may we ask, is made of this fact, either before or after? How came it, then, to be associated with our Saviour's apprehension; and why was a circumstance apparently so trifling, and, certainly, so irrelevant, inserted in the midst of so grave an account? If the young man was the writer of the account, and an eyewitness of the transaction at the time; partly implicated himself in the danger of our Saviour; mistaken for a follower or disciple, when not really such; afterwards converted to the faith; and finally, St. Mark the Evangelist: I think he might naturally look upon this as the most interesting circumstance in his life; and its introduction into the rest of the account under such circumstances becomes any thing but foreign or irrelevant. If he does not mention his own name, this is an omission which may be defended on the principle of a Christian humility; and has an example in the similar silence of St. John. It is observable, however, that he calls this individual εἰς τις νεανίσκος: a term, which implies that he was under thirty, but more than twenty, years of age: and so, five and twenty years, or more, before the First Epistle of St. Peter was written, St. Mark, we might reasonably suppose would be*.

* The conjecture proposed above, concerning the young man in question, was first, I believe, advanced by Dr. Townson, in his Discourses on the Four Gospels: to him, therefore, if there is any truth in it, the credit of it is originally due.

Chrysostom's Expositio in Psal.

xiii. 4. v. 562. B. (if really his) makes this young man St. John. Theophylact, in Marc. xiv. Operum i. 253. B: τινες δέ φασι τοῦτον (the young man in question) ἰακωβον εἶναι τὸν ἀδελφόμενον, τὸν ἐπικληθέντα δίκαιον. οὗτος γὰρ ἐνὶ περιβολαίῳ ἐκέχρητο πᾶσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ ζωὴν· ὅς καὶ τὸν θρόνον τῶν Ἱεροστο-

There are numerous indications in the Gospel of St. Mark, which imply a closer connection between the writer of this Gospel and St. Peter, than any other of the Apostles. His mention of the name of Simon, in a peculiar manner; as at i. 16. 29. 30. 36: the absence in his narrative of the name of Peter, until it was actually bestowed upon him at his ordination as an Apostle: the modest and indirect way in which it places him at the head of the apostolic catalogue: the place assigned in this catalogue to the name of his brother Andrew, which is after James and John: the circumstantiality of all those details at which St. Peter was obviously present; as the cure of the demoniac at Gadara; the raising of Jairus' daughter, preceded by the miracle of the issue of blood; the cure of the epileptic demoniac, after the transfiguration; and the like; the omission of the fact of Peter's walking on the sea: the omission of his memorable blessing, and the insertion of his no less memorable reproof; which things are the reverse of each other in St. Luke: the mention of the first dispute of the Apostles concerning precedence, in which Peter doubtless took an active part: the omission in St. Mark of the splendid promise, recorded by St. Matthew, xix. 28—made indeed to the Twelve in common, but directly in answer to a question from St. Peter: the notice of his presence along with Andrew,

λύμων παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔλαβε
μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀνάληψιν.

The common explanation of the introduction of this circumstance into the body of the narrative of our Lord's apprehension, &c. viz. that it gives an air of simplicity and circumstantiality to the account, which renders it so much the more probable, is not satisfactory. If every casual occurrence, connected with this

transaction, was fit to be mentioned, and would have contributed its share to the effect in question; why was this only left on record, among the many concomitant particulars, which may be easily imagined to have made part of such an event as the seizure of so extraordinary a person as our Lord, at such a time and place, when the city was crowded with strangers, &c.?

James, and John, at the time of the delivery of the prophecy on the mount : the renewal of the conversation respecting the curse pronounced on the fig-tree ; which was owing to St. Peter : the omission of his name as one of the two disciples employed to prepare the last supper : the peculiarly distinct and definite account which St. Mark in particular has given both of the prediction, and of the fulfilment of the prediction, of his denials of Christ : the omission of the epithet *πικρῶς*, at the end of the account, to describe the bitterness of his repentance, which is found both in St. Matthew and St. Luke : the express mention of the name of Peter in the message sent by the angels, on the morning of the resurrection, to the Apostles in common : all these, and more which might be mentioned, are circumstances in a great measure peculiar to St. Mark's Gospel ; and such as might naturally be expected in the work of a companion or disciple of St. Peter in particular.

The presumption concerning the relation of its author to St. Peter thus established, is confirmed by historical tradition : the uniform tendency of which is to place the composition of this Gospel at Rome, after the arrival of St. Peter there on his first visit ; and in consequence of his preaching in that city. If so, the Evangelist St. Mark must have accompanied him to Rome, or have been found there by him ; the former of which suppositions is much the more probable, both for the reasons urged already ; and because the salutation at 1 Peter v. 13. compared with the outset of the Epistle, demonstrates that he must have been known to the converts in the regions before recited ; and, consequently, must have accompanied St. Peter in his visits to those regions at least. The main fact in the above tradition, that St. Mark's Gospel was written at Rome,

and when he was there in company with St. Peter; is attested by a cloud of witnesses, among whom for many centuries there is scarcely a dissentient voiceⁱ: and as to the minor circumstances, such as whether it was written with or without the knowledge of St. Peter; whether it was sanctioned and approved of, or only tacitly admitted, by him; whether it was at the request of the Roman converts, and solely with a view to place on record the substance of his preaching at Rome, and among them: it seems to me of little importance what opinion we pronounce upon them. The truth of the main fact remains the same; and the question of the time of St. Mark's Gospel becomes reducible to the question of the time of St. Peter's first visit to Rome; which, if Babylon, 1 Pet. v. 13. as many commentators have supposed, is to be understood figuratively of Rome, becomes virtually the question of the time of this Epistle. And though I think there is good reason to doubt of the truth of this hypothesis; I shall argue for the present, and shall endeavour to fix the time of the Epistle, upon the supposition of its truth.

I. From 1 Peter iv. 16. compared with Acts xi. 26: when the name of Christian first became the received denomination for believers in Christ, and long before Acts xxvi. 28. when that denomination must have been now a familiar one—it follows that the Epistle could not have been written before the point of time which answers to Acts xi. 26: that is, as I shall shew elsewhere, not before the second of Claudius, U. C. 795. and A. D. 42.

II. From 1 Peter i. 1. it appears that the Epistle was written to the converts in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia: and though these should be supposed to be converts from the Circumcision exclusively,

ⁱ Lardner, *Credibility*, vol. xv. chap. 7.

yet, if at Acts xi. 19, 20. a point of time not later than the first of Claudius, U. C. 794. A. D. 41. the Gospel, even as preached to the Jews, who were not of the Dispersion, had travelled no further from Judæa than Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Antioch; it must be considered morally impossible that it could by the first of Claudius have pervaded the whole extent of Asia Minor.

Notwithstanding, however, the received opinion to the contrary, I am persuaded that the Epistle was addressed neither to Jewish, nor yet to Gentile, converts exclusively; but to a church composed alike of each: which being the case, it will follow that it could not, under any circumstances, have been written before the point of time implied at Acts xiii. 2; viz. the time of St. Paul's first circuit to the Gentiles: which I shall prove hereafter was the fourth of Claudius, U. C. 797. A. D. 44.

This conclusion appears to me to be placed beyond a question by the texts annexed in the margin^k; all of which in general, and some of them more especially, contain such sentiments as could be applicable to no converts except from among the Gentiles. If, however, the Second of Peter was addressed to the same description of persons as the First, (which iii. 1. of that Epistle seems to prove,) then i. 1. of that Epistle is almost decisive that the writer was addressing Gentiles. For, what would be the meaning of the phrase *τοῖς ἰσότημον ἡμῶν λαχοῦσι πίστιν*, if it is not to be understood of the communication of the privileges of the Gospel to Gentiles, as well as to Jews*? The word

* There is an emphasis, as it appears to me, in the use of this word *ἰσότημον*; which serves to imply that St. Peter was not

^k 1 Peter i. 8. 10. 14. 18. 25. ii. 10. 12. 25. iii. 6. iv. 3. 4. v. 9.

ἡμῖν, which opposes the writer, and such as the writer, in some capacity or other, to those addressed, can oppose him in no capacity different from that of a Jew, in contradistinction to Gentiles, except that of an Apostle, in contradistinction to the rest of the Christian world: and had that been the opposition intended, then both the usage of St. Peter¹, and the usage of St. Paul in many parts of his Epistles, as well as the reason of the thing, would have required it to be qualified accordingly by τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, in addition to ἡμῖν. Nor is it any objection that they are designated at the outset of the Epistle as ἐκλεκτοὶ, παρεπίδημοι διασπορᾶς: and at ii. 12. appear to be discriminated from the Gentiles. They are so discriminated there only as a part of a certain whole might be discriminated from the remainder; viz. as believers among the Gentiles, from unbelievers. As to the other passage, there are but two instances more, where the word διασπορὰ occurs, in the New Testament^m; and in both it stands clearly for the Dispersion; but in both it is preceded, as when so employed it necessarily requires to be preceded, by the article: which is not the case here. The truth is, the phrase is purely an Hebraism; which literally rendered means *elect, sojourners of dispersion*; and rendered according to our own idiom would mean *elect, dispersed and sojourn-*

opposing himself, and others like himself, to the parties whom he was addressing, as those who were already Christians, or had long been so, might be opposed to such as were not yet believers, or only recently converted. *Like precious faith—faith of equal value and estimation*, whether in the sight of God, or for the salvation

of such as professed it, can scarcely be understood except of those, who after being for so many ages aliens and outcasts from God, were now, by virtue of a common faith in Christ, adopted into his family, and made as much his people as the Jews. Now these would properly be the Gentiles.

¹ 2 Pet. iii. 2.

^m John vii. 35. James i. 1.

ing; a very pertinent introduction to a general Epistle, designed for so wide a circulation as almost the whole of Asia Minor. Παρεπίδημοι διασποράς then, here, and πάροιχοι καὶ παρεπίδημοι, ii. 11. are equivalent to each other; and either, to Ephes. ii. 19. ξένοι καὶ πάροιχοι, in a similar address of St. Paul's.

It follows, therefore, that the Epistle could not have been composed before the second circuit of St. Paul to the Gentiles; that is, as I shall shew elsewhere, before the ninth of Claudius, U. C. 802. A. D. 49. Christianity had been established in Galatia before the Epistle was written: but it had not been established there before Acts xvi. 6. the time of the circuit in question. Nor is this all. Christianity had been established in Pontus, Bithynia, and Asia, (which means the Roman proconsular province of Asia,) as well as in Galatia, before the Epistle was written: but, from Acts xvi. 7. we may perceive that it was not established in Bithynia by St. Paul even upon this circuit in the ninth of Claudius; and from xvi. 6. xviii. 19. that it had not yet been established in Asia, three years later as I shall shew hereafter; nor was so before xix. 1. when St. Paul took up his residence at Ephesus, in the thirteenth of Claudius at the earliest. The use of the preposition κατὰ, to imply that persons travelling came towards, or went in the direction of a certain place, without entering into it, is very common in the account of journeys both by land and by seaⁿ: and it is clearly so employed Acts xvi. 7. If we consider also what St. Paul^o asserts as his peculiar boast, that he had never sought to preach the Gospel where the name of Christ was already professed, or to build on a foundation already laid; it will not appear too much to conclude that when he attempted to enter, first into

ⁿ Acts xxvii. 7.

^o Rom. xv. 20. 2 Cor. x. 12—16. Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 6. 10.

Asia, and afterwards into Bithynia, Christianity could not yet have been planted by any one, in either: and if *he* was forbidden by the Spirit to preach the Gospel there, no reason is so likely to have produced the prohibition, as that the work of evangelizing those parts was reserved for the future agency of some other minister of the Gospel, (which the Epistle alone proves to have been St. Peter,) either exclusively, or in conjunction with others.

Nor, though the Epistle might not have been written before the ninth of Claudius, could it have been written between that year and the end of his eleventh: first, because, when the Epistle was written, Silvanus was with Peter^p; but until the end of the eleventh of Claudius, it may be proved^q that he was the companion of St. Paul elsewhere and at Corinth: secondly, because, from Gal. ii. 1–10. compared with Acts xviii. 18–22. both which relate to the same visit, I hope to demonstrate hereafter that at the end of the eleventh, and at the beginning of the twelfth, of Claudius, St. Peter himself was in Jerusalem; and neither at Babylon, nor at Rome.

III. From the texts which are marked in the margin^r, it may be safely collected that between Acts xviii. 1. in the ninth or tenth of Claudius, when St. Paul left Athens, and came to Corinth; and the time when the Epistle was written, three Evangelists had preached the Gospel at Corinth, in the following order: first, St. Paul; secondly, Apollos; and lastly, Cephas; whom John i. 43. 1 Cor. ix. 5. Gal. ii. 7, 8, 9. 1 Cor. xv. 5. Luke xxiv. 34. compared together, demonstrate to be the same with St. Peter*. I shall shew elsewhere that St. Paul

* Few modern commentators, question the identity of Cephas perhaps, will be disposed to and Peter; though, anciently,

^p 1 Pet. v. 12.

^q Acts xv. 40. xviii. 5. 1 Thess. i. 1. 2 Thess. i. 1.

² Cor. i. 19.

^r 1 Cor. i. 12. iii. 4. 5. 6. 10. 11. 22. iv. 6. 15. ix. 1. 2.

left Corinth about the end of the eleventh of Claudius, U. C. 805. A. D. 52 : and that Apollos was still there at the beginning of the thirteenth, U. C. 806. A. D. 53 ; but that he had left it, and returned to Ephesus, before St. Paul wrote the first of his Epistles to the Corinthians ; the time of which was in the first of Nero, U. C. 808. I shall also shew that Apollos first went to Corinth sometime in the twelfth of Claudius, U. C. 805. and nearer to its end than to its beginning : in which case, it is not likely he would have left it again much before the end of the thirteenth. It will follow therefore, that Cephas or Peter, if he came to Corinth after Apollos left it, came there after the thirteenth, or not before the fourteenth, of Claudius : and the fact of such a visit in general is established by the testimony of Dionysius^s ; a very early bishop of the church of Corinth.

an opinion was entertained that they were distinct persons. Jerome, (in Galatas ii. Operum iv. Pars i^a. 244. *ad med.*) observes : Alterius nescio cujus Cephæ nescire nos nomen, nisi ejus qui et in Evangelio, et in aliis Pauli epistolis, et in hac quoque ipsa, modo *Cephas* modo *Petrus* scribitur. non quod aliud significet Petrus, aliud Cephas : sed quod quam nos Latine et Græce *petram* vocemus, hanc Hebræi et Syri propter linguæ inter se viciniam, *Cephan* nuncupent.

The testimony, however, of Clemens Romanus is the testimony of an unexceptionable witness, upon this occasion. In his first Epistle to the Corinthian church, cap. 47, he reminds the Corinthians how St. Paul, at the beginning of the Gospel, of a truth

had written to them *spiritually* concerning himself, and Cephas, and Apollos ; because that even then they had begun to form partialities to one teacher above another : which partialities, however, in these instances, were not so much to blame ; because they were in favour of Apostles, *μεμαρτυρημένοις*, and of a *man* approved of with them. Now as there can be no doubt that by the *man*, thus distinguished from apostles as such, Clemens means Apollos ; so by *apostles*, as such, opposed to him, he must intend Cephas and Paul. If so, Cephas was an apostle as well as Paul ; which being admitted, every one, I should suppose, will agree that he must be the same with St. Peter.

^s Eus. E. H. ii. xxv. 68. A. B.

Now both Corinth and Carthage, after having been laid waste in the same year^t, U. C. 608. B. C. 146. were restored by Julius Cæsar in the same year^u, U. C. 710. B. C. 44. From that time forward, the former through its two ports; Lechæum, on its western, and Cenchreæ, on its eastern side^v; was the resort of merchants, and of travellers between Italy and Asia*. If this visit, then, of St. Peter's to Corinth was preparatory to a visit to Rome, or in the way of a journey to Italy; it would be no more than consistent with the usual practice (as I have little doubt was the case) that he should have come on the same occasion to Corinth—though after both St. Paul and Apollos had left it; and having preached there for some time, should have passed from thence to Rome. And all these conclusions, I think, may be finally confirmed by the date of the visit to Antioch, recorded Gal. ii. 11; when St. Peter was reproved by St. Paul.

There is no instance, besides this, of any occasion on which both these Apostles are known to have been at Antioch together: and the time of this meeting coincides, in my opinion, with the time of that departure of St. Paul's from Jerusalem to Antioch, mentioned Acts xviii. 22, 23; of which, as I have observed above,

* Illa Corinthiacis primum mihi cognita Cenchris | Fida manet trepidæ duxque comes—que fugæ—Ovid. Trist. i. Elegia ix. 9. Aut, postquam bimarem cursu superavimus Isthmon; | Alteraque est nostræ sumta carina fugæ.—Ibid. Elegia x. 5—Aristides, Oratio iii. 38. l. 5. *de Corintho*: ὑποδέχεται γὰρ ἀπάσας εἰς εἰαυτήν, καὶ προπέμπει πάλιν ἐξ

αὐτῆς, καὶ κοινὴ πάντων ἐστὶ καταφυγὴ· καθάπερ τις ὁδὸς καὶ διέξοδος ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, κ', τ. λ.

So long as Corinth lay in ruins, the island of Delos was the favourite resort of strangers and merchants in its stead. Ἐν καλῷ γὰρ κείμεν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πλέουσιν: Strabo, x.v. §. 4. 322. Cf. Pausanias, iii. 23. and viii. 33.

^t Vell. Pat. i. 12. 13. ^u Dio, xliii. 50. Strabo, xvii. iii. §. 15. 676: viii. vi. §. 23. 280. Cf. Diodorus Sic. Fragm. lib. xxxiii: Operum x. 69. Plutarch, Julius Cæs. 57: Pausanias, lib. ii. 1. ^v Strabo, viii. vi. §. 22. 271. Plin. H. N. iv. 5. Philo, in Flaccum, Operum ii. 539. l. 42. Pausanias, lib. cit. Acts xviii. 18. Rom. xvi. 1.

it will be proved hereafter that it was Claudii xii. U. C. 805. *ineunte*. St. Paul, as we shall see, left St. Peter at Jerusalem when he went down from thence to Antioch; and he spent some time at Antioch, before he again departed thence. In the interval of this residence, I suppose St. Peter to have come thither: and, while they were both there together, the reproof in question to have taken place.

The context alone must suffice to prove that the meeting took place sometime or other after the presence of both the parties in Jerusalem, Gal. ii. 1–10; the time of which, as before observed, was U. C. 805. *ineunte*. And this argument from the context may be further confirmed by the internal evidence of the account of what passed at the meeting itself.

For I. The very nature and occasion of the rebuke are demonstrative that no such incident could have occurred, before the question concerning the observance of the Mosaic ritual by Gentile converts had begun to be agitated. No such incident, then, could have occurred before the close of St. Paul's first mission to the Gentiles: nor, before Acts xv. 1—30. later even than that: which is, as we shall see elsewhere, between Claudii iv. U. C. 797. and Claudii vii. or viii. U. C. 800. or 801.

II. In the use of the phrase ὅτι κατεγνωσμένος ἦν, to describe the conduct of St. Peter, there is a reference to what had passed, at the meeting in Jerusalem, not long before. I do not think these words can be properly rendered, Because he was to be blamed; a sense which would have required ὅτι καταγνωστός or καταγνωστέος ἦν. Their meaning is rather; Because he had changed his opinion; Because he had retracted some former concession; Because he had passed, as it were, a sentence of disapproval on himself. They are equivalent

in short to *ὅτι κατεγνώκως ἦν* (τι) *ἑαυτοῦ*, or simply to *ὅτι κατεγνώκως ἦν*; just as at Acts xiii. 47. *ἐντέταλται* is put for *ἐντέταλκεν**; and at Acts xx. 13. *οὕτω γὰρ ἦν διατεταγμένος* is put for *οὕτω διετετάχει*, or *ἦν διατεταχώς*. Josephus, in a similar instance, expresses himself of Cestius Gallus thus—*ἔγνων καθ' ἑαυτοῦ...βραδύνas*; which will bear the sense of *κατεγνώσθη βραδύνas* ^w †.

It is unquestionable that the words charge Peter with some inconsistency or other; which inconsistency the context demonstrates to be nothing else but the implied disapproval of his own conduct just before at Jerusalem, as contrasted with his conduct now at Antioch; in reference to the very same thing. Before, having openly maintained that there was no longer any distinction between Jews and Gentiles; having eaten and drunk with Gentiles, as a thing indifferent; having given the right hand of fellowship, in the name of the Circumcision, to Barnabas and Paul, the apostles of the Uncircumcision—he was now beginning to hold back, and to separate himself from the Gentiles; which was apparently to retract, if not to prevaricate; to acknowledge

* So Herodian, i. 28: *ταῦτα καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἐντέταλθαι ῥήμασιν*. Directly after, *οἷς τοῦτο ἐντέταλτο*, in the passive.

† Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 36: *ὥστε καὶ τῶν προτέρων τινὰς καταγνῶναι*. Aristides, Oratio viii. 81. line 11: *ἐνίων δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰπόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφῆκαν, ὥσπερ καταγνόντες*. In both these instances the verb denotes a change of mind; a condemnation of some former purpose or opinion: and had the passive voice been employed in them, as it is by St. Paul, no two

modes of expression could have been more similar both in form and in meaning. But this interchange of the passive with the active is too common to be urged as an objection against the present construction. Plutarch, Antonius, 6, has it, *εἰ μὴ ταῦτα πάλαι ἔγνωστο πράττειν*, where *ἔγνωστο* stands for *ἔγνων*, or *ἐγνώκει*: and in Sophocles, Ajax, 717, *εὐτέ γ' ἐξ ἀέλπτων | Αἴας μετανεγνώσθη | θυμὸν Ἀτρεΐδαις μεγάλων τε νεικέων*, I should understand *μετανεγνώσθη* to be put for *μετανέγνων*.

the antiquated distinctions, as if still in being; and, what is more, to condemn or to contradict his own practice and professions previously.

III. Barnabas was now at Antioch, as well as St. Peter and St. Paul; and the account of the visit to Jerusalem, just before, shews that he had been there also. It is nothing incredible that when St. Paul left Jerusalem to go down to Antioch, he also might do the same. But, what is a still more critical coincidence; St. Paul took up Titus with himself, on the occasion of the visit to Jerusalem; which renders it morally certain that he would take him to Antioch likewise; and that from Antioch, when he set out to Galatia, he would take him to Galatia also. Accordingly, when we come to consider the date of the Epistle to the Galatians, I hope to make it appear that this was actually the case.

IV. When St. Paul departed after this from Antioch, and went over Galatia and Phrygia; he went over them, as the Acts inform us^x, ἐπιστηρίζων, strengthening or confirming, anew, all the disciples. The necessity of such fresh strengthening must be evident both from what is seen to have previously transpired at Jerusalem^y; and, more especially, from this very incident which afterwards occurred at Antioch.

Now the result of the meeting at Jerusalem, as summed up by Gal. ii. 9; or, in other words, the compact entered into between Paul and Barnabas on the one hand, and Peter, and James, and John on the other; ἵνα ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν, (the meaning of which is, That we should go to the Gentiles, but they to the Circumcision;) is such a result, and such a compact, as would fitly and properly apply to a state of the case like this: viz. that at this

^x Chap. xviii. 23.

^y Gal. ii. 1—10.

very conjuncture, when Paul and Barnabas were about to set out on a renewed mission to the Gentiles, Peter and John at least, if not James, were preparing to set out upon an Evangelical circuit to the Circumcision. And if, as regarded Peter, this circuit was such an one as he must have described before the writing of his first Epistle; a circuit beginning in Pontus, and continued in order, through the whole extent of Asia Minor, until it terminated at Rome; it is morally certain he would pass, in the first instance, through Antioch, on his way.

I persuade myself, therefore, that with the time of that visit to Antioch, we have the precise beginning of this great Evangelical circuit marked out; which would thus be in the spring of the twelfth of Claudius, U.C. 805. A.D. 52. The twelfth and the thirteenth of Claudius might well be taken up either wholly or in part by such a circuit, before the arrival at Corinth; and St. Peter having preached there some length of time, might afterwards proceed thence, before the middle of the fourteenth, to Rome. If his first Epistle, then, was subsequently written from Rome, it could not have been written before the fourteenth of Claudius at least; and, probably, not until some time later than that. Nor, if St. Mark accompanied him on this visit, could his Gospel also have been written before the same time. And though St. Peter's First Epistle might not have been written, after all, from Rome; still the time of his first arrival there, upon which the date of the Gospel must ultimately depend, remains ascertained as before. The object of our previous reasonings was to fix that time: and even the date and place of the Epistle, as we shall see hereafter, are so far in unison with these conclusions, that if it was not written actually

from Rome, still it was not written actually before St. Peter had been there.

The length of his stay at Rome may also be presumptively determined.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians was written sometime before the passover in the first of Nero; and the Epistle to the Romans, about the time of the passover in the second. When the former was written, Peter was no longer at Corinth: and when the latter was written, he was no longer at Rome. He had left Corinth, then, before the middle of the first of Nero; and he had left Rome before, or by, the middle of the second.

The first of these facts, for the reasons stated above, we may infer with great certainty: and the second, for a reason which I shall mention presently, we may infer, if not with certainty, yet with a degree of probability which approximates to it.

In the salutations appended to the Epistle to the Romans, xvi. 1–16; which are more numerous and more particular than those in any Epistle besides, or rather, in all the Epistles put together; the name of Peter, or of Cephas, nowhere occurs. But this would surely not have been the case, had Peter, or Cephas, been still in Rome; or still known to St. Paul to be there, when he was writing the Epistle. Nor, in explanation of this omission, can it be said that the salutations are addressed to the members of the Roman church as such: for, though the names which follow from the eighth verse downwards may be the names of such members; yet those which precede from the third downwards, and are put at the head of the rest, are manifestly not such. And on the same principle that as the names of persons, more generally illustrious

in the church, or more endeared on any account to St. Paul, these precede the rest; the name of Peter, had he also been in Rome, would doubtless have preceded even these.

It follows, therefore, that Peter did not come to Rome much before the middle of the fourteenth of Claudius, nor remain there longer than the middle of the second of Nero; that is, from U. C. 807. *medio*, to U. C. 809. *ineunte*. The duration of his visit might still have been more than a year, and, certainly, could scarcely have been less; though as the time for which St. Paul resided there after him, even as a prisoner and in confinement, was only two years, this duration of it may justly be considered long enough. The history of these two chief among the Apostles runs parallel in a remarkable manner—a fact which is well expressed in the testimony of Dionysius, referred to above; but so that in most of the leading steps the history of St. Peter takes precedence of that of St. Paul. They both together, or within a short time of each other, planted the church in Corinth: they both together, or soon after each other, visited Italy, and preached in Rome: and they both together, or soon after each other, closed their career by martyrdom, on the same spot. And as St. Peter might first come to Rome in the fourteenth of Claudius, and leave it in the second of Nero; so did St. Paul, as we shall see, come thither in the fifth of Nero, and leave it again in the seventh.

The proof of this position, with respect to St. Paul, is supplied, and will be considered hereafter, in the Acts: nor is it destitute of support from external testimony in the case of Peter. Lactantius, a Roman Christian of the third century, or whoever was the author of the treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, as-

cribed to him, places his arrival at Rome, Cum jam Nero imperaret^z; and after the Gospel had been preached, per annos xxv—dated from the ascension; usque ad principium Neroniani imperii. This author's date of the ascension is the consulate of the Gemini, U. C. 782: five and twenty years from which bring us actually to U. C. 807. just before the beginning of the reign of Nero, or in the first half of the fourteenth of Claudius; the very time to which the course of our preceding reasonings has made it necessary to refer the first arrival of St. Peter at Rome.

The time of his departure from thence, as in the second of Nero, seems to be confirmed in like manner by a remarkable mistake in the *Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum*, a document as ancient as the time of Liberius, who was contemporary with the emperor Constantius^a. The martyrdom of Peter and Paul is there placed in the consulate of Nero and Vetus^b; the former being supposed to have sate at Rome previously, twenty-five years, one month, and nine days, dated from the consulate of Vinicius and Longinus; which is the true year of the ascension, U. C. 783. Nero and Vetus were consuls together U. C. 808; but at no other period of his reign. This very mistake must prove thus much; that Peter was known, or reputed, to have been at Rome in or before, but not after, the second of Nero; and tradition might confound the year of his departure with the year of his death; adding to this death that of St. Paul, because it was always currently believed that both St. Peter and St. Paul suffered at Rome, and under Nero; and

^z De Mortibus Pers. ii. 844.

Sulpicius Severus, ii. 54, 55.

Chronicon Paschale, ii. xvii. 198.

^a Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, xv. 7: 91. 92:

^b Bucherius, de Doctrina Temp. 269. Cf.

The date thus assigned to the martyrdom of Peter and Paul being June 29, U. C. 808. it implies that the ascension took place, May 20. U. C. 783. And it actually took place, May 16 in that year.

the one either at the same time, or nearly at the same time, with the other.

I shall mention no more, then, in reference to the time of this visit, than the following coincidence.

When St. Peter and St. Mark were at Babylon or Rome, Silvanus was with them^b. When St. Paul was at Corinth, Acts xviii. 5. Silvanus was with him. But this was from the end of the ninth to the beginning of the twelfth of Claudius. When Paul in the last of these years, Acts xviii. 18–22. went up to Jerusalem, Silvanus, it is reasonable to presume, would go up with him also: and as the church of Jerusalem was that to which he had originally belonged, there is no reason to suppose he would necessarily accompany St. Paul to Antioch, and might not, on the contrary, attach himself to St. Peter; in whose company, and in St. Mark's, he might afterwards make the journey which rendered them both known to the converts of Asia Minor, in the places visited by St. Peter.

The tradition of a visit of St. Peter's to Rome in the reign of Claudius, at any time prior to the last year of that reign; and, more especially, of a visit in the second of Claudius; rests on too precarious a foundation to overthrow the preceding reasonings. Dionysius, the Bishop of Corinth, and not many years younger than St. Peter himself, knew nothing of this tradition; nor of any journey of St. Peter's either to Rome, or to Corinth, which did not coincide in general with the similar visits of St. Paul. It is certain, both from the Acts, and from the two Epistles to the Corinthian church, that Christianity had not been introduced into Corinth, nor even into Achaia, before St. Paul's first visit, in the ninth or the tenth of Claudius, to the peninsula of Greece: but had St. Peter passed through it on his

^b 1 Pet. v. 12.

way to Rome, before the same time, it would doubtless have been introduced into it before that time. There is no countenance for the tradition in any ecclesiastical writer earlier than the time of Eusebius, or the beginning of the fourth century; after which any such assertion becomes entitled to little regard. It is part of the same tradition, to combine the fact of this visit by St. Peter with the fact also of the presence of Simon Magus in Rome at the same time; and of the Apostle's fabulous contest with that impostor: yet Justin Martyr, who repeatedly asserts the visit of Simon Magus to Rome, nowhere asserts the presence of Peter also along with him*. No such visit was known to Origen;

* Irenæus, *adversus Hær.* i. xx. 94. l. 7. asserts, as well as Justin, that Simon was honoured at Rome by Claudius, or in his time, with a statue; but he says nothing about his contest with Peter. Nor yet Tertullian, though, (*Opera*, ii. 43. *De Præscrip. Hæreticorum*, 33.) he alludes to his rebuke by St. Peter; and (*v.* 39. *Apologeticus*, 13.) he also mentions his statue; and in various other parts of his works, has occasion to speak of him generally—viz. iii. 193. *De Fuga in Persecutione*, 12: iv. 157. *De Idololatria*, 9: *Ibid.* 205. *De Baptismo*, 18: 287. *De Anima*, 34: 331. *Ibid.* 57. The same remark is to be made upon his mention by Clemens Alexandrinus, (*Operum* ii. 899. line 1. *Strom.* vii. 17.) Even Eusebius, (*E. H.* ii. xiii. xiv. 50–52.) while he speaks of his being followed to Rome by St. Peter, says nothing about any contest between them there: though Jerome, (*De SS. Ecclesiasticis*, i. iv. *Pars* ii^a. 101.) supposes the object of Peter's visit to Rome (which *he* places in

the second of Claudius) to have been *ad expugnandum Simonem Magum*.

I would not be understood to dispute the fact of Simon Magus' coming to Rome, early in the reign of Claudius; which would be very possible, if what happened in Samaria between him and Peter, happened in the first of Caius. It is to be observed, however, that some ancient authorities speak of his attempting to fly, without ascribing its failure to the instrumentality of St. Peter. Vide the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, ii. 14. 158. A: Epiphanius, *Operum* i. 59. A. *Contra Simonianos*, 5: Chrys. *Spuria*, viii. 76. C. *De Pseudoprophetis*. Theodorit, *Operum* iv. 286, 287. *Hæreticarum Fabularum* i. 1. and the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, vi. 8, 9. give the common account.

If we except the author or authors of the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, Arnobius, as far as I know, is the earliest Christian writer, who distinctly asserts the fact in question: *Viderant enim*

though when alluding to some mistake of Phlegon's, who had confounded Peter with Jesus^c, he had naturally an opportunity of mentioning it. The Presbyter Caius was aware of no visit of St. Peter, which did not almost coincide with some visit of St. Paul^d; whom no one ever supposed to have come to Rome earlier than the reign of Nero. As little regard is due to the similar tradition^e which would make Philo Judæus to have met and conversed with St. Peter at Rome. If the occasion of Philo's presence there was that dispute between the Jews and the Greeks of Alexandria, which was referred to the emperor in the third of Caius, but not decided before the first or the second of Claudius; and is related in part by himself^f, and in part by Josephus^g; the two traditions amount to the same thing*.

currum Simonis Magi et quadrigas igneas Petri ore difflatas, et nominato Christo evanuisse: Adversus Gentes, ii. 50. line 27. Arnobius' age is U. C. 1050. A. D. 297. His scholar Lactantius, however, does not repeat the assertion after him.

It is historically related of the reign of Nero, that persons did undertake to fly in his time. See Dio Chrys. Oratio xxi. 504. 23-26: Suet. Neron. 12, 6: Juvenal, iii. 79, 80. But it is plain, from the two last authorities, that the person whom they mean, was a *Græculus quis*, and no Samaritan, like Simon.

* The origin of this apocryphal visit is manifestly due to the vanity of making it appear that the introduction of Christianity into Rome was the work of the two great Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul. The same

vanity is observable in a similar endeavour with respect to Antioch in Syria; which, next to Rome and Alexandria in Egypt^h, was justly reputed the most considerable city of the Roman empire. Yet nothing can be plainer than it is from the Acts, that the first preaching of the Gospel in Antioch, was due to the Hebrew converts whom the persecution, begun with the martyrdom of Stephen, had scattered abroad; while the Twelve still continued in Jerusalem: and that the consolidation of the church there, afterwards, was the work of Barnabas and of his fellow-labourer Saul: whereas, with regard to St. Peter; but for the intimation which occurs at Gal. ii. 11. we should not have known that he was ever in Antioch at all. It is not impossible, indeed, that he might have gone down

^c Contra Cels. ii. 14. Operum i. 400. E. ^d Eus. E. H. ii. xxv. 67. D. ^e Ibid. ii. xvii. 53. D. ^f De Virtutibus et de Legatione. Operum ii. 545. ^g Ant. xviii. viii. 1. xix. v. 2, 3. ^h Jos. B. J. iii. xi. 4. Strabo, xvi. ii. §. 5. 304.

That Christianity had reached Rome in the reign of Claudius, appears from Suetonius^k: that it had been established there as early as the ninth of Claudius will appear, as we shall see hereafter, from Acts xviii. 2. compared with Romans xv. 23. And, if Andronicus and Junias, the kinsmen of Paul; mentioned Rom. xvi. 7. as converted before himself; had long been members of the Roman church, it might have been established there even before that year. It seems to be implied by Tacitus^l: *Et quia externæ superstitiones valescant*: Are beginning to prevail: that Christianity was making some progress there even in the seventh of Claudius: for no foreign superstition, we may presume, could so far be beginning to prevail, as to cause the ancient science of the haruspices to fall into decay, except either Judaism, or, what could not at that time be distinguished from Judaism, Christianity: and Judaism had long been more or less prevalent at Rome; Christianity might only be beginning to be so. It is certain, at least, that some of the household of Narcissus the freedman of Claudius^m, must have been converted before his death, which happened within thirty days after the accession

to Antioch, when, upon his miraculous deliverance from prison, he is said to have gone to another placeⁱ. But I confess it does not appear to me probable that this place was Antioch; for, had it been so, there is no conceivable reason why St. Luke should not have mentioned it; and more than one such reason why he should. The year of this deliverance was the year of the death of Herod Agrippa, in the third of Claudius, U.C. 796; at which time the Gospel had not yet begun to be preached (even by St.

Paul's first mission) to the Gentiles; much less could it yet have reached Rome: and after this, at Acts xv. 7; a point of time, which as I shall shew elsewhere, comes between the fourth and the ninth of Claudius; St. Peter was again in Jerusalem. It is probable he would return thither from his place of concealment, as soon as the death, or even the departure, of Herod made it prudent to do so: and neither of these events was long after his deliverance itself.

ⁱ Chap. xii. 17.^k Claud. 25, 12.^l Ann. xi. 15.^m Rom. xvi. 11.

of Nero, U. C. 807ⁿ: and from the case of Pomponia Græcina: *Insignis femina...ac superstitionis externæ rea*^o: (which, I have very little doubt, means the charge of being a Christian)—the Gospel, we may conclude, must have advanced there considerably by the third or the fourth of Nero; and before the arrival of St. Paul.

The result of these considerations is to render it presumptively certain that, if the Gospel of St. Mark was composed or published at Rome, in consequence of the first visit of St. Peter; it was composed or published between the fourteenth of Claudius, and the second of Nero: U. C. 807. *ineuntem*, and U. C. 808. *exeuntem*; A. D. 54. and 55. The internal evidence of the Gospel itself, as far as it goes, is in unison with this presumption.

For first, if the first sentence of the Gospel, and the last, be compared together, it will appear that the compass or scope of this Gospel in particular is much greater than that of St. Matthew's or of St. Luke's: it is, in fact, equivalent, though more concisely so, to either of these, and the Acts of the Apostles, in conjunction. It could not have been said with truth that the Apostles—having been commanded to go forth into all the world, and to preach the Gospel to the whole creation; went forth accordingly, and preached *every where*, while their preaching was still confined to Judæa: nor when it had taken in merely Samaria: nor yet when it was but beginning to address the Gentiles: nor, in short, before it was an historical fact that it had pervaded *τὴν οἰκουμένην*: or at least the extent of the Roman empire: which our Saviour had predicted^p would be the case not long before the destruction of

ⁿ Seneca, *Ludus de Morte Claudii Cæs.* xiii. 1. iv. 406. Dio lx. 34. Tac. Ann. xiii. 1. ^o Ibid. 32. ^p Matt. xxiv. 14. Mark xiii. 10.

Jerusalem; and which St. Paul⁹ shews was not the case before the middle of the second of Nero.

Secondly; not to specify such remarkable passages in this Gospel, as contrasted with similar passages in St. Matthew's, would imply it to have been expressly written for Gentile believers as such; the frequency of Latin terms or phrases, clothed in Greek, (scarcely any of which occur in the Gospel of St. Luke, and not so many in the Gospel of St. Matthew, and still fewer in the Gospel of St. John,) would prove it to have been designed for Roman converts in particular. Of this kind are, λεγεών—σπεκουλάτωρ *—κῆνσος—κοδράντης—λεπτὰ δύο· ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράντης—φραγελλώσας—αὐλῆς· ὃ ἐστὶ πραιτώριον—κεντυρίων—μεσονύκτιον, as a division of time—κράββατος †—οὐαὶ ‡, (*vah!*)—παιδιόθεν· a *puero*—σύσσημον—νόμισμα τοῦ κῆνσον, in St. Matthew; explained simply by δηνάριον, in St. Mark—ἀπέχει, *sufficit*—ἀλεκτοροφωνία, as a division of time answering to *gallicinium*—ἄμφοδος, || analogous to *ambi-*

* Σπεκουλάτωρ—that is, *Speculator*, not *spiculator*. Vide Suet. Aug. 74: Claud. 35: Galb. 18: Otho, 5: Tac. Histor. i. 24, 25: ii. 33: Seneca, De Beneficiis, iii. 25. Operum iv. 119.

† Vide Pollux, Onomasticon, lib. x. cap. 7. whence, though it may appear that the word was recognised in Pollux' time, yet that it was comparatively vox barbara, in the opinion of the more classical Greeks, may be very plainly collected even thence, and from what Sozomen relates, E. H. i. xi. 416. D. of Spyridon, bishop of Trimythus, and Triphyllius, bishop of Ledra in Cyprus.

‡ Οὐαί: Arriani Epictet. iii. 23. p. 479. l. 12. εἶπέ μοι, οὐᾶ, καὶ, θαυμαστῶς: 482, 5. ἵνα σοι οὐᾶ φῶσιν—SS. Deperditi, ii. 231. Excerpta e Dione, cxvi: οὐᾶ καλὴ σου ἡμέρα τῆς σήμερον. οὐᾶ καλῶν βασιλέων: whence it appears that οὐαὶ, οὐᾶ or οὐᾶ, (*vah*), is not necessarily an exclamation of reproach, but might express delight and satisfaction; and in that sense would answer to some such word as *bravo*, *well done*, &c. Cf. Dio, lxiii. 20.

|| Artemidorus, Oneirocritica ii. 73: καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς κεράμους ἵπτασθαι, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας, καὶ τὰ ἄμφοδα, κ', τ. λ. Cf. Pollux, Ono-

vium—ἀλλας ἀναλον, *sal insulsum*—ἀπολαβέσθαι, *seorsum recipere*—ἐσχάτως ἔχειν, *in extremis esse*—μεγιστάνες· *magnates*—μεθόρια· *confinia*, κ', τ. λ.—Perhaps the two explanations, λεπτὰ δύο· ὃ ἐστὶ κοδράντης*—and, αὐλῆς· ὃ ἐστὶ πραιτώριον—are the most decisive of all: for they are manifestly intended to render something intelligible; and intelligible, as it would seem, only to the ideas of Romans. Nor does any thing like them occur in the other Gospels †.

Thirdly, among the salutations in the Epistle to the Romans, the following occurs; Salute Rufus, the elect in the Lord, and his mother and mine †; which renders it certain that, in the second of Nero, there was one Rufus with his mother, living at Rome, and a member of the Roman church. Now, Mark xv. 21. Simon of Cyrene is further described as the father of Alexander and Rufus: and, beyond all question, what

masticon, ix. cap. 5. who shews that in the sense of ἀγνῖαι, parts within the walls of cities, or streets, the word occurred in Aristophanes and Hyperides.

* Plutarch, Cicero. 29: τὸ δὲ λεπτότατον τοῦ χαλκοῦ νομίσματος κουαδράντην ἐκάλουν. Artemidorus, (Oneirocritica, ii. 63.) observes, τὰ μὲν λεπτὰ καὶ χάλκεα νομίσματα—Cap. 64: ἐθεασάμην ἐμναυτὸν ἐν σφυρίδι ἔχοντα λεπτὰ κερμάτια.

† It is no objection that a Gospel, though written at Rome, was nevertheless written in Greek. The hypothesis, which supposes St. Mark's Gospel to have been originally published in Latin, is unnecessary, as well as untenable. The Epistle to the Romans furnishes a case in point; for that also was written in Greek: and such was the

prevalence of this language, almost every where, at present, that even in Gaul^r the law proceedings were carried on in Greek; bargains of every kind were indited in Greek: and the Roman Satirist could say, Nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas, | Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos, | De conducendo loquitur jam rhetore Thules^s. It is much to be doubted whether the Latin language, even in the Roman dominions, (with some particular exceptions; as for instance, in Spain,) was ever so generally in use: in which case, both the perpetuity and the utility of a Gospel though composed at Rome, were best provided for by composing it, not in Latin, but in Greek.

^r Strabo. iv. i. §. 5. 14.

^s Juv. Sat. xv. 110.

^t xvi. 13.

is added, under such circumstances, by way of designation to any thing else, must be clearer than the thing defined, and stand in no need of explanation itself. Hence though St. Mark's readers might not have known who Simon was, as identified by his relation to Cyrene merely; they would know who he was, as mentioned in conjunction with Alexander and Rufus: and this would obviously be the case if, when St. Mark was writing his Gospel, and writing it at Rome, Rufus in particular was a member of the Roman church, and personally known to his readers as such; along with his mother, if not his father, also. As to Simon himself, the silence of St. Paul proves either that he was not alive; (a very possible event in the second of Nero, U. C. 809. twenty-six years after the sixteenth of Tiberius, U. C. 783.) or not a convert; or not resident at Rome; when St. Paul wrote the Epistle to that church*.

* But who, it may be demanded, was Alexander also? I cannot answer this question except by conjecturing that he was either the same person, who is mentioned by Josephus^u as an illustrious Jew, and a native of Cyrene, like Simon, in the time of Catullus, who was governor of the African Pentapolis, about U. C. 828. the fifth or the sixth of Vespasian; or else with the Alexander mentioned by St. Luke, Acts xix. 33. This last Alexander was certainly a Jew; but whether a friend of St. Paul's, or not, may be considered doubtful. The former might be inferred from the circumstance of his attempting to defend himself, when put forward to the people at Ephesus; the

latter, from the fact of his being put forward by St. Paul's enemies in particular, the Jews. It is clear, indeed, from the way in which his name is mentioned by St. Luke, that he was somebody known to the readers of the Acts; whom they would recognise, even from the mention of his name only. He may be the same Alexander whom St. Paul alludes to^v, as one who had formerly been a Christian and orthodox; but had afterwards fallen into some great error; which error, it is perceived by a comparison with 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. concerned the denial of a resurrection to come. Yet from this error itself, there is no reason to suppose, that Alexander individually might not have been

^u B. Jud. vii. xi. 2.

^v 1 Tim. i. 20.

Fourthly, if St. Matthew's Gospel was the first and the original Gospel ; composed in Palestine, and in the vernacular language of Palestine, for the use of the original and mother church ; the present Greek copy of it must have been a translation of this Hebrew original. The premises, upon which this conclusion is founded, are so well supported by both internal and external evidence, that no matter of fact, which rests upon the faith of testimony, can be considered certain, if these facts are not so. There is the same unvarying uniformity of attestation to this point, as to the fact that St. Mark's Gospel was written at Rome : and if ancient ecclesiastical tradition, on the score of its distinctness, consistency, and regularity is any where to be implicitly trusted ; it is upon these two points. Suffice it to say, that no modern commentator or critic would ever have called it in question, if the Hebrew original had not long since been lost : and if it was not just as difficult to account for the substitution of the Greek copy in its stead, as for the speedy extinction of the original.

The extinction of the latter was early an unquestionable fact : and even the Gospel according to the Ebionites, otherwise styled the Gospel according to the Naza-

recovered ; for, in the second allusion to it, it is no longer Hymenæus and Alexander who are mentioned, but Hymenæus and Philetus. The death of Catullus too, as related by Josephus^w, is such a death as seems to have befallen, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the persecutors of Christianity, as such. But be this as it may ; if Alexander was at Ephesus, Acts xix. 33. at a point of time as late as the midsummer of the first of

Nero ; it is very possible he might still be absent from Rome not ten months afterwards ; about the middle of the second. I confess, however, I should incline to the conclusion that this Alexander in the Acts might be the son of Simon ; but not, like his mother, and his brother Rufus, a convert to the Gospel. It is possible, he might be even Alexander the coppersmith, mentioned 2 Tim. iv. 14, 15.

^w B. Jud. vii. xi. 4.

renes ; which was translated into Latin by Jerome, and is repeatedly quoted by him * ; cannot be considered the authentic production of St. Matthew ; though it may very probably have been founded upon some such production. The uncertainty as to the origin of the Greek translation was just the same anciently as now. Various authors of it have been named by the later Fathers, as St. James, by some ; St. John, by others ; whose assertions, however, no one will regard except as mere conjectures. The confession of Jerome that nobody knew any thing about it ; *Quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est* ^x ; is both the truest, and the most sincere. It is observable, however, amidst all this liberty of conjecture with respect to others, that no ancient commentator appears to have suspected it was the work of St. Matthew himself.

Whatever difficulty there may be upon this point, the question, considered strictly on its own merits, is simply this ; whether there is sufficient reason to believe an Hebrew Gospel did once exist ; not, how it might afterwards have been lost, or been superseded by a Greek. And with respect even to this further question ; on one supposition, viz. that the authority of the translation, whosoever was its author, was known and acknowledged from the first, as equal to the authority of the original ; that is, that the Hebrew Gospel, as it came from St. Matthew, was rendered into Greek either by some other of the Apostles, or by some companion and disciple of the Apostles, himself inspired, or writing under the direction of an inspired

* Cf. Hieronymi iii. 821. *ad calc.* in Ezech. xviii : iv. Pars i^a. 47. *ad calc.* in Matt. xii : 135. *ad med.* in Matt. xxvii : 139. *ad calc.* : in Matt. xxviii : Pars ii^a. 102. De SS. Eccles. ii. iii. : 533. *ad med.* Lib. iii. Adversus Pelagianos, where two quotations from the work in question are given, at some length.

^x Catalogus SS. Ecclesiast. iii. Operum iv. Pars ii^a. 102.

and infallible guide ; the loss of the original would be a natural consequence of the translation. It might survive for a time in Judæa ; so long, perhaps, as the succession of Hebrew Bishops was kept up in the Jewish church ; and, consequently, while the Hebrew or mother church could still be externally distinguished from the Gentile. But this was not longer than the eighteenth of Hadrian ; within little more than sixty years after the first destruction of Jerusalem ^y.

It is the weakest of all arguments, as opposed to the unanimous suffrage of antiquity—to contend that St. Matthew's Greek Gospel exhibits no marks of a translation, and, therefore, must be an original. I wonder what marks of a translation it should be expected to exhibit. It furnishes a multitude of proofs that it was composed or translated by a Jew ; and why a Jew, translating from Hebrew into Greek, should acquit himself in a different manner from a Jew, composing originally in Greek, is what I could never comprehend. If the objection is designed to imply that the Greek of St. Matthew's Gospel is not Hebraistic Greek ; it might just as well be contended that the Septuagint version of the Old Testament is an original. But if it assumes that the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel has every where as faithfully and accurately rendered his meaning into Greek, as St. Matthew himself could have done ; surely what constitutes the object of every translation, and is the peculiar excellence of the best translations, must be a strange ground for maintaining that the present Greek can be no translation. This phenomenon is merely a proof that the translator of St. Matthew's Gospel fully understood his original ; and was, therefore, fully qualified for his task : and, beyond question, a Jew would

^y Dio. lxi. 12-15. Euseb. E. H. iv. vi. 118. B. Eckhel, Doct. Numm. Vett. vi. 482.

be best qualified to understand a Jew ; and an Apostle, or an Apostolical man, to understand an Apostle, and to translate the composition of an Apostle.

The testimony of Papias, the hearer and disciple of Aristio, and of John, the Presbyters ; and almost contemporary with St. Matthew himself ; as recorded by Eusebius^z, is peculiarly clear and positive : Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο· ἡρμήνευσε δὲ αὐτὰ ὡς ἡδύνατο ἕκαστος. In the time of Papias, therefore, and, consequently, at so remote a period as the age of Papias, though it was known that St. Matthew had been the author of a Gospel ; it was neither known, nor suspected, that this was any but an Hebrew Gospel. The same testimony, rightly interpreted, proves another fact. The words above recited being quoted by Eusebius as the very words of Papias ; it may justly be inferred from them that a Greek version in his time, had already supplanted the Hebrew original. Matthew, says he, composed his *oracles*, which means his Gospel, in Hebrew ; and every one translated them as he was able. The word ἡρμηνεύω, here employed, does not mean, *to explain* or *to interpret* ; but *to translate, to render from one language into another* : and, in this instance, where Papias is speaking of an Hebrew document as read or perused by persons such as himself, viz. by Greeks ; it means a translation from Hebrew into Greek. I should consider it a waste of time seriously to confirm this assertion, by the production of instances. Yet the character of Papias has been unjustly made to suffer by supposing that the word is used by him in the sense of, *interpretation*. Let it suffice to refer in general to 1 Cor. xii. 30. xiv. 5. 13. 27. 28. Acts ix. 36. John i. 39. 43. ix. 7. Hebr. vii. 2. 1 Cor. xii. 10. xiv. 26 ; in all which,

^z E. H. iii. xxxix. 113. B.

the verb should be rendered, to *translate* ; and the cognate nouns, by *translator*, or, *translation*.

Now Papias speaks of all this historically ; as what had once been the case, but was so no longer. He does not say, Matthew composed his Gospel in Hebrew, and every one *translates* it as well as he *is* able ; as well as his knowledge of Hebrew *will* permit him ; but, Matthew composed his Gospel in Hebrew, and every one *translated* it as well as he *was* able ; as well as his knowledge of Hebrew *would* permit him. Does it follow, then, that, because St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel was no longer translated by every one for himself, as well as he was able, a Gospel by St. Matthew was no longer in being ? By no means. It follows only that that Gospel, which every one translated for himself, was no longer in being ; but some Gospel is recognised as still in existence ; and, consequently, a different Gospel from that. St. Matthew's oracles were still in being, but not in their original Hebrew form : they were still to be read and understood ; but not, as every one was enabled by his knowledge of another language. They existed, therefore, in a Greek translation.

It is, consequently, of little moment that Papias does not declare himself to have seen this Hebrew original. If it was not in being in his time, he could not have seen it : and if, as there is reason to believe, he did not himself understand Hebrew ; if he had seen it, he could not have judged of it. His testimony is still to be received as an adequate testimony to the opinion of his times. It is not even implied by Eusebius that he asserts *this* fact—as he states him to have asserted many other things—ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως : he asserts it as no hearsay report, but as the general belief ; and, upon questions of this kind, the general belief is the strongest

proof. The decision of all disputes, relating to ancient works, which concern their reputed authors, their authenticity, or the like ; in the absence of positive intimations from the books themselves, must ultimately be referred to general belief. Particular testimonies are but the echo of this belief. And, hence, it would not invalidate the strength of this testimony of Papias, though it could be proved that the long line of authorities to the same effect, which come after him, might all be traced up to the influence of his single opinion. The testimony of Papias would still represent the opinion of his age ; and the opinion of his age would still be an adequate testimony to the matter of the fact.

Yet the assumption of this influence is a precarious assumption. None of the authors of these testimonies, later than the time of Papias, can justly be considered dependent upon him : they do not appeal to him ; nor refer their statements back to him : they give their testimony to the same effect, but entirely as a testimony of their own. It is much to be questioned whether even the opinion of Irenæus ; though he was undoubtedly familiar with the works of Papias ; was in any way affected by his : there are differences in their respective statements, which shew that the later were not derived from the earlier. The testimony of Pantænus at least ; who discovered the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, at the end of the second century, in India or Æthiopia, whither it had been taken by the Apostle Bartholomew ; must have been altogether independent of the influence of Papias*.

* Cf. Eus. E. H. v. x. 175. C. Hieronym. iv. Pars ii^a: 112. De SS. Eccles. xxxvi: also 656. *ad med.* Epist. lxxxiii. Clemens Alex. i. 322. 7. Strom. i. 1. speaking of his own preceptors, ob-

serves: τούτων ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὁ Ἰωνικός· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος· τῆς κοίλης θάτερος αὐτῶν Συρίας ἦν· ὁ δὲ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνὰ τὴν ἀνατολήν· καὶ ταύτης ὁ μὲν τῆς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων· ὁ δὲ

Nor is there any just reason to call in question the fact of this discovery. It will hardly be denied that Pantænus went on an Evangelical mission into India; and, while that is admitted, the fact of the discovery which he made there is not reasonably to be treated as a fable. The report of such a discovery at least must be conceded: and even the report of such a discovery, on such an occasion, and in such a quarter, if it had not originated in the matter of fact—would be inconceivable. They, who disbelieved the tradition in this instance, would be bound to shew how the two things came to be associated; a journey of a Christian Evangelist into India, and the discovery of an Hebrew Gospel by St. Matthew, there. The authentic Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew it has been attempted to confound with the spurious, or at least corrupted, and depraved, Hebrew Gospels, ascribed to the Ebionites, or to the Nazarenes: but what connection could there be between either of these Gospels, and the Gospel discovered, or reputed to have been discovered, by Pantænus? Will any one maintain that the Ebionite or Nazarene Gospels, which were never to be met with out of Palestine; had travelled, or were supposed to have travelled, into India? Yet even these Gospels were composed in Hebrew, and professed to be the original Gospel of St. Matthew: and this very profession, as assumed by a counterfeit, must itself be a proof that there once existed a similar authentic original.

The observation of Eusebius concerning Papias: σφόδρα . . . μικρὸς ὢν τὸν νοῦν . . . φαίνεται: has very

ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Ἑβραῖος ἀνέκαθεν. ὥστέ τι δὲ περιτυχὼν δυνάμει δὲ οὗτος πρῶτος ἦν ἀνεπανσάμην, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θηράσας λεληθότα. He means Pantænus. Cf. ii. 1002.

SS. Propheticorum Eclogæ, lvi. line 40. Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 118. p. 92, line 31 *ad dextram*, makes Pantænus an hearer even of some of the Apostles.

unjustly been converted into an handle for undervaluing his testimony. The observation was intended of his abilities as a commentator upon, or as an interpreter of scripture; and what have these to do with his competency as a witness to a plain matter of fact? On such a question as whether any Gospel was known or believed to be St. Matthew's, except a Gospel, which once existed in Hebrew, and, at that time, existed in Greek; a person of the meanest capacity, who was sufficiently honest and sincere, would be as fit to give evidence, and as deserving of credit, as a person of the profoundest understanding. Papias, according to his own account of himself, was of an inquisitive turn; and was so far from being credulous, or disposed to acquiesce in the first report concerning things, that he could not be satisfied until he had traced them up to some authentic source. The extract which Eusebius has given us from his writings, short as it is, exhibits good sense, and an ardent love of truth: and, with regard to the criticism which is passed on his abilities as an interpreter of scripture; we ought to have the whole of his works before us, in order to judge of its merits for ourselves. It is clear to me that the criticism was influenced by the prejudices of its author: it comes in in such a manner that it can be accounted for only by this fact; viz. that Papias was a believer in the Millennium, and Eusebius was not; and that the former had understood literally, what the latter thought should be understood only figuratively. But on this principle, Justin Martyr—Irenæus—Tertullian—Lactantius—and many others—whose works would demonstrate that they were far from being persons of mean capacity; must be included in the same censure. And as to this particular point of difference between them; there may be many sound divines at

the present day, who would be inclined to think that the simplicity of Papias in this respect proved a better director to the sense of scripture, than the acumen of Eusebius. It would be absurd, however, to suppose that one who really entertained so mean an idea of another, would take his opinions, on any nice or difficult subject, implicitly from *him*; yet Eusebius asserts the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel as plainly as Papias himself.

The early disappearance of this original would certainly be, *prima facie*, an argument for doubting whether it had ever existed; and the strength of this argument would be best appreciated by the collectors of books, or the collators of manuscripts, among the ancients; especially by those, whose collections of books, or collations of manuscripts, had one object only in view—viz. to illustrate sacred criticism; to settle the canon, or to ascertain the text, of Scripture. Such were Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome, in particular: all of whom, with one voice, acknowledge the Hebrew origin of St. Matthew's Gospel, while they admit that no genuine Hebrew copy of it was to be found. Nothing but the clearest conviction could account for this acknowledgment, where the presumptive evidence was so strongly against it.

A Gospel, which was composed in the native dialect of Palestine, and designed for the benefit of the native church, would never travel into general circulation out of Palestine: and a Gospel, so composed and so intended, published first at Jerusalem; in the midst of a society which for a time was the only Christian society in Judæa, and around which, as the metropolitan or mother church, all the subordinate Christian societies in Judæa, in Samaria, or in Galilee, seem to have been ultimately concentrated; would probably never

be multiplied by copies out of Jerusalem, even in Palestine itself. If, then, we consider the ruin and desolation which, within thirty-three years of the earliest date which can be assigned to this Gospel, overspread that country, and particularly the metropolis; a visitation attended by the temporary dispersion of the Hebrew church; it is very conceivable that few copies of St. Matthew's Gospel would survive in the general destruction of property, both public and private, which then ensued. Still more conceivable is this contingency after the next, and perhaps more calamitous, rebellion of the Jews, partly in the reign of Trajan, and partly in that of Hadrian; when, in addition to the second erasure of Jerusalem, or to the more complete destruction of the vestiges of the ancient city, nine hundred and eighty-five *κῶμαι ὀνομαστόταται*, according to Dio^a, were taken and laid waste in Palestine alone. The meaning of this assertion is, that the whole country was desolated, and emptied of towns and villages; for it will be shewn elsewhere, by a comparison with Josephus, that this number of inhabited places is the sum total of all which Palestine contained. The integrity of the Hebrew church itself, which the former war had not impaired, was permanently broken by this event; and from that time forward the succession of Hebrew bishops ceases, and the native church of Judæa becomes merged in the churches of the Gentiles. It would be strange if any number of copies of an Hebrew Gospel; in the preservation of which an Hebrew community of Christians alone would be interested; had survived so many dangers. The hostility of the Jews themselves, so long as they possessed the power to injure, would add considerably to the risks which it would have to encounter. In the per-

^a Lib. lxi. 12—14.

secutions of Christianity by the Jews, the sacred books of the Christians, (if any such existed,) which might fall into their hands, would not be spared.

Nor is it, perhaps, more extraordinary that all traces of a genuine Hebrew Gospel should so speedily have been obliterated, than that the same fate should have attended the *litteræ authenticæ* of the rest of the Christian Scriptures; that so little should have been known, even in the earliest times, of their history; or of the history of their authors. There is an example of the same thing in the original of the Epistle to the Hebrews; the present Greek of which, if the Epistle is rightly ascribed to St. Paul, could scarcely have been the writing of St. Paul; for the same person, who wrote the Greek of his other Epistles, could scarcely have written the Greek of that. If St. Paul, therefore, wrote this Epistle, he wrote it, not in Greek, but in some other language; most probably the language of the parties to whom it was written; and some other person translated this original into the present Greek. After which, the original must have speedily perished; and have been obliterated even more completely than St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel. There were Hebrew Gospels in the time of Origen or of Jerome, which professed to be this Gospel of St. Matthew; there was no Epistle to the Hebrews, which professed to be this Epistle of St. Paul's in Hebrew. In short, it is an undeniable fact, that from the earliest period the deepest obscurity always did envelope both the personal history, and the history of the writings, of the first propagators of Christianity; and, until new and unexpected discoveries shall be made of fresh data in addition to the information which has come down to us, always will continue to envelope it.

The labour which has been employed to prove

that the Greek language was understood in Palestine ; however successful it may have been in confirmation of that position ; can never render it available to the decision of the point in question. The Greek language might be well understood, and commonly spoken, in Palestine : but, unless Palestine had no native dialect of its own, it must still be more probable that a Gospel, written expressly for a Palestinic community, would be written in the native language, than in any other. That St. Matthew's Gospel was written for that purpose, I think must be universally admitted : or, if any were to dispute it, they would be convicted of their error by the internal evidence of the Gospel itself ; especially as compared with St. Mark's and St. Luke's. A Gospel which differs from their's in so many characteristic respects ; all indicating the class of readers for whom it was intended ; could not have been calculated for a society composed exclusively of Gentiles, or of Gentiles in conjunction with Jews ; but solely of Jews.

The Acts of the Apostles, as we shall see hereafter, will shew that until the time of the conversion of Cornelius (the date of which event was U. C. 794. A. D. 41) not merely had the Gospel not yet been thrown open to the Gentiles, but it had not begun to be preached abroad even to the Jews of the Dispersion. It was altogether confined both at home and abroad to the native Jews as such ; with this difference only, that the Jews of the Dispersion, who resorted to Jerusalem at the time of the feasts, might hear, and be converted to, the Gospel there, and so become members of the church of Jerusalem ; but no where else, nor of any other church. If St. Matthew's Gospel was written at this time, as one of its dates supposes, it is morally certain it would be written in Hebrew : and neither at

this time, nor at any later period, will it admit of a question which of the two, the native Jews, or the Jews of the Dispersion, composed the more numerous body in the church of Jerusalem. These last were at all times merely incorporated among the former, and never divided the ascendancy in the church with them ; much less monopolized it, to their exclusion. The dispute which is alluded to as having arisen, Acts vi. 1. and given occasion to the appointment of Deacons, is a proof of this : and the many myriads who are mentioned as believing, at a still later period, Acts xxi. 20. were doubtless myriads of native Jews. All these were still zealous for the Law : and, with that feeling as strong as ever, their very prejudices would not have endured a Gospel in any language but the language of the Law ; or, what was the nearest approximation to it, the language spoken in our Saviour's day.

Those, who contend for the prevalence of the Greek tongue in Palestine, ought to prove that the Greek version of the Old Testament ever superseded there, in popular favour and estimation, the original Hebrew ; after which, we might justly be called upon to concede that St. Matthew might well write his Gospel in Greek. The example of Josephus is a parallel case. His original History of the War ; as designed for the Jews his countrymen even of the Dispersion ; was written, as he tells us, τῇ πατρίῳ γλώσσῃ^b * : as intended for the Greeks and Romans, was translated into Greek ; for which purpose, and for the composition of his other works, he learned the Greek language him-

* Ant. Jud. also, Proœm. sect.
2. Josephus speaks of the Greek language as ἀλλοδαπὴ καὶ ξένη, in

reference to himself and to his countrymen.

^b De Bello i. Proœm. 1. 2.

self (which proves that he had not acquired it before) and engaged the services of learned Greeks besides ^c. At the same time he gives us clearly to understand that the study of the Greek language was no part of the education of his countrymen; who still valued no literature but their own; leaving the Greek, and every other branch of profane learning, to their slaves.

Much stress has been laid on the term Hellenist; and, as I think, much more than it will bear. The import of this term, at least in the Acts of the Apostles, is to be judged of not according to its primary, but according to its secondary, signification. In its primary sense, it would mean one who spoke the Greek language, properly out of Greece*: in its secondary, it means only a Jew of the Dispersion: and, though many of the Jews of the Dispersion might be such as spoke the Greek language, because they were the Dispersion of the countries in which the Greek language was predominant, it is certain that all were not; for instance, the Dispersion of Upper Asia; Armenia, Babylonia, Parthia, and India. That this is the true sense of the word in the New Testament, I think cannot be questioned: for, as Ἑλλήν is there employed for the Gentiles of every name and nation, so is Ἑλληνιστῆς (which denotes one who, ἐλληνίζει, or uses the language of an Ἑλλήν) for the Jews dispersed among them. They were Hellenists, in the strictest sense of the word, who were assembled at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, Acts ii. 5—11; for they are

* The signification of the verb ἐλληνίζειν, is illustrated by the following passage from Strabo: ἄλλη δέ τις ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ διαλέκτῳ ἀνεφάνη κακοστομία, καὶ οἷον βαρβαροστομία, εἴ τις ἐλληνί-

ζων μὴ κατορθοίη, ἀλλ' οὕτω λέγοι τὰ ὀνόματα, ὥς οἱ βάρβαροι, οἱ εἰσ-
αγόμενοι εἰς τὸν ἐλληνισμόν, οὐκ ἰσχύοντες ἀρτιστομεῖν, ὥς οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων διαλέκτοις: Lib. xiv.
1. §. 28. 647.

all called Jews in common : yet they are distinguished both from proselytes, and from natives of Judæa ; and they are all represented as having their own speech or language, in which they had been severally born and bred up ; to discriminate them asunder. The same is true of the Hellenists as opposed to the Hebrews, Acts vi. 1. though each were members of the church alike : an opposition between them which would be nugatory, if it did not imply either a difference of language, or a difference of country, or both : for as to supposing that these Hellenists might be Gentiles, it would be the height of ignorance and absurdity.

There is more reason in my opinion to believe that the language of Palestine (at least, if that was a dialect of the primitive Hebrew) was every where better understood by the Jews of the Dispersion, than, *vice versa*, the Greek language by the Jews of Palestine. The example of Josephus must prove this. It is known that the Jews of the Dispersion made a point of teaching their children Hebrew, and even sent them to be educated at Jerusalem itself ; of which the Antiquities of Josephus and the Acts of the Apostles both furnish an instance ^d* : but we have just seen that the native Jews of Palestine did not think of teaching their children Greek ; which, consequently, if they learnt at all, they would learn only by an oral intercourse with Greeks. And this intercourse, we may justly pre-

* Theodorit, i. 73. *Quæstiones in Genesim x. Interr. lxi ; τοιγάρτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐν οἷς ἂν γεννηθῶσι, φθεγγομένων φωνήν· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ τικτομένων, τῇ Ἰταλῶν κεχρημένων· τῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, τῇ Ἑλλήνων· καὶ τῶν ἐν Περσίδι, τῇ Περσῶν· καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, τῇ*

Αἰγυπτίων· τὰ Ἑβραίων παιδία οὐ τῇ Ἑβραίων ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν εὐθὺς κεχρημένα φωνῇ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐκείνων παρ' οἷς ἐγεννήθησαν· εἴτα μειράκια γενόμενα διδάσκεται τῶν γραμμάτων τοὺς χαρακτῆρας· μανθάνει δὲ διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τὴν θείαν γραφὴν, τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ γεγραμμένην φωνῇ.

^d Ant. xx. iii. 4. Acts xxii. 3. xxvi. 4.

sume, could never be so close and lasting in the case of every individual Jew, as to make the faculty of speaking or of understanding Greek an universal accomplishment. There might be many, therefore, in the native church of Jerusalem, who did not understand Greek; but there was probably none who did not understand the vernacular Hebrew.

It is certain, I think, from Mark xiv. 70. and Acts i. 19. that even Galilee had a dialect of its own, distinct from that of Judæa; and the same thing is true of Samaria. And though it may be implied, Acts xxii. 2. that the people of Jerusalem would have understood St. Paul, if he had spoken in Greek; it is also implied that they either understood him better, or they liked him much better, because he spoke in Hebrew: and Josephus supplies an instance to the same effect^e. The inscription over our Saviour's cross was written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin: the pillars in the temple, defining the limits beyond which aliens were not to pass^f; and wanted in order to admonish such persons merely; were inscribed with Greek and Latin: the voice, which addressed St. Paul at the time of his conversion, addressed him in the native Hebrew; and was understood by him, though not by those who were with him^g; (for these were probably not Jews themselves, but a band of Roman soldiers:) the question of Lysias to St. Paul, ἐλλήνιστὶ γινώσκεις^h, supposing him to be an Egyptian, implies also that an Egyptian could not necessarily speak Greek: the employment of Greek orators, by Jewish authorities, to plead causes of importance before a Roman tribunal: (as of Nicolaus of Damascus regularly, by Herod; of Irenæus, by Herod Antipasⁱ; and of Tertullus, by the High Priest Ana-

^e B. Jud. vi. ii. 1. 5. Cf. vii. 2. xxii. 9.

^h Acts xxi. 37.

^f Ib. v. v. 2. vi. ii. 4.

ⁱ Ant. Jud. xvii. ix. 4.

^g Acts xxvi. 14.

nias, and the Jewish Sanhedrimⁱ:) all these are proofs that the native Jews, even those of rank and quality, either did not understand the Greek language at all, or understood it very imperfectly. How much more, then, the common people.

The native dialect in the time of Strabo was still the same, both within and beyond the Euphrates, as it had always been; καὶ τῆς διαλέκτου δὲ μέχρι νῦν διαμενούσης τῆς αὐτῆς, τοῖς τε ἐκτὸς τοῦ Εὐφράτου, καὶ τοῖς ἐν-τός^k: yet the Greek language, we may take it for granted, was always more generally prevalent in Syria and in Egypt, than it ever could be in Judæa. Nor did this prevalence of the Greek prevent but that even the Greek Gospels, and the other Scriptures, were speedily translated into Syriac, for the use of Syrian Christians; and into Coptic, for the use of Egyptian. Such is the essential vitality of language; and so tenacious are the common people of their aboriginal tongues. And, indeed, if the Greek alone would have sufficed every where, out of Palestine, as the vehicle of a popular address; what necessity for the gift of any other language? and if the Greek was understood even in Palestine, what necessity even there, for the gift of that?

The hypothesis of a double Gospel by St. Matthew; one in Hebrew, and another in Greek; or of a double publication of the same Gospel; once in Hebrew, and again in Greek; which has been invented as calculated to meet every difficulty—to save the credit of testimony, which is exclusively in favour of an Hebrew Gospel, and yet to account for the origin of the Greek, which must have superseded it—is far from producing these effects. It is clearly gratuitous; for testimony gives it no countenance whatever: besides which, it

ⁱ Acts xxiv. 1.

^k ii. cap. i. page 225. l. 9.

supposes what is even more improbable than an original Gospel in Greek. If both these Gospels were equally intended for Jews, it seems inconceivable that the same work, designed for the same persons, should have been composed in two different languages; or translated from one language into another. The hypothesis, I believe, does not assume the publication of two such Gospels at once, but at different times; which is only to increase the difficulty. For if St. Matthew had already published an Hebrew Gospel, it must have been because an Hebrew Gospel was sufficient; and if so, there could be no necessity for another in Greek. Those who would have required a Greek Gospel could not have wanted an Hebrew: and those who required one in Hebrew, could not have wanted one in Greek. In any case, no more than a single Gospel, and in a single language, was to be expected for the benefit of the same church. Besides which, they who would have required a Greek Gospel, would have required also such explanations as even St. Matthew's Greek Gospel has nowhere given; and they who would have required no such explanations, would not have required a Gospel in Greek. And this appears to me the most fatal objection to the hypothesis in question. It is the same thing whether we suppose an original Gospel in Greek; or a translation, by the author himself, of an original Hebrew Gospel into Greek. A Greek Gospel would be requisite for those only to whom an Hebrew Gospel would have been useless; and these we may take it for granted would be none but the Gentiles as such: in which case, it is morally certain that St. Matthew's Greek Gospel, whether an original, or a translation from the Hebrew by the author of it himself, would have borne as indubitable marks of the description of readers for which it was

intended, as either St. Mark's, or St. Luke's, or St. John's does.

The date which is assigned to this Gospel: μετὰ ἔτη ὀκτὼ τῆς ἀναλήψεως: eight or nine years after the ascension: may be the best supported by ancient authorities of any: and, perhaps, upon one supposition (for which we shall perceive hereafter there is some reason), viz. that the Gospel was actually composed at twice, it may be true. It is possible, however, that, like many others, it was originally conjectural, and founded upon the following coincidence. Eight or nine years after the ascension—referred to the eighteenth of Tiberius, U.C. 785; bring us to U.C. 794. Now this year was the year of the conversion of Cornelius; the first overt step in the dispensation of the Gospel to the Gentiles, and preliminary to the promulgation of Christianity, by the ministry of the Apostles, in other countries besides Judæa. If it was assumed, then, that they quitted Judæa, for this purpose, either at this time, or shortly after; it would be inferred, as a natural consequence, that St. Matthew's Gospel must have been written either now, or a little before it: for it would be obvious that until the whole of the original witnesses and ministers of the word were about to leave the mother church to itself, or under the care of one of their body only; no written Gospel either would be wanted, or might be expected to be supplied for its use.

This date, however, I would not be understood absolutely to reject or impugn: for it may after all be true. It must, nevertheless, be admitted, that, with regard to the determination of the date of the first Gospel, a knowledge of the exact time when the Apostles quitted Judæa, to preach in other countries, is of cardinal importance; and yet there is no question

which is more difficult to be decided. It would be much easier for us to say after what period they were no longer there, than when they first left it; and before what time they would probably not quit it, than at what time they actually did so. For instance; it is not likely that any of them would leave Judæa before the conversion of Cornelius; that is, as I shall shew hereafter, before the end of the first twelve years after the ascension; U. C. 795. A. D. 42. Again, it is not likely that any of them, except St. James, would be left there still, after St. Peter had set out upon his Evangelical circuit; that is, as we have seen already, after the twelfth of Claudius; U. C. 805. A. D. 52. It would seem, then, that the Apostles, all but St. James, must have left the mother country between U. C. 795. and U. C. 805. A. D. 42. and A. D. 52. But, whether they all left it at once; or, when some went abroad, others might not stay for a time longer at home; must still be an uncertain point: and for the decision of this, it is to be lamented that we possess no sufficient data.

I should be disposed to admit that all the Apostles were at Jerusalem, at the time which is specified Gal. i. 19. and answers to Acts ix. 26–30. with the return of St. Paul from Damascus, Claudii 1^o. *ineunte*; U. C. 794. and A. D. 41. All or some of them, too, might still be in Jerusalem at the point of time denoted by Acts xiii. 31: which is the year of St. Paul's first mission to the Gentiles; and soon after that had commenced. But I see no proof that they were all still there, Acts xv. 1–30. at the time of the council in question; which was after the return of St. Paul to Antioch from his first mission, U. C. 797. and before his departure thence, upon his second, U. C. 802; and, probably, nearer to the latter than to the former. I say that there is no

proof of this : for, notwithstanding the mention of the Apostles, *simply*, which repeatedly occurs in the course of this account ; if we compare it with Acts xxi. 18–25. when James was the only Apostle still present in Jerusalem, that letter is there ascribed to James and the elders, which in the first instance was ascribed to the Apostles, and the elders, and the rest of the church in conjunction. Moreover, upon the previous discussion, Acts xv. 6–21. the only speakers were Peter and James ; and their speeches were clearly the speeches of persons in authority, that is, of Apostles ; but as speeches of the only such persons present, and addressed to those who were not Apostles. I should infer, then, that Peter and James were the only Apostles at that time present in Jerusalem : I see no absolute or conclusive reason to suppose that even St. John was then present likewise : though he was so on the next occasion.

The same conclusion would follow from Gal. ii. 1–10. the time of which, as we have seen already, answers to U. C. 805. *ineunte*, A. D. 52. Peter and James and John alone, out of the eleven Apostles, would not be called *στυλοί*, or pillars of the church of Jerusalem at this time, in particular, if the other EIGHT had been present in Jerusalem as well as they. It would seem, then, that soon after U. C. 795. A. D. 42. the close of the twelfth year from the ascension, U. C. 783. A. D. 30 ; none of the Apostles was left in Judæa, except Peter and James and John : and after U. C. 805. A. D. 52. the close of the twenty-second year from the same date—none, in all probability, but James. And this agrees with 1 Cor. ix. 5. the time of which, as I shall shew hereafter, was three years later than U. C. 805. the close of the year in question.

I am aware that these words of St. Paul apply properly only to the *married Apostles*; or to those who were leading about at the time, *a wife who was a sister*. I am aware, too, that among these married Apostles, none seem to be specified except the *brethren of the Lord*, and *Cephas*. These brethren of the Lord I do not believe to have been of the Twelve; but Cephas certainly was so: and all, whether of the Twelve, or not, were doubtless Apostles of the Circumcision; whose ministry for a time had been confined to the Jews of Judæa. And if Peter, a married man, was now travelling about in company with his wife; *a fortiori*, the rest of the Apostles, whom we do not know to have been married men, but who, we may take it for granted, would not stay in Judæa, after he was gone abroad, would be doing the same.

If we may draw any general conclusion from such scattered notices in reference to the fact, as have been preserved by tradition; the Apostles did not proceed at random, when they set out from Judæa to preach the Gospel in other countries. And this conclusion is so agreeable to the reason of the thing, and so naturally to have been expected from the solemnity of the occasion, and the importance of the end in view; that tradition, so far, may be implicitly trusted. It would appear that they divided the world among them, and selected each his peculiar region; or, what is equally probable, and only agreeable to what they had before done in the lifetime of their Master himself, they went forth, in different directions, but in companies of two together. Amidst this distribution of provinces, it is observable that the Roman empire, as such, is traditionally assigned only to Peter and John: the lot of the rest of the Apostles is uniformly cast in countries

more or less independent of that; in Æthiopia, Scythia, Parthia, Babylonia, or India *. Now, we shall see, hereafter, that the time of St. Paul's first mission to

* According to Hippolytus *περὶ τῶν ιβ'. ἀποστόλων* (Operum ii. 30.) Andrew preached in Scythia and Thrace: Philip in Phrygia: Bartholomew in India: Matthew in Parthia: Thomas in Upper Asia and India: Jude in Edessa and Mesopotamia^a.

According to Origen (ii. 24. A-B. Selecta in Gen. tom. iii—or Euseb. E. H. iii. i. 71. A. B.) Thomas preached in Parthia: Andrew in Scythia: John in Asia, dying at Ephesus: Peter in Pontus, &c.: Paul in Asia, Macedonia, Greece, &c.

Eusebius, Dem. Evang. iii. v. 112. D: *κηρύττειν δ' εἰς πάντας τὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ὄνομα, καὶ τὰς παραδόξους πράξεις αὐτοῦ κατὰ τε ἀγροὺς καὶ κατὰ πόλιν διδάσκειν; καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν, καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν βασιλικωτάτην πόλιν νείμασθαι, τοὺς δὲ τὴν Περσῶν, τοὺς δὲ τὴν Ἀρμενίων, ἐτέρους δὲ τὸ Πάρθων ἔθνος, καὶ αὖ πάλιν τὸ Σκυθῶν, τινὰς δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐλθεῖν τὰ ἄκρα, ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ἰνδῶν φθάσαι χώραν, καὶ ἐτέρους ὑπὲρ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καλουμένας Βρεττανικὰς νήσους, ταῦτα οὐκ ἔτ' ἔγωγε κ', τ. λ. Cf. vii. 355. A. and ix. 458. A.*

If Eusebius refers here to the tradition of any Apostle's visiting Britain, and preaching the Gospel there, it is most probably to one concerning St. Paul. Yet Origen, iii. 858. B. C. in *Matt. Comm. Series secundum veterem interpretem*, cap. 39: denies that

Britain had received the Gospel in his time: *Non enim fertur prædicatum esse evangelium apud omnes Æthiopus, maxime apud eos, qui sunt ultra flumen: sed nec apud Seras, nec apud Orientem audierunt Christianitatis sermonem. quid autem dicamus de Britannis, aut Germanis, qui sunt circa Oceanum, vel apud Barbaros, Dacos, et Sarmatas, et Scythas, quorum plurimi nondum audierunt evangelii verbum, &c.* By Tertullian, on the contrary, ii. 290. Adv. Judæos, 7, among the countries which professed the faith of Christ in his days are reckoned, Hispaniarum omnes termini, et Galliarum diversæ nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, &c.

Hieronymus, iii. 103. *ad calc.*: In *Isaiæ xi*: Tradunt Ecclesiasticæ historiæ quod Apostoli in toto orbe dispersi Evangelium prædicarint: ita ut quidam Persas Indosque penetrarent; et Æthiopia daret manus suas Deo; et trans flumina Æthiopiæ inde Christo munera deferrentur. *Ib.* 279. *ad calc.*: In *Isaiæ xxxiv*: Et spiritus illius congregaverit eos, dederitque eis sortes atque diviserit, ut alius ad Indos, alius ad Hispanias, alius ad Illyricum, alius ad Græciam pergeret: et unusquisque in Evangelii sui atque doctrinæ provincia requiesceret.

Hieronymus, iv. pars i^a 167. *ad*

^a Thomas, indeed, is reputed to have preached in Edessa, as well as Jude; and there is no reason, why both should not have preached there. There was a Martyrium or Basilica, there, dedicated to St. Thomas, A. D. 370: see Socrates E. H. iv. xviii. 228. B; used as a church, and the principal place of resort, for that purpose, in the city.

the Gentiles, in concert with Barnabas, was dictated by the Holy Ghost; and that the time so dictated was

princ.: Epistola ad Marcellam: Erat igitur (sc. verbum Dei) uno eodemque tempore et cum Apostolis quadraginta diebus, et cum Angelis, et in Patre . . . cum Thoma in India; cum Petro Romæ; cum Paulo in Illyrico; cum Tito in Creta; cum Andrea in Achaia, cum singulis Apostolis et Apostolicis viris, in singulis cunctisque regionibus.

Chrysostom, In Duodecim Sanctos Apostolos, Operum (*Spuria*) viii. 11. B. C. supposes Andrew to have preached in Greece; Simon among the barbarians; Thomas in Æthiopia; John at Ephesus; Peter at Rome; Paul in all the world; Bartholomew in Lycaonia; Philip at Hierapolis; that is, in Phrygia.

Socrates, Ecclesiastica Historia, i. xix. 50. B. says, the apostles, when they set out on their evangelical errand, divided the world among them; that Thomas was allotted Parthia, Matthew Æthiopia, Bartholomew India, and the like.

Theodorit, i. 900. in Ps. xlv. 5: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔδραμε πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς, ὁ δὲ πρὸς Ἰσπανοὺς· καὶ ὁ μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὁ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατέλαβε· καὶ ἕτεροι μὲν τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπιστεύθησαν ἄρδιν, ἕτεροι δὲ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τὴν γεωργίαν ἐνεχειρίσθησαν. Cf. *ibid.* 1061. Ps. xlvii. 13: 1424. Ps. cxvi. 1: ii. 255. in Isaïæ xi. 14.

Theodorit, i. 1425. Ps. cxvi. 1:

οὕτως ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ πᾶν τὴν Ἀσίαν τῆς προτέρας ἡλευθέρωσεν ἀσεβείας· οὕτως ὁ θεσπέσιος Ἀνδρέας τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῖς τῆς θεογνωσίας ἀκτίσι κατήγαγεν· οὕτως ὁ θειότατος Φίλιππος Φρυγῶν ἐκατέρων τὴν πλάνην διήλεγξεν· οὕτως ὁ μέγας Πέτρος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ μέχρι τῆς Ῥωμαίας ἔδραμε πόλεως, κ', τ. λ.

Operum iv. 928. Græcorum Affectuum Curatio, Disp. ix: οἱ δὲ ἡμέτεροι ἀλιεῖς, καὶ οἱ τελῶναι, καὶ ὁ σκυτοτόμος, ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις τοὺς εὐαγγελικοὺς προσειννόχασιν νόμους. καὶ οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτοις τελούοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Σκυθικὰ, καὶ τὰ Σαυροματικὰ ἔθνη, καὶ Ἰνδοὺς, καὶ Διθίοπας, καὶ Πέρσας, καὶ Σῆρας, καὶ Ὑρκανοὺς, καὶ Βακτριανοὺς, καὶ Βρεττανοὺς, καὶ Κίμβρους, καὶ Γερμανοὺς, καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ γένος ἀνθρώπων, δέξασθαι τοῦ σταυρωθέντος τοὺς νόμους ἀνέπεισαν.

The abstract prefixed to Cæcumenius in Nov. Testamentum, of the lives and labours of the several Apostles—supposes Andrew to have preached to the Scythæ, Sogdiani, Sacæ, &c.^k and ultimately to have suffered martyrdom under Ægeas, proconsul of Achaia, and been buried at Patræ—Philip to have preached in Phrygia, and been buried at Hierapolis—Bartholomew to have preached to the Indians, surnamed εὐδαίμονες, and delivered them the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and to have died in Armenia Magna

^k In the same work, i. 410. D. on Romans xvi. 15. it is observed of Philologus, mentioned in that text, that he was traditionally said to have been the first bishop of Sinope; having been ordained by Andrew. Andrew might ordain a Philologus bishop of Sinope—yet not the Philologus of the Epistle to the Romans: but if he ordained any bishop there, he preached of course, and founded churches, in that quarter. Cf. Chron. Paschale ii. viii. 127.

U. C. 797. the beginning of the fifteenth year from the ascension, U. C. 783. It would appear also from the subsequent history of these two Apostles, that the scene of their ministry likewise was destined to be the Roman empire: there is no proof that either of them preached in the east. It would appear, therefore, that their ministry in respect to the Gentiles, if parallel to the ministry of any of the Twelve with respect to the Circumcision, was more especially so to the ministry of Peter and John. All four, in particular, laboured in the same regions, and among the same people. But it would appear that the ministry of Paul and Barnabas took precedence of the ministry of Peter and John; for the former began U. C. 797; but it cannot

Indica—Thomas to have preached to the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Carmanians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and to have died in India¹—Matthew to have written his Gospel in Hebrew, and died at Hierapolis of Parthia—Lebbæus, Thaddæus, or Jude, to have preached in Edessa and Mesopotamia; and to have died and been buried at Berytus—Matthias to have preached and died in Ethiopia, &c. Cf. Chron. Paschale ii. viii. 137.

Photius, Bibl. p. 117. Codex 170, describes a work (of whose author, however, he knew no more than that he lived at Constantinople, later than the reign of Heraclius, A. D. 641.) in one part of which, says he, the writer *Ἑβραϊκῶν λέξεων ἐκτίθεται σημασίας, καὶ τῶν*

ἀποστόλων ἕκαστος ἔνθα τε τὸ σωτήριον ἐκήρυξε μάθημα, καὶ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πόνων ἀνεπαύσατο. As this work consisted of *μαρτυρίαι* and *χρήσεις* from every description of writer, sacred or profane, bearing upon the truth of Christianity; and appears to have been the composition of a diligent and inquisitive person; it doubtless contained much valuable information: the loss of which cannot be too much regretted.

We know little of the personal exit of most of the apostles, on any early authority, further than what Clement of Alexandria, Strom. iv. 9. 595. line 30, quotes from Heracleon, that Matthew, Philip, Thomas, Levi, and many others, died a natural death.

¹ Arethas, in Rev. xxi. 16—21. apud Œcumenium, ii. 827. A—829. C. explaining the twelve stones of the twelve apostles, makes the Beryll significant of Thomas, especially of, *τὸ μακροδαπὲς τῆς ἀποστολῆς, μέχρις Ἰνδῶν, καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης, ἐκτελεσθείσης.* In like manner, he explains the Chrysoprasus, of Thaddæus, *ὁ τῷ Αὐγάρφ βασιλεῖ Ἑδέσσης τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστιν εὐαγγελισάμενος.*

be proved that the latter began before U. C. 805. between seven and eight years later: and before this time, while Paul and Barnabas were actively engaged among the Gentiles, we have seen reason to believe that Peter and John were still in Judæa. Yet we saw that when St. Paul, in his second journey, would have entered into the province of Asia, and afterwards into Bithynia, the Spirit would not permit him; from which we inferred that the business of evangelizing those parts first was reserved for some other Apostle; which Apostle there is reason to believe was St. Peter, and, perhaps, St. John. With regard to these two regions in particular, we do not know that St. Paul was ever in Bithynia; but we know that St. Peter was: we do not know that he ever preached in the province of Asia out of Ephesus, during his three years' residence in that city^m; but we do know that St. John must have preached there some time or other, either before or after him*. Nor did St. Paul's residence at Ephesus begin before U. C. 806. A. D. 53; which is a year after St. Peter, and, probably, after St. John had left Jerusalem.

I would infer, then, from these facts, that, in the business of propagating the Gospel, the Apostles acted under an higher direction than their own wills; that they set out at such times, and on such commissions, as the Spirit prescribed to them. This is certain with respect to the first and original mission of Paul and Barnabas; and I think it is presumptively certain

* We know that St. Paul, notwithstanding his residence at Ephesus, never personally visited Laodicea, Hierapolis, or Colossæ; and we have every reason to believe that the six

churches, which lay round about Ephesus, and to which epistles are addressed in the Book of Revelation, must have been personally known to St. John.

^m Acts xx. 18. 31. xix. 26.

with respect to that of Peter and John. Though these two Apostles might be expressly designed to cooperate with the former; yet the time of their ministry was not arrived either U. C. 797. when St. Paul's first circuit began, or U. C. 802. when he set out on his second; but U. C. 805. when they all four met at Jerusalem, and afterwards departed, with a common understanding that two of them should go, εἰς τὴν περιτομὴν, the other two, εἰς τὰ ἔθνη; and that was probably the reason why they continued until then in Jerusalem. But this reason, which originated in the future destination of these two Apostles in particular, would apply exclusively to them. What, then, may we ask, had been the disposal of the remaining EIGHT; whose Evangelical commission, we have had occasion to suppose, took them into parts of the world widely remote from the Roman empire? It seems to me the most probable conjecture, either that when the Holy Ghost prescribed to Paul and Barnabas the time and occasion of *their* first mission to the Gentiles, it suggested to *these* also the time and occasion when they should leave Judæa, upon their respective missions into the east; or that, after the conversion of Cornelius, and the accession of the first-fruits of the Gentile church; (accompanied, as it was, by the beginning to preach the Gospel to Jews of the Dispersion, out of Judæa;) had intimated the arrival of the time for the publication of the Gospel much more indiscriminately, and on a much wider scale, than before; they had already received such directions to go abroad; and that all the Apostles, except Peter, and John, and either James, were actually employed among the Circumcision in foreign parts, before St. Paul was sent upon any circuit, as such, to the Gentiles.

The time, then, of their departure from Judæa would

coincide either with the date of St. Paul's first circuit to the Gentiles, A. D. 44. the beginning of the fifteenth year after the ascension; or with some time between that, and the year of the conversion of Cornelius, A. D. 41. Other reasons for fixing upon one of these dates will appear hereafter; at present I shall observe only that they derive some countenance even from tradition. The Virgin Mary, whom our Lord committed to the care of St. John, at the time of his crucifixion, A. D. 30. is reported to have lived with that Apostle fourteen or fifteen years afterwards, until the time of her death; before he left Palestineⁿ. The time of her death would thus coincide with A. D. 43. or 44. The reputed time of the death of the Virgin might be the real time when the first of the Apostles left Judæa; which would, consequently, be about A. D. 43. or 44.

If St. Matthew was among the number of those who departed at that time; it may be taken for granted that his Gospel was not written *after* A. D. 44: yet there is no reason to suppose it would be written long *before* it: and if we place its composition between the time of the conversion of Cornelius, A. D. 41. and the time of St. Paul's first circuit to the Gentiles, A. D. 44. and even in A. D. 42. itself; we may not be far from the truth. It will follow, therefore, that it was probably written nine or ten years after the ascension, referred to the eighteenth of Tiberius; but eleven or twelve years after it, as referred to his sixteenth: and it had been about ten years in existence when St. Peter set out upon his Evangelical circuit, A. D. 52: the connection of which conclusion with the history

ⁿ Wetsten, Prol. to the Gospel of St. John. Lardner, Credibility, vol. xv. chap. 9. p. 373. Vide Arethas, in Rev. vii. 4. apud Œcumenium, ii. 713. D—714. A.

of St. Mark's Gospel may be further explained as follows.

The testimony of Irenæus^o, which, without denying that St. Matthew's Gospel was written first, and written for the Hebrew church in their own language, yet makes it to have been written when Peter and Paul *were preaching, and founding the church*, θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, at Rome; and without denying that St. Mark's was written next to St. Matthew's, supposes it to have been written, μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον, that is, as I have no doubt was the meaning of Irenæus, *after their death*^p; unless it be understood with very considerable latitude, asserts facts which could not possibly have been the case. St. Peter and St. Paul were never at Rome in conjunction on any occasion but the last, (if even then,) either in the eleventh or in the twelfth of Nero; at which time it would be absurd to talk of their founding a church, the foundation of which, as the Epistle to the Romans alone would prove, had been laid at least nine or ten years before. We shall see, hereafter, that there was a church at Rome as early as the ninth of Claudius. Besides, in the eleventh or the twelfth of Nero, there was no Apostle left in Judæa, by whom an Hebrew Gospel might have been written: the Hebrew church itself had been, for a time, dispersed; for the Jewish war was then beginning or begun. And as to St. Mark, instead of surviving the death of St. Peter or St. Paul, he died, as we shall see by and by, before them both. And though the word ἔξοδον should be understood in the sense of *departure*^q; this would make no difference; for when St. Peter left Rome, it may be proved that St. Mark left it along with him.

But instead of considering the difficulties connected

^o Adv. Hær. iii. 1. 198. l. 30. Cf. Fragn. 471. l. 28.
² Pet. i. 15.

^q Cf. Heb. xi. 22.

^p Cf. Luke ix. 31.

with the literal acceptation of this testimony, it is better that we should endeavour to account for the misapprehension which might have produced it; that is, to separate the truth, which it may possibly contain, from the erroneous matter mixed up with it: and the conjecture which will separate them, I think, is this: viz. that St. Mark translated the Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, and wrote his own supplementary to it, either both at Rome, or both about the same time.

The discovery of St. Matthew's Gospel in India, or as some think in Æthiopia, referred to above^r, is a proof that when the Apostles set out upon their respective missions they took with them copies of this Gospel; of which no translation might be wanted for the Jews of Upper Asia; but of which one would necessarily be wanted for Christian converts in Lower Asia, or in Rome. In this case, St. Peter and St. Mark might bring the same Gospel to Rome—or whithersoever they had previously gone; which St. Mark either had translated already, or might translate after they came there. No supposition is better calculated to explain whatever there is in St. Mark's Gospel, peculiar to it, as compared with St. Matthew's, and yet what there is in common in both; in what it agrees with his, and in what it differs from his; their verbal coincidences, both in the historical and in the discursive parts, throughout; the deviation of St. Mark's order from that of St. Matthew in the arrangement of some detached facts, with an absolute coincidence between them in the general outline of the whole; the circumstantiality of detail in the history of miracles, and the conciseness in the report of discourses, which are the reverse of each other in each; the omission of nothing by St. Mark, recorded by St. Luke,

^r Vide supra page 130.

which is not omitted by St. Matthew also; the very supplementary relation of St. Mark's Gospel to St. Matthew's: all which things are critically characteristic of one Gospel as adapted to another; of St. Mark's Greek as adapted to St. Matthew's, and that by a common hand, the author of the one, and the translator of the other; and as forming both together, and as always designed to form, neither more nor less than one work. If there is any difference between them in certain proprieties of idiom, confined to either, respectively; this, as we have seen, is trifling, and may be explained on the principle that, in his own Gospel, St. Mark would write in his natural character; but in translating St. Matthew, he would be restricted to that of his original. The same conjecture solves the problem concerning the origin of the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew more satisfactorily than any which has yet been advanced; and brings Irenæus's testimony, which is venerable for its antiquity, as near as possible to the truth. It accounts also for a remarkable assertion of Papias^s, viz. that St. Mark wrote his Gospel, οὐ μέντοι τάξει. If this means, as the context proves it to mean, without regard to order; the assertion would not be true of St. Mark's Gospel in particular, which is as observant of order as any of the rest. But if St. Matthew's was translated at the time when St. Mark's was written; it would be true to a certain extent of that, considered as his work also.

In a word, it is superfluous to observe that the translator of an Hebrew Gospel must himself have been acquainted with Hebrew: it is more to the purpose to remark that the translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek must have been some one of equal authority to St. Matthew himself; otherwise his

^s Eus. E. H. iii. xxxix. 113. A.

translation would never have superseded the original. The translator of St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, too, as it may be inferred not merely from the great variety of Hebrew words or phrases, simply clothed in Greek, which the translation exhibits; but from certain isolated expressions more remarkable than others, which may be cited from it; shews plainly that, in translating from Hebrew into Greek, he was translating from a language, which was his own, into a language, which was not. Thus, Matt. v. 22. Πακά—Μωρέ—both Hebrew words; would not have been suffered to remain in their original form by any but a native Jew; or one fully acquainted with the native language: nor, Matt. xxiii. 15. τὴν ξηρὰν have been opposed, by way of discrimination, to τὴν θάλασσαν, except under the same circumstances. No Greek, translating Hebrew, would have transferred this idiom into his own language; when he might so easily have written τὴν γῆν.

The Latin terms which occur in the Gospel of St. Matthew, as κοδράντης—μίλιον—κῆνσος—κουστωδία—πραιτώριον—λεγέων—μόδιος—δηνάριον—ἀσσάριον—though they are not all peculiar to it, and might have become current wherever the Roman empire had been established; may yet be a presumptive argument that it was translated, as St. Mark's was composed, at Rome: and the coincidence between both the Gospels in the use of such remarkable words as ἀγγαρεύσαι—φραγελλῶσαι—κολοβῶσαι—and the like—serves equally to render it probable that the translator of the one, and the author of the other, were the same person. Nor is it an improbable conjecture that this same person, besides being a Jew, and intimately familiar with Judæa, was also a Roman citizen, or one of the order of Libertini; numbers of whom were resident at Rome.

This supposition is in unison with the name of St. Mark; which at least is Roman, and not Jewish.

I have argued hitherto on the hypothesis that the First Epistle of St. Peter was written at Rome: and with respect to the question of the date of St. Mark's Gospel, the truth or the falsehood of that hypothesis, as we have seen, was alike indifferent to the result. There are no more than two visits of St. Peter to Rome, any more than of St. Paul, on record; the one, as we have shewn, not earlier than the fourteenth of Claudius, and the other, as it will be shewn hereafter, not earlier than the eleventh of Nero; after one or the other of which the Gospel must have been written. It could not have been after the second; for, according to Eusebius and Jerome^t, St. Mark himself died in the eighth of Nero, and, therefore, could have composed no Gospel after the eleventh. It must have been, consequently, after the first visit; and this, even on the evidence of the Epistle, is manifestly possible: for if St. Mark was with St. Peter when he wrote the Epistle; then, if he wrote it at Rome, and before the second of Nero, St. Mark was with him at Rome, before the second of Nero: if he wrote it, after he had been at Rome, from any other quarter, St. Mark, who was still with him in this other quarter, we may presume must have been with him previously at Rome.

In the further prosecution, however, of our present subject, it becomes necessary to state the objections to this hypothesis; which are as follows.

I. The Second Epistle of St. Peter, by referring^u to the First, proves that it was written after the First; and by quoting, or referring to^v, the Epistle to the Romans, proves that it was written after the Epistle

^t E. H. ii. xxiv. 66. D. Hieronymus, Catalogus S.S. Eccles. viii. Operum iv. Pars ii^a. 104.

^u iii. 1.

^v iii. 15. 16.

to the Romans also. The fact of such a reference I assert with confidence : because, this very doctrine that the longsuffering of God is designed to bring men to repentance, coupled, moreover, with the assurance of a judgment to come ; which is referred to as contained in the writings of St. Paul ; occurs ῥητῶς at Rom. ii. 3–10. but nowhere, in his Epistles, besides : and that St. Peter is referring to some one of St. Paul's Epistles, in particular, appears from his mentioning, directly after, the rest in the complex. Nor is it any objection, that he speaks of what St. Paul had written primarily to the Romans, as written to them also whom he is addressing ; viz. the churches of Asia Minor. The words ἐγγράψεν ὑμῖν imply, Wrote for you, as much as, Wrote unto you ; and, 1 Thess. v. 27. Col. iv. 16. alone would suffice to prove, if so plain a truth can stand in need of proof, that an inspired composition, such as any of the Epistles of St. Paul, was considered to be written for the benefit not merely of the church to which it might originally be addressed, but of the Christian world at large. Had not this been the case, no single Epistle could ever have claimed, or obtained, reception, beyond the pale of the church where it was first put into circulation : nor could what was written so long ago to Corinthians, Romans, or any others, be regarded as binding upon Christians now.

Moreover, when this allusion to the Epistles of St. Paul was made, St. Paul, as the very terms of the allusion, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Παῦλος, would prove, must have been alive. A deceased Christian, and especially one who had finished his course by martyrdom, would doubtless have been called, ὁ μακάριος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς, ὁ μεμαρτυρημένος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς, or, as Ignatius expresses himself, in a like case, concerning St. Paul, ὁ

ἀγιασμένος—ὁ μεμαρτυρημένος—ὁ ἀξιομακάριστος *^w. Ἀγαπητὸς is a term of endearment, which could be properly addressed only to the living: and δοθεῖσαν, which follows directly after, meaning, According to the wisdom which hath been given unto him, not, Which was given unto him^x; leads to the same conclusion.

The time of the Second Epistle of St. Peter must, consequently, be placed between the time of the Epistle to the Romans; which was the middle of the second of Nero; and the time of the death of St. Paul; which I shall shew hereafter was probably the latter half of the twelfth. This time, we may presume, approaches nearer to the latter than to the former; if, for no other reason, at least for this; viz. that, i. 13–15. the time of the death of St. Peter also, who suffered about the same period with St. Paul, was at hand when the Epistle was written. The words in question, ταχινὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀπόθεσις τοῦ σκηνώματός μου, cannot imply less than that. The date of the Epistle, then, could not be much prior to the time of the death of St. Peter; and, consequently, to the twelfth of Nero, at the latest. If, therefore, the Second Epistle was written soon after the First, (which is a much more probable supposition than the contrary would be,) the Second not having been written much before the twelfth of Nero, the First never could have been written before, or in, the second. In this case, if St. Peter was not at Rome after the second of Nero, his first Epistle, as written after

* The Scholiast on the Persæ of Æschylus, ad vers. 632. indeed, observes, ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι μακάριτος ὁ τεθνεὺς, μακάριος δὲ ὁ ζῶν. But that degree of precision in the use of words, which

this distinction would imply, was scarcely to be expected from the writers of the Greek of the New Testament. Cf. Theocritus, Idyll. ii. 70, and the Scholia in loc.

^w Epist. ad Ephes. xii. PP. Apost. 856. E. ii. 9.

^x Rom. xii. 3. 6. xv. 15. Gal.

that year at least, could not have been written at Rome, but in some other quarter.

II. In St. Paul's address to the elders of the Ephesian church; the time of which, as I shall shew hereafter, comes between the Passover, and the Pentecost, of the second of Nero; he speaks of Grievous wolves, who should enter into the flock after his departure^v, and, consequently, had not entered into it before. Nor, under this description, does he mean Christians in any sense; because he opposes them, directly after, to such as should arise from among the Ephesians themselves, Speaking perverse things, to seduce the disciples after them. He must mean, therefore, persecutors either Jewish, or heathen, in the strictest sense of the term. No persecution of the church of Asia, then, had yet taken place, by the middle of the second of Nero: and, yet it is predicted that something of the kind should take place, after it. St. Peter's First Epistle is directed to this church, as well as to the rest: and, to whomsoever it was addressed, persecutions, strictly so called, we may collect from it^z, had both begun, and been some time going on, both among them and in the rest of the Christian world^a; before it was written. It could not, therefore, have been written before the middle of the second of Nero, nor until some time afterwards, at least.

III. The opinion that it was written from Rome, is founded entirely on the assumption that Babylon, the name of the place from which it was written, is figuratively put for Rome. But this assumption, though certainly of great antiquity, is the most unnatural, uncritical, and unsound imaginable. Had the Epistle been actually written from Rome, it is impossible to

^v Acts xx. 29.

^a 1 Pet. v. 9.

^z 1 Pet. i. 6. 7. ii. 12. iii. 14. 16, 17. iv. 1. 12—19.

assign any plausible reason, much less any satisfactory explanation, why it should profess to have been written from Babylon. We might conceive some such reason in the case of a prophetical, and highly allegorical production, like the Apocalypse of St. John ; but none which would apply to a simply doctrinal and moral composition, like the First of St. Peter in particular. Nor, even in the Revelation, is Rome personified by the image of mystical Babylon, without such additional marks of distinction, as leave no difficulty to discover what that Babylon must mean : and, though, after the Revelation had been made public, we were to suppose that the usage of the Revelation, in this one respect, might determine the name of Babylon, in any subsequent Christian Scriptures, almost of necessity to the sense of Rome, yet on what principle of construction could it have been so determined in the time of St. Peter ; when the prophecy of the Revelation was not yet in being ?

In short, there is no motive, which might have induced this Apostle, when writing an Epistle *from* Rome, to suppress, or to disguise, the real name of the place ; which would not have required St. Paul, when writing an Epistle *to* Rome, (as the Epistle to the Romans,) or one, or more than one, Epistle *from* Rome, (as his several Epistles to the Ephesians, to the Colossians, to the Philippians, to Philemon, to Timothy, respectively,) to do the same thing : or St. Luke, when giving an account of St. Paul's journey thither, or otherwise alluding to it, in the Acts, to call it by any name but its own. No one, whose mind was not prepossessed by an hypothesis, when he was reading that part of the Epistle where the reference to the church in Babylon is met with, would suspect that this was a reference to a figure, or to something scarcely

to be distinguished from a figure; instead of a local habitation, and a literal name.

Yet is it by no means implied on this account, that the Epistle was written from Babylon in Mesopotamia: a city, of which there is good reason to suppose few, or no vestiges, in the time of St. Peter, were still in existence; and a quarter of the world in general, which there is still more ground for supposing was never visited by him. In the age of Jerome, Mesopotamian Babylon was no more than a park or chase, where the kings of Persia took the recreation of hunting*: and long before the time of Jerome, Strabo describes it as follows^b: ὥστ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς μὴ ἂν ὀκνησαί τινα εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ ἔφη τις τῶν κωμικῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ.

Ἐρημία μεγάλη ὅστιν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις.

Durat adhuc ibi Jovis Beli templum cetero ad

* Didicimus a quodam fratre Elamita, qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc Jerosolymis vitam exigit Monachorum, venationes regias esse in Babylone; et omnis generis bestias murorum ejus tamen ambitu coerceri: Hieronymus, Operum iii. 111. *ad med.* In Isaïæ xiv.

Denique usque hodie urbis Babylonis reliquiæ tantum manent. et posuit illam Dominus in solitudinem sempiternam, et implevit omnia verba quæ in istius ipsius Prophetæ volumine continentur: Ibid. 647. *ad calc.* in Jerem. xxv.

So likewise Theodorit: Operum ii. 617. In Jerem. l. 39: καὶ τετύχηκεν ἀμφότερα πέρατος· οὐτε γὰρ ὀκοδομήθη, ἀλλ' ἐστέρηται τῶν περιβόλων μέχρι καὶ τήμερον, καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀοίκητος ἔμεινε.

Maximus Tyrius, Diss. xxii. 6: καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον τις ἔλθῃ, καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ἴδῃ, καὶ τις αὐτόπτης γένηται Βαβυλῶνος κειμένης. Diodorus Sic. ii. 9: καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος νῦν βραχύ τι μέρος οἰκεῖται, τὸ δὲ πλείστον ἐντὸς τείχους γεωργεῖται. According to Pausanias, i. 16, Seleucus, when he founded Seleucia, left only the walls and the temple of Belus standing in Babylon; and, viii. 33, these two were all that remained of it in his time. What Philostratus, therefore, asserts, (Vita Apoll. Tyan. i. capp. 18, 19,) viz. that it was a viceregal residence, or seat of government, in the reign of Bardanes, a contemporary of Claudius Cæsar, can scarcely be entitled to credit.

^b Lib. xvi. l. §. 5. 252.

solitudinem rediit, exhausta vicinitate Seleuciæ, ob id conditæ a Nicatore^c. Yet even this temple also in the time of Diodorus Siculus had fallen into decay^d. The name of Babylon, as that of a place still in existence and inhabited, occurs once or twice, indeed, in the long account, given by Josephus, concerning the misfortunes which befell the Jews of those parts, about the beginning of the reign of Caius^e. Nearda, Nisibis, Seleucia, and Ctesiphon, all cities actually in existence, and not very remote from each other, are repeatedly mentioned; but not Babylon. Nor can there be much question that whensoever the name of Babylon occurs in the historians of these times, it must be understood *καταχρηστικῶς*; for the region of Babylon as such; which still retained its ancient appellation.

There is no reason, then, to suppose, that any church ever existed in Mesopotamian Babylon. But there was another Babylon—Babylon in Egypt—founded by Cambyzes, at the time of his reduction of Egypt^f, B. C. 525 *: and described accordingly by Strabo, as

* Diodorus Siculus, i. 56, supposes Babylon in Egypt to have been founded by Sesostris; which of course, would be a clear proof of its high antiquity. Josephus' statement on the other hand, derives some countenance from Theodorit, ii. 929. in Ezech. xxx. 4, 5 : *φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτιακὴν Βαβυλῶνα τούτου χάριν ὁμῶννυμον τῇ Περσικῇ γενέσθαι, ὡς Περσῶν αὐτὴν ᾠκηκότων*—which likewise implies that it was still in being in his time.

It is possible that both Sesostris and Cambyzes might be, at different times, the one the founder, the other the restorer of it. Ptolemy gives it a place

in his *Geographica*, iv. cap. 5. p. 124; and Eustathius, ad Dionys. Periegetem, 251, *Geographi Minores*, iv. 44. enumerates it among the seven cities, which composed the Heptapolis of Egypt. It was a place of importance in the reign of Claudius, A. D. 268 or 269, when Probus the general of that emperor, occupied it and the mountain near it, to cut off the retreat of the troops of Zenobia into Syria: see Zosimus, lib. i. page 40. Nay, in Arethas, *Commentaria* in Rev. xviii. 18. apud *Œcumenium*, ii. 801. C., it is classed even with Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople: *οὐκ ἔστιν*

^c Plin. H. Nat. vi. xxx. ^d Lib. ii. 9. ^e Ant. xviii. ix. ^f Jos. Ant. Jud. ii. xv. 1.

a place existing in his own time^g, and one of the military stations of the Roman government in Egypt; which proves it to have been a place of some consequence. The Epistle in question might be written from this Babylon: the situation of which was almost in the centre of Egypt, and therefore as convenient for such a purpose as the composition of a circular Epistle there, and its mission thence, as any. We have only to suppose that St. Peter did some time visit Egypt; and the circumstance of his writing an Epistle to the converts in Asia Minor from any place in Egypt whatever, will cease to appear surprising. Babylon might be that place as well as any other: and if it was that place, there would naturally be a church there, to join in the salutations of the writer; and that, whether Babylon was considerable, or inconsiderable, or the church itself consisted of many members, or of few: for this was clearly indifferent to the fact of an Epistle's being written, and dispatched elsewhere, from thence. Tradition, as far as it extends, confirms this supposition, by representing St. Mark to have been the first bishop of Alexandria in Egypt^h, but *after* the composition of his Gospel, on the one hand, and *before* his death, in the eighth of Nero, on the other*. St. Mark would not

ἄλλην πόλιν εὑρεῖν, ὅτι μηδὲ ἄλλον δημιουργόν, μηδὲ ἄλλον κόσμον. Βαβυλῶνα δὲ ἄλλην καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστιν εὑρεῖν, καὶ ταύτῃ ὁμοίαν ἐν αὐτῇ (leg. τῇ αὐτῇ) Αἰγύπτῳ, κατὰ τὸ Ἑρακλεωτικὸν Νείλου στόμα Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ κατ' Εὐρώπην περὶ τὰ δυτικώτερα καὶ ἀρκτώα, Ῥώμην, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἀνατολικώτερα, τὴν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίῳ, τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἐπώνυμον.

* Eusebii Chron. Armenio-Latinum *ad annum Abrah.* 2057.

Claudii 1: Marcus Evangelista, interpres Petri, Ægyptum et Alexandriam profectus, uncti Domini verbum annuntiat. Ibid. *ad ann.* 2077. Neronis 7: he is supposed to be succeeded by Ananias: which, however, is a year too soon, as the Ecclesiastical History itself shews, ii. xxiv. 66. D.: and that is further confirmed by the statement, iii. xiv. 87. D. that Annianus died in the fourth of Domitian, U. C.

^g Lib. xvii. 1. §. 30. 561.

^h Eus. E. H. ii. xvi. 53. C. Hieron. De SS. Eccles. viii. Operum iv. Pars iia. 104.

be appointed to this station except by St. Peter ; who also must, consequently, have visited Alexandria : and, as St. Mark was clearly present with St. Peter at Babylon, when he wrote the Epistle ; if he wrote the Epistle in Egyptian Babylon, they were both present in Egypt together.

The case of Apollosⁱ may serve to imply that, though the Gospel might have reached Alexandria before the twelfth of Claudius, it must have reached it imperfectly ; or that none of the Apostles at least had yet preached there in person ; just as the instance of the twelve disciples, directly after, implies the same thing of Ephesus. Egypt, according to Philo^k, contained more than a million of Jews ; and Alexandria in particular, as we may collect from Josephus, contained perhaps more than one hundred thousand *^l. No scene, therefore, could have been a more appropriate one for the labours even of an Apostle of the

837, having sat twenty-two years, though the Chron. *loc. cit.* makes him sit twenty-six. If this be true, he must have succeeded St. Mark, U. C. 815, in the eighth of Nero.

Nicephorus (apud Syncell. i. 778. 10.) supposes St. Mark to have sat only two years ; which would agree sufficiently well with our assumed date of the Epistle, the fifth or sixth of Nero.

The Chronicon Paschale, i. 471. line 4, and Dorotheus, bishop of Tyre, suppose St. Mark to have suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan ; a supposition which we need not hesitate to reject as totally unworthy of belief.

* Ant. Jud. xii. ii. 3 : if the

Pseudo-Aristæus is to be believed, the number of Jewish prisoners or slaves in Egypt in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B. C. 284, amounted to 100,000. And in like manner, if credit is to be given to the author of the third book of Maccabees, they were so much augmented within less than one hundred years, by the time of the reign of Ptolemy Philopator ; that though all are supposed to have been assembled at Alexandria, or about it, in order to be numbered, and this census of them to have continued for *forty* days without intermission ; it was obliged to be abandoned at last. The people were too numerous to be counted : Ch. iv. 14-21.

ⁱ Acts xviii. 24. 25. ^k Adv. Flaccum. Operum ii. 523. line 30. ^l B. Jud. ii. xviii. 7. 8 ; vii. viii. 7. p. 1114.

Circumcision merely, not to say of the Gentiles also : nor could the ten years of St. Peter's ministry, between his departure from Rome in the second of Nero, and the probable time of his death in the eleventh or twelfth, have been more fitly employed, in part at least, than in reaping the spiritual harvest of so populous a region. It is nowise improbable that he constituted St. Mark Bishop of Alexandria ; just as St. Paul constituted Timothy Bishop of Ephesus, and Titus Bishop of Crete : for these converts stood in a similar relation to the two Apostles, respectively : nor, as we shall see elsewhere, did the Apostles begin to appoint Bishops any where, in such a general capacity as this, before the eighth or the ninth of Nero. St. Mark had not been appointed when St. Peter wrote his First Epistle ; for he was still with the writer in Babylon : but, if tradition be true, he must have been appointed before the eighth of Nero ; when he died and was succeeded by Annianus. It is not likely that St. Peter would appoint him to preside over the Egyptian church until he was about to leave Egypt himself ; nor that he would leave Egypt himself, until after two or three years' residence there at least.

It is probable, then, that the Epistle was written about the fifth or the sixth of Nero ; and, what is a much more certain supposition, we may conclude that it was written from Egypt. The former of these points must always be the most doubtful : but they are both confirmed in some degree by the evidence of the First Epistle compared with the Second ; or by other considerations—as follows.

First, the Second Epistle was very probably written from Rome, and that, after the eighth of Nero at least ; and in the Second Epistle no mention occurs of St. Mark. After the eighth of Nero, though St. Peter

might be at Rome, St. Mark was either in Egypt, or dead. Again, the First Epistle itself was written when St. Peter was an old man^m: and the time of his old age had been specified, as the time of his death, in that predictionⁿ to which, as we saw, he probably alluded in the Second. Thirdly, the order in which the names are recounted at the outset of the Epistle—Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia—makes in favour of the supposition that it was a circular letter, sent from Egypt by the medium of a messenger who would have to travel by land in the usual route through Antioch, along the whole extent of Asia Minor from east to west. In such a letter, if dispatched from Rome and travelling from west to east, the order would have been just the reverse*. Fourthly, none of the Apostles, as we have seen, appeared to be present in Jerusalem at St. Paul's last visit, Acts xxi. 18. (a point of time answering to the Pentecost of U. C. 809. A. D. 56. in the second of Nero,) except James. It was no longer James and the Apostles; but James and simply the elders—who were then alluded to as receiving him. St. James, as the Bishop of Jerusalem, would be permanently resident in Judæa; but Peter, in particular, who was neither there, nor in Rome, and yet, as we may suppose, somewhere in the Roman empire; and who had only recently made the circuit of Asia Minor; was most probably in Africa, or in Egypt. If he was not in Upper Asia, which

† Compare Hieronymus, *Opera*. iv. pars ii^a. 2. *ad med.* Epistola i: where he is actually speaking of the course of a journey from Rome, through Asia, by land, to Judæa. Tandem in incerto peregrinationis erranti,

quum me Thracia, Pontus, atque Bithynia, totumque Galatiæ et Cappadociæ iter; et fervido Cilicum terra fregisset æstu, Syria mihi velut fidissimus naufragus portus occurrit.

^m 1 Pet. v. 1.

ⁿ John xxi. 18, 19.

we do not know that he ever visited ; nor in Spain or Gaul, about which there is the same uncertainty ; we can scarcely conceive where he could be besides. Fifthly, a comparison with Philippians^o ; the time of which is the first half of the seventh, or the last half of the sixth of Nero, U. C. 813. A. D. 60 : and, still more, with the Epistle to the Hebrews^p, the time of which, as I shall shew elsewhere, was not before the eighth of Nero, U. C. 815. A. D. 62 ; will demonstrate that the same persecutions to which, as going on in Asia Minor and elsewhere generally, distinct allusions occurred in the First of Peter, were going on in Philippi, (that is, in Macedonia,) and in Judæa, also. It is probable, therefore, that, like the events to which they refer, these Epistles were nearly synchronous ; bearing date from the fifth to the ninth or tenth of Nero. The Epistles to the Philippians and to the Hebrews do certainly come within these extremes ; and so, may we presume, did the First of Peter. And having arrived at this conclusion we will proceed to the Gospel of St. Luke.

The historical testimony which makes it the third in the order of composition, as it stands, has been considered already ; nor does any thing remain at present, except merely to shew that the internal evidence of the Gospel, and such other considerations as may deserve to be adduced, are most in unison with this conclusion, and with the consequent date to be assigned to its publication.

I. When St. Luke speaks, in his preface, of the facts of the Christian history as handed down by those who had been, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, the eyewitnesses and ministers of

^o i. 28—30. ^p Hebr. ii. 1. 2. 3. iii. 6. 12. 13. 14—the end. iv. 1. 11. 16. v. 12—end. vi. 4—12. vi. 19. x. 25—end. xi. throughout. xii. 1—13. 18—29. xiii. 3. 7. x. 32.

the Word, it may justly be supposed that he specifies a point of time many years prior to his own conversion, or to the date of his Gospel. The same expression is twice used in the Acts : once, for a point of time eleven years before ^q, and again, for one still greater ^r. The phrase ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου occurs also, Philipp. iv. 15. to denote a point of time eleven years before ; viz. U. C. 802 ; whereas the Epistle was written in U. C. 813. In the First Epistle of St. John the same phrase is repeatedly met with ; and to express a much greater length of time.

II. When he speaks in the same place of *apocryphal*, though probably well meant, Gospels ; known to Theophilus, or at least to himself ; and at the same time is speaking of them to one, whom his name proves to have been a Greek ; there can be little doubt that he is alluding to the productions of Greeks as such ; of whom, and not of the Romans, and much less the Jews, the *cacoethes scribendi* was the characteristic propensity : a propensity, which the marvellous and interesting nature of the subject, in this instance, was much more likely to inflame than to diminish. But what such Gospels could be written by Greeks, before the Gospel had begun to be preached to the Gentiles ; or rather, before St. Paul's second circuit, nineteen years after the ascension, when it was first carried into Greece ? And even after that, some more time would be necessary, in order to produce, to multiply, and to circulate such compositions, as they must have been produced, and multiplied, and circulated by the time of Theophilus, and of St. Luke.

III. If the personal history of St. Luke first becomes interwoven with the personal history of St. Paul at Troas ^s, in the ninth of Claudius—then those, who

^q xi. 15.^r xxvi. 4.^s Acts xvi. 8—18.

subscribe to the opinion that he wrote his Gospel after he became known to St. Paul, and derived his acquaintance with the facts of the Christian history chiefly from St. Paul, will readily acknowledge that he could write no Gospel before the ninth of Claudius; nor be qualified to write one, until some time after.

IV. From Acts xvi. 12. it is seen that St. Luke accompanied St. Paul, in his second circuit, as far as Philippi: but, from xvi. 40. it does not appear that he accompanied him thence. Nor after this, does he speak of himself again, or write in the first person, before Acts xx. 5; when St. Paul, after leaving Philippi, came once more to Troas, in the second of Nero, on his way to Jerusalem for the last time mentioned in the Acts. Between this time, and the ninth of Claudius, there was a seven years' interval. Are we to conclude, then, that St. Luke was absent from St. Paul for the whole of this? By no means: for we shall see hereafter, that he was probably present at Ephesus with him during part of it at least, viz. between Acts xix. 1. and 23; but at times, when the regular course of the history did not require his presence to be mentioned, or during which it is possible to conjecture in what way he might have been employed elsewhere. We may infer, however, that at no period during this interval was he very long stationary in the company of St. Paul, or at leisure to have composed a Gospel. He was too actively engaged, under his directions, elsewhere.

V. From Acts xxi. 18. it is certain that he attended St. Paul up to Jerusalem; and that until Acts xxi. 27, the very day of St. Paul's apprehension, he remained in his society still. After this, however, the first person occurs not again before xxvii. 1, where the account of St. Paul's voyage to Rome is begun. There is, consequently, no proof that he accompanied St. Paul to

Cæsarea, as there is, that he accompanied him to Rome: nor, indeed, as St. Paul was first sent thither, could any one have accompanied him at the time. His friends, it is true, might follow him thither: and, perhaps, from Acts xxiv. 23. it may be justly concluded that they did: nor would I deny that St. Luke might be among the number. But there is no proof that he was with St. Paul all this time; as there is, that he was with him all the time of his imprisonment at Rome; and, if he was at Cæsarea at the close thereof only, he might still have been employed meanwhile, as before, on errands to the various churches. That he was there at the close in question is presumptively implied, among other things, by the very particular and lively description of St. Paul's final examination before Festus, as well as before Agrippa^t: which is so full of animation, and of what the Greeks would call *ἐνάργεια*, that it may justly be considered the description of an eyewitness.

The situation of St. Paul at Cæsarea, in the Prætorium of Herod, was certainly not so favourable to his own personal convenience, or to that of his friends, as a residence in his own hired house or lodging at Rome. What reason, then, would there be to conclude that a Gospel would be written by St. Luke, at this time and on this spot, for the instruction of a recent convert like Theophilus? a Greek, but no native of Cæsarea; because, as the Gospel clearly supposes, ignorant of the language, the customs, the topography of Palestine itself. But, if it was not written during this interval, it could not possibly have been written before St. Paul's arrival at Rome. St. Luke was no prisoner at Cæsarea, as St. Paul was; nor so far distant from what had been the scene of St. Paul's ministry previously, when he

^t Acts xxv. xxvi.

was in that city, as when he was at Rome. Nor did he accompany St. Paul at last to Rome, as a prisoner also ; but, like Aristarchus of Thessalonica, rather as a friend and follower ; who, without being obliged, had yet voluntarily determined, to share the fortunes of St. Paul.

VI. If the Acts of the Apostles were written by the same person who composed the Gospel of St. Luke, no one will hesitate to consider them merely consecutive parts of a common history ; begun and completed together, but in their natural and relative order. The internal evidence of the two works confirms the inference : for, it will be clear to any one who will carefully peruse them in this relative order, that, considered merely as a distinct composition, but of the same person who wrote the Gospel, the Acts are a more perfect work—the Acts exhibit more of the hand of a master, and of that ease, correctness, and facility which are acquired by practice, than the Gospel. There is no reason whatever, why familiarity with the use of the pen, (which would be the natural effect of the previous composition of the Gospel,) and the fortunate contingency of having to describe in the later work, scenes and events which the author had more or less witnessed himself, might not improve the talents, or facilitate the task, even of an inspired historian. The time of writing the Acts, then, would be but a little later than the time of writing the Gospel : and the Acts, which conclude with the end of St. Paul's two years' imprisonment at Rome, could not have been written, or at least finished, before the expiration of the same time. Therefore, neither could the Gospel.

VII. It may be questioned, indeed, whether any part of the Acts could have been written before the

reign of Nero. For, speaking of the famine, Acts xi. 28, the author is observed to say; Which came to pass also in the time of Claudius Cæsar. No one would have expressed himself thus, who had not written after the close of that reign at least. The same inference is deducible, though not with equal strength, from Acts xviii. 2. I observe also, that at a point of time; which may be proved to have coincided with the beginning of the reign of Nero; where the reference is to the reigning Emperor, it is simply to Cæsar, without any mention of his proper name^u; which name, if the work was written in the reign of Nero, it would be readily understood was Nero's. For, according to Dio, and also to Josephus, this was their common style and title: *πᾶσι τοῖς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κράτος λαμβάνουσιν ἢ προσηγορία αὕτη ἐκνενίκηκεν—καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαίων δὲ αὐτοκράτορες, ἐκ γενετῆς ἀπ' ἄλλων χρηματίσαντες ὀνομάτων, Καίσαρες καλοῦνται*^v.

The abrupt allusion also to Agrippa the king; to Bernice; and, before that, to Drusilla as the wife of Felix, the Roman procurator of Judæa, yet a Jewess; and even to Felix, and to his successor Festus, themselves; are allusions to persons who, in the reign of Nero, were contemporary characters; most of them alive not only during it, but long after—and well known at Rome, where Agrippa, in particular, had been brought up under Claudius; and in the first of Nero, had been made king over part of Judæa, if not to the same extent as his father Herod.

There are more indications of the same sort, all leading to the inference that the work is that of a contemporary historian, and relating to contemporary events, but after the beginning of the reign of Nero:

^u Chap. xxv. 8. 10. 11. 12. 21. xxvi. 32. xxvii. 24. xxviii. 19. xlvi. 47. Jos. Ant. Jud. viii. vi. 2.

^v Dio,

some of which will be pointed out hereafter. The mention of Gallio, Acts xviii. 12, leads to a similar conclusion: for this also is plainly the mention of a well known and contemporary person. Junius Gallio was the brother of Seneca, and the uncle of Lucan the poet: a celebrated orator of his day—distinguished by his wit, his agreeable temper, and the politeness of his manners. Without entering upon the particulars of his history here, all which I shall remark upon it, at present, is this; viz. that from the fifth to the seventh year of Nero, (between which dates I believe St. Paul to have been at Rome, and Seneca, the brother of Gallio, was still in favour with the Emperor,) Gallio must have been well known in the court of Nero. But we are told by Dio^b, that when Seneca was put to death in consequence of the conspiracy of Piso against Nero, in the eleventh year of his reign, his brothers, including Gallio, were put to death also. He could not, therefore, have been a living, or well-known character after the eleventh of Nero; that is, from U. C. 817. to U. C. 818. *medium**.

* Seneca, *Consolatio ad Helviam Matrem*, cap. 2, 4: *Carissimum virum tuum, ex quo mater trium liberorum eras, amisisti. Epigramm. viii. 1. (Opurum iv. 368 :) Sic mihi sit frater, majorque, minorque, superstes, | Et de me doleant nil, nisi morte mea.* Whence it appears that the three sons of Seneca the father were born in the following order: Annæus Novatus, Annæus Seneca, Annæus Mella: which last was the father of Lucan the poet. See also the *Controversiæ* of Seneca the father, in the prefaces to the several books *passim*. And this may be

one reason why Seneca in alluding to Novatus, after he had changed his name, so generally calls him *Dominum*: viz. that he was his elder brother.

The name of Novatus in full, after he passed into another family, was Lucius Junius Gallio. Under this name he may be found referred to, Dio, lx. 35. and by that of Junius Gallio, or Gallio, Dio, lxi. 20: Tac. Ann. xv. 73. xvi. 17: Columella, *De Re Rustica*, ix. 16: Seneca, *De Vita Beata*, 1: Nat. Quæstion. iv. Præf. 9: v. xi. 1: Epist. civ. 1: Eusebii Chronicon, &c.

It may be collected from Ta-

^b Dio, lxii. 25. Cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 73. xvi. 17.

VIII. Both the Gospel and the Acts of St. Luke are dedicated to the same person, whom he designates in

citius, Ann. xv. 60. 53. 74. that the death of Seneca coincided with the period of the Ludi Cereales, that is, from April 12 to 19, U. C. 818. If he died about the same time with Lucan his nephew, the death of the latter, according to the old author of his life, was *Pridie Kalendas Maias*. But it does not agree with this statement, that he is said to have been then in his twenty-seventh year. For he was born according to the same authority, iii *Nonas Novembres*, U. C. 792: consequently *Pridie Kalendas Maias*, U. C. 818, he would still be only in his twenty-sixth year. Cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 56. 70.

Gallio, the person who adopted Annæus Novatus, is properly known as Gallio the orator. In that capacity he is often mentioned by contemporary or later writers. Seneca the elder repeatedly alludes to him; as for example, *Suasorium*, lib. i. 3^a. p. 28. *Scripsit de eadem materia . . . nonnihil Pater Gallio*: Quintilian, *Institt. Orat.* iii. 1, 21. *Remissius, et pro suo ingenio, pater Gallio*: *ibid.* ix. 2, 91. *Malim . . . quam calamistros Mæcenatis, aut tinnitus Gallionis*: Tacitus, *De Causis Corruptæ Eloquentiæ*, 26. And though this last allusion conveys an oblique censure upon him, as an orator more distinguished for sound than sense, yet Jerome, *Operum* iii. 207. *Præf. ad lib. viii. in Isaiam*, classes him with Cicero, Quintilian, and others, the most il-

lustrious names in eloquence or rhetoric.

Tacitus, Ann. vi. 3. Dio, lvi. 18. mention a Junius Gallio as incurring the displeasure of Tiberius, U. C. 785: who was doubtless Gallio the father. One of Ovid's epistles *De Ponto*, viz. iv. xi. which was written after the death of Augustus, is addressed to a certain Gallio—who was probably the same person with Gallio the father. It appears to have been written to condole with him on the recent loss of his wife. *Non ita Dis placuit, qui te spoliare pudica | Conjuge crudeles non habuere nefas*—*De Ponto*, iv. xi. 7. But though he might have lost his wife thus early, yet he certainly did not adopt Annæus Novatus until long after. Seneca's treatise *De Ira*, is addressed to the latter before he had assumed the name of Gallio; and it may be inferred from i. 16, 30. of that treatise; *Non puto parum momenti hanc ejus vocem ad incitandum conjuratorum mentes addidisse*; that it was not written before the death of Caius Cæsar at least. Vide also ii. 33, 3. iii. 18, 3. 19, 1. 22, 1. which shew it to have been written between the death of Caius, and Seneca's banishment in the first of Claudius, U. C. 794: Dio, lx. 8. Cf. *Consolatio ad Helviam*, 2, 5. and, *Ad Polybium*, 32, 2. which was written during his banishment, and so early as the third of Claudius. Polybius, (Dio, lx. 29. 31.) was himself

each by the name of Theophilus ; and whose existence as a real personage, and not as a symbolical or imaginary character, as referred to in either, is proved not merely by the absurdity of the contrary supposition, but by the title of respect prefixed to his name : for that is such a title as never is, nor ever could be, bestowed on any but a real character. The name of Theophilus is no uncommon one. Josephus mentions a Jewish high-priest, a son of Annas, who bore it at this very time : Strabo, an ancestor of his own, contemporary with Mithridates of Pontus : Cicero, a freed-man of M. Marcellus, consul in U. C. 703 : and Suidas, a Greek comedian ; all called by it also^x.

In each of these instances, except the first, it is clearly the name of Greeks ; and whosoever is denoted by it in the Gospel or the Acts of St. Luke, there can be little question that he also was a Greek. No hypothesis, at least, can be more improbable, than what some critics have proposed ; viz. that he might be the same with the Jewish high-priest above mentioned, the son of the Annas of the Gospels, and, as I hope to shew hereafter, the high-priest who put St. Stephen to death, and sent St. Paul on his persecuting errand to Damascus. Independent of the intrinsic improbability of that hypothesis ; it is clearly incompatible with the difference of manner between the style of writing in the Gospel, and that in the Acts ; especially with re-

put to death U. C. 800. or sooner.

Nor does it exactly appear even from this treatise *Ad Helviam Matrem*, whether Novatus had then changed his name or

not. Yet a daughter of his is mentioned, called Novatilla, cap. 16, §. 15, who was almost of a marriageable age, and had recently lost her mother.

^x Jos. Ant. Jud. xviii. v. 3. Cf. xvii. iv. 2. Strabo, xii. 3. §. 33. 131. Ciceron. Epp. ad Fam. i. iv. 9. Suid. Θεόφιλος. Cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 55.

gard to geographical notices, or other similar explanations; for this difference is such as to prove that, whosoever was the person to whom each of these works was addressed in common, he was as well acquainted with the topography of Asia Minor, Macedonia, Greece, and Italy, or Rome, as he was ignorant of that of Judæa or Galilee.

It was not indeed to be expected that opportunities for such explanations, whether geographical, or of any other kind, as might be wanted by a stranger to Judæa, would occur as frequently in the Acts, as in the Gospel: yet there are some to be met with even there, which seem to me to be deserving of mention. Of these I will produce the following as specimens:

I. Ἀγγελος δὲ Κυρίου ἐλάλησε πρὸς Φίλιππον λέγων Ἀνάστηθι, καὶ πορεύου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν, τὴν καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Γάζαν. αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος^w.

The difficulty which has arisen from referring these last words to Gaza, and supposing that that was now desert, never has been, nor can be, removed. The history of Gaza is this*. After having been more

* Hieronymus, *Operum* iii. 299. *ad princ.* in Isaïæ xxxix: Gaza autem lingua Persarum divitiæ nuncupantur: nec est Hebræus sermo sed barbarus. Cf. 986. *ad med.* in Ezek. xl. and Servius, *ad Æneid.* i. 119: according to whom it received its name in the reign of Cambyzes, quod in ea...cum Ægyptiis bellum inferret, divitias suas condidit. It was always, however, one of the five lordships of the Philistines.

Polybius, xvi. 40, gives us

the history of Gaza in brief, up to the time of Antiochus Magnus, B. C. 198. Diodorus Sic. xvii. 48, 49: it was first taken by Alexander, after a two months' siege, B. C. 332 *exeunte*: xix. 59—it was again taken by storm by Antigonus, B. C. 315: xix. 80—86. 93—it was the scene of a celebrated battle between Ptolemy Soter, Seleucus, and Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, B. C. 312, from which the Æra Seleucidarum bears date. After the battle, it fell into the power

^w Acts viii. 26.

than once laid waste by the ravages of war, it had been finally rebuilt, along with many other cities in its neighbourhood, by order of the Roman proconsul and governor of Syria, Gabinius^x; whose occupation of Judæa cannot be placed earlier than the year after his consulship, U. C. 697, and by Dio^y seems to be placed, U. C. 699. In the year after the reduction of Egypt, U. C. 724, it was attached by the Emperor Augustus to the dominions of Herod^z: but, at his death, it was made part of the province of Syria^a.

There is no account of any destruction of Gaza, from that time to the time of the conversion of the eunuch, which was U. C. 790. On the contrary, there are coins of it still extant, and struck between these periods^b; which demonstrate it to have been a flourishing city. It is true, that U. C. 819, in the twelfth of Nero, both Gaza and Ascalon are said to have been

of Ptolemy; but in the course of the same year, on the defeat of his general Cilles, and the approach of Antigonus to the assistance of Demetrius, it was again evacuated, after being previously laid waste, along with Ace or Ptolemais, Joppa, and Samaria.

Simon Maccabæus reduced it once, about B. C. 143 or 142: and Jonathan Maccabæus, B. C. 145 or 144, destroyed its suburbs: 1 Macc. xi. 61. xiii. 43—48. Alexander Jannæus, after a year's siege, reduced and levelled it with the ground, not long after the beginning of his reign: Ant. Jud. xiii. xiii. 3. B. Jud. i. iv. 2. At this time,

it was sufficiently rich and flourishing to have a senate of 500 members. B. C. 63, U. C. 691, or B. C. 62, U. C. 692, along with many other cities on the sea-coast, or the confines of Judæa, it was first annexed by Pompey the Great to the province of Syria; at which time it is spoken of as being more or less in a ruinous condition—Ant. Jud. xiv. iv. 4. B. i. vii. 7: though presently afterwards it was restored by Gabinius. Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 30. 349, speaks of it as continuing desolate in his time; a statement contradicted by its extant coins, if it be not understood of the remains of the ancient city.

^x Joseph. De B. Jud. i. viii. 4. Ant. xiv. v. 3.

^y Lib. xxxix. 56. 60.

^z Joseph. de B. Jud. i. xx. 3. Ant. xv. vii. 3.

^a De B. ii. vi. 3. Ant. xvii.

xi. 4.

^b Eckhel, Doctr. Numm. Vett. iii. 452, 453.

laid waste by the Jews, at the very outset of the war, and in revenge for the massacre of their countrymen at Cæsarea^c: nor have there been wanting writers who would refer the notice in the Acts to that desolation, and argue from it that the Acts could not have been composed before the twelfth of Nero, U. C. 819.

I do not deny that by the rules of construction, αὐτῇ might be referred to Γάζαν: but, by the same rules, it might also be referred to Ἱερουσαλήμ: the absurdity of which would be evident. The truth is, that it was intended to be referred to neither. The whole of the predicate, τὴν καταβαίνουσιν ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλήμ εἰς Γάζαν, stands in lieu of a single adjunct to one subject, τὴν ὁδόν; which only is the proper antecedent of the relative αὐτῇ. The remark is a remark of the writer's, and no part of the words of the angel; and the whole might be rendered thus:

Now an angel of the Lord spake unto Philip, saying, Arise, and take thy journey southward, till thou comest to the way which goeth down from Jerusalem to Gaza. This way is desert.

The whole of this dispensation, as the narrative proves, was a special interposition in favour of one individual, the Ethiopian eunuch; who, having been up to attend some feast at Jerusalem, was naturally returning home, when Philip was sent upon this errand on purpose to fall in with him. The road to Ethiopia lay through Egypt; and the road to Egypt, from Jerusalem, lay through Ascalon, and by Gaza. Almost the whole of this road might justly be described as desert; and certainly that part of it which remained to be travelled after leaving Gaza, and before arriving in Egypt. The tract of country between Raphia (or at least Rhinocorura, on the extreme border of Pales-

^c De B. Jud. ii. xviii. 1.

tine); and Pelusium, the frontier town, on that side of Egypt (a tract of three days' journey in extent) was a perfect desert^d. The great desert of Arabia, which extended as far as the Red sea, is made by Strabo to begin at Gaza^{*d}; and certain parts of this desert itself, into which the scape goat used to be carried on the day of the atonement, were not twelve miles distant from Jerusalem, nor above five or six distant from Bethlehem^e. So that even the road from Jerusalem to Gaza also, for more or less of its extent, might be described as desert.

II. Τῇ τε ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐξήλθομεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ ποταμὸν, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι.—

Διοδεύσαντες δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν, ἦλθον εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην· ὅπου ἦν ἡ συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων^f.

It is clear from the account of St. Paul's journeys in general that he made no long residence in any quarter, where there was not a synagogue of the Jews; and it is clear from the second of these passages, that there were not such synagogues every where. In this instance, there was none at Amphipolis, nor at Apollonia; nor until he came to Thessalonica: and *there* the very language of St. Luke implies that there was one: Now when they had passed over, *or rather*, travelled through, Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica; where was *the synagogue* of the

* Arrian, *Expositio Alexandri*, ii. 26: ἐσχάτῃ δὲ ᾠκέϊτο (ἡ Γάζα) ὡς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰόντι, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐρήμου. *Alexandri Itinerarium* cap. 45. De

Gaza: Quod ea urbs suggestu ardua, harenis circa perpinguibus, ut humectis satis subsidiis, vallaretur.

^d Herod. iii. 5. Strabo, xvi. §. 32. 352. §. 30. 349. Jos. B. Jud. iv. xi. 5. Ant. xv. vi. 7. B. i. xx. 3. ^e Jos. Ant. Jud. v. ii. 8. Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 55. l. 9. Hieronymus, *Operum* iii. 1370. Præf. in Amos. 1 Sam. xvii. 28. Maimonides, de Solemni die Expiationis, cap. iii. art. 7. ^f Acts xvi. 13. xvii. 1.

Jews. Thessalonica was the capital of Macedonia δευτέρα *: and the synagogue of the Jews in those parts collectively was, it seems, established there. Here, then, St. Paul stayed some time; three or four weeks at least. Before this he had made a similar stay at Philippi; whence we might infer that the Jews had a synagogue there also. But no such synagogue is mentioned: what, then, was there in its stead?

The first of the passages, just quoted, informs us that there was a *place of prayer*; that is, a Proseucha, or Oratory, by the side of a river, where prayer was wont to be made. That this served for the purpose of a synagogue is manifest from the numbers assembled there, at St. Paul's first visit to it, which was on the Sabbath; and from his daily resort to it afterwards: on one of which occasions he ejected the demon from the Pythoness ‡. Now, that Philippi was situated in the neighbourhood of some river may be inferred from its ancient name, which was Crenides, or ἐπὶ κρήναις ^h; and from the fact that a river, called Zygactes, which is mentioned by Appian, was somewhere near it ⁱ. That the Jews, sometimes from necessity, but more frequently from choice, were accustomed to assemble for the purpose of prayer, that is, to establish oratories, on the sea-shore, or on the banks

* In an extant epigram of Antipater of Thessalonica, a poet contemporary with the reign of Augustus, it is called the metropolis of all Macedonia. It is addressed to the Roman Piso. Σοὶ με, Θρηϊκίης σκυληφόρε, Θεσσα-

λονίκη | μήτηρ ἡ πάσης πέμψε Μακεδονίης, κ', τ. λ. Anthologia ii. 98. Antipatri Thess. xiv. Cf. Socrates, E. H. ii. xvi. 93. B: vii. xlv. 388. B: Theodorit, E. H. v. xvii. 219. C: and Œcumenius in Nov. Test. ii. 171. C. in 1 Thess. iv. 10.

‡ Chap. xvi. 16—18.

^h Cf. Theophrastus, De Causis Plantarum, v. 20.

Another river, called Gangas, or Gangites, was not two miles distant from Philippi. There seems also to have been access up to it, by the Strymon, for ships, from the sea. Cf. Appian, B. C. iv. 106.

Appian, B. C. iv. 105. 106. 128.

ⁱ Strabo, Excerpta Lib. vii. 16, 17. 490.

of rivers, is a well attested fact^{*k}. Such oratories were equivalent to synagogues^l: and there was one of them established at Philippi. But to return from this digression †.

It appears to me a probable conjecture that Theophilus was one of the freedmen of Nero, or some other personage about the court of that Emperor, to whom, among others, St. Paul may allude in the Epistle to the Philippians, first, when he speaks of his bonds having become manifest, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ πραιτωρίῳ, as well as, τοῖς λοιποῖς πᾶσι^m; which proves that he had made converts in the imperial palace, as well as in the rest of Rome; and again, when he tells them, that All the saints, and especially they of the household of Cæsar saluted themⁿ. When he wrote to the Romans, there is no reason to suppose that any converts had yet been made in this quarter; or that those who are recog-

* Tertullian, *Operum* ii. 422. *Adversus Psychicos*, 16: *Judaicum certe jejunium ubique celebratur, cum omissis templis per omne litus, quocunque in aperto aliquando jam precem ad cælum mittunt.* Idem, *Operum* v. 154. *Ad Nationes*, lib. i. 13: *Judæi enim festi, sabbata, et cœna pura, et Judaici ritus lucernarum, et jejunia cum azymis, et orationes litorales, quæ utique aliena sunt a diis vestris.*

† While I am upon this subject, I will mention one more circumstance, though it applies rather to the two first Gospels than either to the Gospel or to the Acts of St. Luke. In each of those two Gospels, the name of Cæsarea Philippi occurs once,

which proves that it was yet known by no other appellation. One or two years, however, before U. C. 819. the first year of the Jewish war, it was considerably enlarged and beautified by Agrippa the younger; who, out of compliment to Nero, changed its name from Cæsarea to *Neronias*^o: a name which subsequently appears on its coins^p, and shews that it actually came into vogue. This, then, is one presumptive argument, among others, that the first two Gospels were each written before Cæsarea Philippi was yet known by any other name, and, consequently, before U. C. 815. or 816. at least.

^k Ant. Jud. xiv. x. 23. Philo in Flacc. *Operum* ii. 535. l. 4. ^l Jos. Vita 54. Philo, de *Virtutibus*. ii. 565. l. 2: l. 18: 566. l. 3: 568. l. 32. ^m Phil. i. 13. ⁿ Ib. iv. 22. ^o Ant. Jud. xx. ix. 4. ^p Eckhel, *Doctr. Numm. Vett.* iii. 343.

nised in that capacity here, were not actually converted by St. Paul, or by some of those who accompanied him to Rome. It makes in favour both of this supposition, and of the presumption that Theophilus was one of the number, that as the Acts of the Apostles must have been written after his conversion, and after, or during, the term of St. Paul's residence in Rome also; so the Epistle to the Philippians, which may by implication allude to him, was written, as I shall shew hereafter, in the last year of St. Paul's imprisonment, and, perhaps, in the last half of that year. The conversion of Theophilus, which, if he was one of Nero's household, had but just taken place when the Epistle was written, had taken place in that year; and, consequently, the Acts of the Apostles, and, therefore, the Gospel, could not have been written before that year; but might have been written in it, or directly after it. At this time Timothy, as the exordium of the same Epistle to the Philippians proves, had recently joined St. Paul; and, consequently, from this time forward he might become known at Rome: but, probably, was not so before. The allusion to him, therefore, historically in the Acts^o, if the Acts were now written, would be significant and just. That Theophilus was a recent convert, or had been only just instructed in the facts and doctrines of Christianity, when the Gospel was written, appears, I think, plainly from the language of the preface—*ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν*: That thou mayest be assured of the certainty of the things, concerning which thou hast received the first instruction.

It is, however, in the account of St. Paul's voyage to Rome, and especially when he was approaching to his journey's end, that the internal evidence of the

narrative implies most clearly that, whosoever Theophilus was, he was somebody familiar with Rome, and its environs; with Italy, and the neighbouring regions, in particular. The allusion to the island, on which St. Paul was cast, is one proof of this—And thus it came to pass, that all escaped unto the land: and, when they had escaped, then they discovered that the island is called Melite. The precise import of the allusion is much impaired by the existing division of chapters; for all this is spoken historically, of the rest of the crew, not of the writer; and refers to what was said before at xxvii. 39, that until they got to land, they did not know where they were; but having escaped to shore, they recognised the island to be Melite; they found they had got upon Malta. The name of Malta, which was an island of some consequence anciently as well as now^p, would be as familiar to a Roman or Italian of former times, as it is to those of present. And that Malta, and not some other island off the coast of Illyricum between Corcyra and Epidaurus *^q, *hodie* called Meleda, was the island on which St. Paul was shipwrecked, appears to me for the following reasons indisputable.

First, The people of Melite, or Malta, might properly be called *Βάρβαροι*; as not being of Grecian, but of African or Punic extraction: but of the people of

* Appian, *De Rebus Illyricis*, 16, tells us that Augustus removed the inhabitants of this island, off the coast of Illyricum, sometime in his reign. We find it noticed in the *Periplus* of Scylax, apud *Geographos Minores*, i. 8. *Nestæi*. The father

of the poet Oppian, if not Oppian himself along with him, according to the author of his life, was banished thither also, in the reign of Severus. Besides this Melite, mention occurs in *Ælian*, *De Natura Anim.* xi. 17. of another in Egypt.

^p Diod. Sic. v. 12. Strabo, vi. 2. §. 11. 283. Pliny, *H. N.* iii. 14. ^q Pliny, *H. N.* iii. 30. Steph. de Urbibus. Antonini *Itinerarium*.

Melede this is not so certain. Secondly, Malta lies much nearer to Crete, than Melede; and it was from Crete that St. Paul was sailing when he was overtaken by the storm which ultimately carried him to Malta. Thirdly, It was with a south wind that he set out from Crete; but this was speedily changed into the tempestuous wind called Euroclydon, the very name of which proves that it came from the east or the north-east. Now no east or north-east wind would carry a ship from Crete up to the very interior of the Sinus Hadriaticus—directly to the north-west: but it might carry one, from the same quarter to Malta; which would be right to the west or the south-west*. Fourthly, a ship of Alexandria had

* The direction of the wind is incontestibly proved by the following fact. When they had passed the small island of Clauda, φοβούμενοι μὴ εἰς τὴν Σύρτιν ἐκπέσωσι, they are said to have struck sail, or let down the mast of the ship, and so left her to take her course^r. It is not the most correct version to render these words, Lest they should fall into the quicksands; since the meaning is, Lest they should be driven upon the quicksand; that is, upon the Syrtis of Africa. There was no ἡ Σύρτις but that; the distance of which too from Clauda, or from the island of Crete, was nothing considerable, while its direction or bearing referred to the same islands, (with which we are chiefly concerned,) is exactly such as might be expected in order to justify this mode of speaking. The

Syrtis Major is that which is meant: and if any one will look at its position on the maps, he will see that it lies almost exactly south-west of Crete; and especially of that part of it where the haven of Phœnice, and the small island of Clauda, are to be placed.

Ἡ χαλεπότης δὲ, says Strabo, καὶ ταύτης τῆς Σύρτεως καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς, ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τεναγώδης ἐστὶν ὁ βυθὸς, κατὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας συμβαίνει τισὶν ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὰ βράχη καὶ καθίζειν σπάνιον δ' εἶναι τὸ σωζόμενον σκάφος. διόπερ πόρρωθεν τὸν παράπλουν ποιοῦνται, φυλαττόμενοι, μὴ ἐμπέσοιεν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους, ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἀφύλακτοι ληφθέντες^s. Now a wind, which was likely to have carried the ship of St. Paul in a direction due south-west of Crete, must have come from the north-east: and this is among

^r xxvii. 17. ^s xvii. 3. §. 20. 687. Vide also Lucan, Pharsalia, ix. 304 sqq.: Strabo ii. 5. p. 327. xvii. 3. §. 17. 681. Pliny, H. N. v. 4: Pomponius Mela, i. 7: Dio Chrys. Orat. v. 190. l. 22. Sulpicii Severi Dialog. i. 2. Solini Polyhistor, cap. 27.

wintered in Melite; which was very possible of the island of Malta, situated as that was midway in the

the strongest reasons why, in the name of that wind, instead of *Εὐροκλύδων*, we should read with many old versions, *Εὐροακύλων*, or *Εὐρακύλων*: though Griesbach, on the authority of manuscripts, inclines rather to *Εὐρυκλύδων*; which differs from both.

According to Aulus Gellius, whose account agrees, upon the whole, with that of Aristotle^t, the three winds, which blew directly from the three points of the heavens where the sun rises at the three cardinal points of the year—the summer solstice—the vernal equinox—and the winter solstice—respectively; were called in Greek *Βορέας*, *Ἀπηνλιώτης* or *Εὖρος*, and *Εὐρόνοτος*: in Latin *Aquilo*, *Subsolanus*, and *Vulturnus*. Now as this last wind, *Εὐρόνοτος* or *Vulturnus*, was so called because it was partly an east and partly a south wind, something between *Εὖρον καὶ Νότον*, *Subsolanum et Austrum*; so might another wind, composed partly of an east and partly of a north, as lying between *Εὖρον καὶ Βορέαν*, *Subsolanum et Aquilonem*, be called by a name composed of both—*Εὐρακύλων*. For *Aquilo* expressed in Greek would be expressed by *Ἀκύλων*. In like manner the wind opposed to this, and blowing from the point in the heavens between the meridian and the winter occident, was called *Libonotus*.

There is extant an octagonal tower at Athens, the work of

Antigonus Cyrrhestes, and representing the eight principal winds. (Vide the books of travels in Greece.) Philargyrius, ad Virg. Georg. iv. 298: *Omnes autem venti præter enchorios, id est regionales, sunt duodecim: Subsolanus, Eurus, Fœnix, Notus, Libonotus, Africus, Zephyrus, Argestes, Thracias, Aparctias, Boreas, Cæcias*: which account is somewhat different from that of Aulus Gellius or Aristotle. The chief writers upon winds, according to Posidonius, a contemporary of Pompey the Great, B. C. 63, as quoted by Strabo, were Aristotle, Timosthenes, and Bion the astronomer. If the reader is curious to see, what ancient authorities have to say upon this subject, he will find very similar accounts, Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, ii. vi. p. 56. l. 3—Theophrastus, *De Ventis*, p. 415: Seneca, *Nat. Quæst.* v. 16. 17: Pliny, H. N. ii. 46—48. xviii. 76, 77: Apuleius, *De Mundo Liber, Operum* ii. 258—261): Agathemerus, *Geographi Minores*, ii. lib. ii. cap. xii. 52. 53: Geoponica, i. 11: Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, i. 6: Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, v. 8: Strabo, i. 2. p. 77. 78: Ptolemæi *Mathematica Compositio*, vi. 11: Achilles Tatius in *Phænomena Arati*, 157, D—158, C: Laurentius, *De Mensibus*, iv. 76. p. 278.: *Liber Enoch*, lxxv. lxxvi. 1—4. Cf. also xxxiii—xxxv: Damascenus, *De Orthodoxa Fide*, Lib. ii. capp. 23. 26.

^t Noctes Att. ii. 22.

course of the navigation pursued by ships of burden or merchantmen^t, sailing from Egypt to Italy, by the aid of the trade winds, called Etesian—which blew part of the year from the north, and part from the south; the former in the summer, the latter after the autumnal equinox. The supposition, on the other hand, of an Alexandrian ship's having to winter in Melede would be utterly incongruous and absurd. Fifthly, when the voyage was renewed the next spring, the first port which they made was Syracuse; the next to that, Rhegium; the next, Puteoli; and so on: all which were directly in the line of navigation from Malta, or even from Egypt^u, towards Rome. But had the voyage set out from Melite, near Illyricum, the first port, according to the usual mode of sailing from the continent of Epirus to Italy—would have

The proper name of the wind encountered by St. Paul, I consider to have been *Καικίας*, which Aristotle describes as follows: *ὁ δὲ καικίας κοινὸς ἀπηλιώτου καὶ βορέου*: Meteorolog. *ut supra*, p. 57. l. 20: and again, *καικίας μὲν . . . διὰ τὸ κοινὸς εἶναι βορέου καὶ εὐρου*: Ibid. 58. l. 31. Another name for it was Hellespontias, as blowing from that quarter of the Ægean sea; *καικίας, ὃν ἑλλησποντίαν ἔνιοι καλοῦσι*: Ibid. 58. l. 24: Cæcian aliqui vocant Hellespontiam: Pliny, H. N. ii. 46. This name is borrowed, and applied metaphorically, by Himerius, Ecloga xxxvi. sect. i. 308: *οὐπω τὸ ἔαρ ὤφθη καὶ χειμῶν ἑλλησπόντιος προσβαλὼν τὴν ψυχὴν πῆγνυσιν*. The wind which caused the shipwreck of the fleet of Xerxes, B. C. 480, off the

Magnesian coast of Thessaly, is accordingly so named by Herodotus, vii. 188, though the season of the year when this happened, being nearer to Midsummer than the autumnal equinox, the storm in question was earlier than in the case of St. Paul.

According to Pliny, the time when this wind from the north-east set in, which he calls the season Aquilonis hyberni, *multumque æstivo illi* (that is, the Etesian winds) *dissimilis*, was *iii. Id. Novembris*, November 11: and it may be proved, as it will appear hereafter, that this was about the time when St. Paul and his companions, on leaving Crete, encountered the storm which wrecked them upon Malta.

^t Philo Jud. De Virtutibus. ii. 583. l. 21.

^u Jos. Ant. Jud. xix. ii. 5.

been Dyrrhachium: the next Brundisium: and so on*.

The cursory and familiar allusions to Syracuse—to Rhegium—to Puteoli—which next occur, are all implicitly to the same effect; and the mention even of so minute, and yet so natural, a circumstance as that of the brethren from Rome hearing of the approach of St. Paul, and coming to meet him as far as Appii Forum, and the Tres Tabernæ, is still more remarkable. St. Paul was coming by sea; yet the brethren were proceeding to meet him by land; and they expected to join him at the points in question. Appii Forum, and the Tres Tabernæ, were places well known to travellers; as lying on one of the great high-roads to and from Rome. Thus Cicero dates one of his letters to Atticus, Ab Appii Foro, hora quarta; and tells him also he had written to him, Paulo ante a Tribus Tabernis^{b†}: and Horace, describing his journey to Brun-

* The only objection to the conclusion which we have thus arrived at, supplied by the narrative itself, is this; viz. that the sea, in which St. Paul and his companions were tossed for fourteen days and nights, is described by τῶν Ἀδρια^z: which properly applies only to the Hadriatic Gulf. It is sufficient to answer this objection that Seneca, in his Epistles, and Josephus, in Vita^a, apply the same name, under apparently similar circumstances, to the same part of the Mediterranean in general. Josephus's account of the shipwreck which befell himself, U. C. 817. on a

voyage to Rome, ought by all means to be compared with this of St. Paul's in the Acts; and that his voyage also was begun in the summer quarter of the year, towards its close, appears from the fact that he did not return home again until about the same time U. C. 818.

† Epp. ad Atticum, i. 13: Quam Tribus Tabernis, ut opinor, ei dedisti. Cf. ii. 13. Suetonius, Tiber. 2, 6: Claudius Drusus statua sibi cum diademate ad Appii forum posita, Italiam per clientelas occupare tentavit. The Tres Tabernæ are mentioned by Zosimus, Lib. ii. p. 80. in his account

^z Acts xxvii. 27.
Cf. Ibid. 12.

^a Jos. Vita, 3. Seneca, Epp. lxxxix. 19.

^b Lib. ii. 10.

disium from Rome, having mentioned Aricia as his first stage, mentions Forum Appi as the next^c.

of the death of the Cæsar, Severus, seized there by Maxentius, as he was on his way from Ravenna to Rome, A. D. 307. Zosimus calls them the *τρία καπηλεία*. Tres Tabernæ, was also the name of a place of some importance, on the frontiers of Gaul and Germany, A. D. 357. See Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 11. 137. and xvii. 1. 155.

It may be collected from Cicero, *locis citatis*, that the Tres Tabernæ lay between Appii Forum and Rome: which is the reason why the Christians of Rome, expecting St. Paul, are said to have been waiting for him at Appii Forum and Tres Tabernæ: not *vice versa*. It appears also, that Tres Tabernæ was the point where the high road from Antium to Rome, and probably other roads, passed into the Via Appia.

The Via Appia, like all the great high roads besides, set out from Rome itself: so that a person might certainly have travelled along it all the way to or from Rome and Brundisium respectively, without once departing from it.

It appears, however, from the journey of Horace before referred to, that at Forum Appii, the first stage from Rome, to those who did not stop at Aricia, it was usual to quit the high road, and to sail to Anxur or Tarracina, along a canal, in boats drawn by mules. As the distance from Aricia to Appii Forum might be readily accomplished in an ordi-

nary day's journey, it would commonly happen that travellers along the Via Appia, from Rome, would reach the head of the canal at nightfall; and if dispatch was any object to them, or if it was otherwise more convenient, they would have an opportunity of continuing their route along the canal by night: which we perceive to have been the case with Horace, who was landed at Feronia, three or four Roman miles from Tarracina, in the morning.

The canal in question was cut through the Pomptine marshes, in order to lay them dry; a work projected most recently by Julius Cæsar, (Dio, xlv. 5. Plutarch, Julius Cæs. 58.) but completed only by Augustus (Dio, xlv. 9.); in allusion to which, Horace compliments him, *De Arte Poetica*, 65. *Sterilisque diu palus, aptaque remis | Vicinas urbes alit, et grave sentit aratrum*. Cf. the Scholiast *in loc.* who tells us also that the drain, so made, discharged itself *ad quadragesimum milliarium*; which is about the distance of Anxur or Tarracina from Rome. Appian, B. Civ. iii. 12. calls it 400 stadia.

Strabo, v. 3. §. 6. 161. illustrates Horace's and St. Paul's journey, by telling us that the Via Appia passed through or near to Tarracina; and that the canal in question at one of its extremities did the same; being intended for the convenience of such as were travelling like St. Paul, by the Via Appia towards

There are two remarkable terms peculiar to the Acts of the Apostles—σουδάρια and σιμικίνθια^f—which must have been borrowed from the Latin, and might have been chosen on purpose to express their meaning intelligibly to a Roman apprehension ; or to one familiar with Roman usages and terms*. Without saying

Rome : πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ταρράκινης βαδίζοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης, κ', τ. λ. St. Paul was coming along this high road—from Puteoli ; and his friends appear to have waited for him at Appii Forum and Tres Tabernæ, that whether he should continue his route by land, or take advantage of the canal, they might in either case be ready to receive him. It is probable, that all persons who travelled by this canal, whether to or from Rome, did so by night, (Strabo as well as Horace implying this^a,) in order to land, and continue their journey by day, from Appii Forum in the one case, and from Tarracina in the other.

Lucan, Pharsalia, iii. 84. gives very much the same account of the course taken by Cæsar in his approach to Rome ; which, however, was by land. Jamque et præcipites superaverat Anxuris arces, | Et qua Pontinas via dividit uda paludes—that is, from Anxur or Tarracina the road passed to the head of the canal through the marsh, at Appii Forum : Qua sublime nemus, Scythicæ qua regna Dianæ—that is, (cf. vi. 74, 75,) it passed from Appii Forum to Aricia, or the Aricinum nemus : Quaque iter est Latiis ad summam fascibus

Albam : | Excelsa de rupe procul jam conspicit urbem, &c. From Aricia to the Mons Albanus—and so on to Rome.

Dio, lxxviii. 15, about U. C. 860, in the reign of Trajan, a paved road was made through the Pomptine marshes ; whence we may suppose there was no such thing before : and that this was the reason why all travellers whether to or from Rome, for that part of their route, preferred proceeding by the canal.

* Nam *sudaria* Setaba ex Iberis | Miserunt mihi muneri Fabullus | Et Verannius . . . Catullus, xii. 14. *Sudariumque* Setabum, catagraphosque Thy-nos—Id. xxv. 7. Ac *sudarium* ad os applicaret : Suetonius, Nero. 25, 7—Ante faciem obtenso *sudario* : Ibid. 48, 1—Ac protinus *sudario*, quod forte in manu habebat, &c. Valerius Max. ix. xii. 7. &c.

Theophylact, Operum iii. 144. D. in Acta, xix. 11, 12 : (Cf. Œcumenius, in Ibid. i. 145. A. both, no doubt, from Chrysostom :) σουδάρια καὶ σιμικίνθια λινο-ειδῆ εἰσιν ἀμφοτέρα· πλὴν τὰ μὲν σουδάρια ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιβάλλεται. τὰ δὲ σιμικίνθια ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχουσιν πρὸς τὸ ἀπομάττεσθαι τὰς ὑγρότητας τοῦ προσώπου,

^f Acts xix. 12.

^a Πλεῖται δὲ μάλιστα νύκτωρ, ὥστ' ἐμβάντας ἐφ' ἑσπέρας ἐκβαίνειν πρώτας, καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ· ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν βυμουλκεῖται δι' ἡμιόνων. Strabo, loc. cit.

more, however, on this subject, if it has been rendered probable that neither the Acts, nor the Gospel of St. Luke was composed before the arrival of St. Paul at Rome : then, St. Paul, it may be proved, arrived there about the middle of the fifth of Nero, U. C. 812, A. D. 59. St. Luke, as it may be shewn from the Epistles written during his imprisonment, compared with the Acts, was with him at the beginning, at the middle, and at the end of his two years' residence there. What would be more probable, then, than that both these works were composed within this period ; and when the author had, apparently, so much time and leisure for their composition ? If they were not composed at this time, they could not be composed until after it : but whether they were composed now, or afterwards, they could not be composed until the author had both visited and resided some time on the spot where St. Mark's Gospel, and perhaps St. Matthew's Greek, only two or three years before, had first been published. In this case (which is what we are principally concerned with) it would be morally certain that both the latter must have been seen by St. Luke.

With regard to the place where the Gospel was written, there are not fewer than ten different opin-

οἶον ἰδρώτας, πτύελον, δάκρυον, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. This account makes the *semicinctua* handkerchiefs, and the *sudaria* a kind of hood, or cowl. But the *sudarium* was more properly the handkerchief—and the *semicinctua*, as intended by St. Luke, were in all probability a kind of aprons ; or some such covering of the body from the waist downwards, as a person would require, who laboured at a mechanical employment, like St. Paul's. The term

occurs in Martial and in Petronius Arbiter, in the sense of a *sash* or *belt* ; but of smaller dimensions than the zone or girdle, usually folded about the body to confine the dress. Pollux, *Onomasticon* vii. cap. 16. gives the name of *συνδάριον*, to what was called in the writers of the middle comedy, *καψιδρώτιον*, and by Aristophanes (*Plutus*, 729.) *ἡμιτύβιον*. Cf. the Scholiast on the *Plutus*, in loco. This word denotes a napkin, or towel.

ions; though I do not think it necessary to mention them: among which the name of Rome in particular is not without its advocate. All these opinions are purely conjectural; and must be received accordingly. The tradition, which makes the Gospel to have been composed in Achaia or Bœotia^g, is as ancient as any; but, as I suspect, as conjectural as the rest. It relies on no better a foundation than the precarious assumption either that St. Luke, after the close of the Acts of the Apostles, or at least of the life of St. Paul, finished his course in Greece; or that Theophilus, to whom the work was dedicated, was some Greek of quality; or some Governor of Achaia in particular*. The

* Epiphanius, i. 433. C. Alogi xi. supposes St. Luke to have preached in Dalmatia, Italy, Macedonia, and especially in Gaul; applying to him St. Paul's words, 2 Tim. iv. 10. "Crescens to Galatia;" and quoting them as Crescens ἐν τῇ Γαλλίᾳ: for so he contends the text should be read. Cf. Theodorit, iii. 694. in *Sec. ad Tim.* iv. 10.

Another reading in Jerome, *loc. cit.*: makes St. Luke's Gospel to have been published in Bithynia. *Operum* iv. Pars ii. 104. De SS. Eccles. 7. he tells us the bones of St. Luke and of St. Andrew were translated, as we may suppose, from Achaia to Constantinople, in the twentieth of Constantius: *Ibid.* 282. *ad calc.* Adv. Vigilantium, he adds to the remains of these two, those of Timothy also. Cf. Dorotheum, apud Theophyl. *Operum* i. 266. B. Hippolytus, περὶ τῶν ιβ'. ἀποστόλων, supposes Andrew to have been crucified at Patræ

in Achaia. Dorotheus, *loc. cit.* makes St. Luke to be buried at Ephesus. Symeon Metaphrastes, if his authority is worth quoting, makes Luke a native of Antioch; a disciple of our Lord, and one of the two who conversed with him in the way to Emmaus. He says he left paintings of our Lord and his mother, κηρῶ καὶ χρώμασι βάψας, still extant^h; that he preached in Africa and Egypt, during St. Paul's imprisonment at Rome — and tells of the translation of his bones from Thebes in Bœotia, those of Andrew from Patræ in Achaia, and those of Timothy from Ephesus, by Constantius, to Constantinople, where they were deposited in the Church of the Apostles, and where they received fresh honours from Justinian in after-time. See the life of St. Luke, from Symeon, appended to Œcumenius in Nov. Test. ii. 853, &c. For the translation in question, cf. Philostorgius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 2. 476. C. D.

^g Hieronymus, *Prol.* in iv. Ev. *Operum* iv. 3. *ad princip.*
Lect. E. H. 551. C. 554. A.

^h Cf. Theodori

same kind of argument would prove that Josephus also wrote his *Antiquities*, and most of his other extant works, in Greece. For he dedicates them to Epaphroditus, whose name proves him to have been a Greek; and with the same title of respect (κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν Ἐπαφρόδιτε ^b) which St. Luke applies to Theophilus. Who this Epaphroditus was, I shall have occasion to inquire elsewhere.

Lastly; it is a singular coincidence that St. Peter in his Second Epistle ⁱ, and St. Paul in his First to Timothy ^k, (both written after the seventh of Nero, when St. Matthew's Greek Gospel, St. Mark's and St. Luke's Gospels respectively, as I suppose, were all in being,) quote the former, Matt. xii. 45, and the latter, Luke x. 7. The first of these is too remarkable a coincidence, both of sentiment and of expression, not to have been designed; and the second is ushered in by the clearest marks of a quotation from Scripture, yet is found no where either in the Old or in the New Testament except at Luke x. 7. Nor can it surprise us to find the Apostles quoting the Gospels, any more than to find them quoting each other. Yet St. Peter, as we have seen, refers to the Epistles of St. Paul; and St. Jude, 17, 18, clearly does the same to 2 Peter, iii. 2, 3.

and Theodore Lector, ii. 567. D. who dates the translation of the relics of Timothy, June 24, and of those of Andrew and Luke March 3: though the fact is not mentioned in Theodorit, Socrates, or Sozomen. The time, according to Symeon, compared with Ammianus Marcellinus, would be between A. D. 355. and

A. D. 359, most probably A. D. 357. It is singular, that according to Procopius, *De Ædificiis*, i. iv. 14. C. D. the existence of these relics in the church of the Apostles at Constantinople, was not known, or had been forgotten, in the reign of Justinian, when they were discovered there.

^b Vita, 76. Cf. Ant. Jud. Lib. i. Proœm. 2. ⁱ ii. 20. ^k v. 18.

DISSERTATION III.

On the irregularities of St. Matthew's Gospel.

I SHALL now enter upon the consideration of the irregularities of St. Matthew's Gospel; for which purpose it will be necessary to begin, and for a time to proceed, with its history in order.

From the commencement of this Gospel to the beginning of our Lord's ministry in Galilee; and from the time of that beginning to the account of the sermon on the mount; there is no appearance of any irregularity in it whatever. How far the account of this sermon may deserve to be considered such, is a question, which I purposely reserve for discussion elsewhere: but if this discussion, as I apprehend it will, shall be found to verify the order of St. Matthew in this instance, then, through the first seven chapters of his Gospel, and as far as the first verse of the eighth, whatever omissions there may be in the continuity, there will be no irregularity in the collocation, of its accounts.

The next transaction is the cure of the leper ^a—which St. Mark and St. Luke, who both relate the first circuit of Galilee as well as St. Matthew, place after its close as well as he. St. Luke, in particular, records likewise between the circuit and this miracle the draught of fishes; which must have taken place on the lake of Gennesaret; and, consequently, if it is not a transposition, supposes the circuit to be over, and Jesus returned to Capernaum. The cure of the leper, then, which is placed in St. Matthew also after the sermon on the mount, as this sermon is either during or after the first circuit of Galilee; referred to every thing which precedes it, is strictly a regular event.

^a Matt. viii. 2—4.

The account of the miracle in St. Matthew differs from the same account in the two others, only as a more concise might be expected to differ from a more circumstantial one. It is the first instance, therefore, of that characteristic distinction between him and them, which was asserted in the first dissertation. The mode of supplying his omissions from what is furnished, over and above, by St. Mark, or by St. Luke, will appear in the Harmony; and is the most simple and natural imaginable.

The next event is the cure of the Centurion's servant^b: which also, if it be the same with the miracle recorded by St. Luke^c, as referred to all which St. Matthew has hitherto related, will be a regular event. And though it should not be the same with that; still if, as there is reason to believe, and as I shall argue more at large elsewhere, the miracle immediately preceding it was not performed in Capernaum, nor in the neighbourhood of Capernaum, but somewhere else; it would not follow that the cure of the Centurion's servant was irregularly placed in St. Matthew's Gospel, where it is. For, unless it had followed directly after the sermon on the mount, it would not necessarily be irregular in coming after the cure of the leper: our Saviour might have been in the vicinity of Capernaum at the time of the sermon, but not at the time of the cure of the leper. But, in fact, if this miracle in St. Matthew must be supposed the same with that in St. Luke, yet the sermon on the mount in St. Matthew, not the same with the sermon on the mount in St. Luke, this alone should be a convincing argument that the account of the miracle in St. Matthew is no Trajection. The improbability that two distinct miracles, so nearly alike in their circumstances, should have transpired one after

^b Matt. viii. 5—13.^c Luke vii. 1—10.

each of these discourses, respectively, would be greater than any reasonings could surmount.

Jesus has just entered Capernaum in both: the applicant to him is a centurion, and a centurion resident in Capernaum, in both: his very designation, (not to say our Lord's declarations,) and the particulars of the narrative, in both, prove him to have been a Gentile. But that a Gentile, and a Roman officer, should be found residing in one of the cities of Galilee, was a circumstance not very likely. In Jerusalem, or in Cæsarea, it might not have been surprising: but in Capernaum, it would be something extraordinary. And if *one* such inhabitant of that place was, *a priori*, not to have been expected, how much less *two*! The subject of the cure is the servant of the centurion in both: for it would be in vain to contend that *παῖς* in St. Matthew, as applied to him, means a different thing from *δοῦλος* in St. Luke. The Centurion himself, even in St. Matthew, calls him by this name also; for I consider the words *τῷ δούλῳ μου* at verse 9, to relate to this servant in particular. The classical use of *παῖς* in such a sense is too well known to require illustration*: and from Matt. xii. 18. xiv. 2, it may be collected that the writer employed it here, as he employs it there, by choice and out of preference to *δοῦλος*. For the term as so applied was originally a term of endearment; and the high value, which his master is seen to have set on this servant, accounts naturally for his speaking of him in the most affectionate language. The complaint of the servant is the palsy, a species of sickness, in St. Matthew; and some sickness or other is implied in the *κακῶς ἔχων* of St. Luke. His extreme danger is still

* Pollux, Onomasticon, lib. iii. *πρεσβύτεροι*. And so *puer* in Lacap. 8. *καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ παῖδες οἱ τιν.*
δοῦλοι, παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς, καὶ ὥσι

more clearly attested by the δεινὸς βασανιζόμενος of the former, and by the ἡμελλε τελευτᾶν of the latter. The address of the centurion, so remarkable for its humility, its faith, and its just notions of the divine omnipresence and omnipotence; is either *in terminis* the same, or most easy to be adjusted together in both: the surprise of our Saviour is similarly described in each, and the reflections which he founds on the address are similarly directed to those who followed him, in each.

The only circumstances of difference are, first, that St. Matthew ascribes the application to the centurion St. Luke to the elders of Capernaum, in his stead; a difference, which is readily to be explained, partly on the principle of St. Matthew's characteristic conciseness in all merely historical details; and partly on the principle of the familiar usage of the Jewish Scriptures, and, indeed, of all compendious narrations whatever—by which what is done through the mediate is attributed to the final cause; since except for the sake of the latter even that would not have been done by the former. If the centurion did not go himself, he must have requested the elders to go; and, *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*—and, *Legatus sustinet personam allegantis*; are maxims both of Roman and Jewish law alike. Now, having begun his account in this manner, St. Matthew, on the mere principle of consistency, proceeds with it accordingly: representing every thing as passing between Jesus and the Centurion in person, which might actually have been transacted with his messengers. Hence what would have been incongruous to this supposition, διὸ οὐδὲ ἐμavτὸν ἡξίωσα πρὸς σὲ ἐλθεῖν^d, (words, which clearly come in parenthetically, and might be left out without prejudice,) he omits. Hence, also, he represents our Lord

^d Luke vii. 7.

to say, as to the centurion at last, ὑπάγε· καὶ ὡς ἐπίστευσας γεννηθήτω σοι : when, perhaps, he said really, as to his messengers, ὑπάγετε· καὶ εἵπατε τῷ ἀποστείλαντι ὑμᾶς· or, τῷ κυρίῳ ὑμῶν· ὡς ἐπίστευσας γεννηθήτω σοι. For this was to say the word, as the centurion had besought him : and the anticipated effect ensued accordingly : *ἰάθη ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.*

Secondly, St. Luke has omitted Matt. viii. 11, 12.—the reason of which is partly, and perhaps chiefly, that a similar declaration occurs hereafter Luke xiii. 28, 29; and partly, because he may well be supposed to have had no further object in his account of the present miracle, than to rectify the order of St. Matthew; and to supply his omissions where they required to be supplied, but no where else. Now this part of the narrative was what St. Matthew had related the most fully of any. In like manner, though he mentions no speaking of the word, yet by summing up the whole account with the words of verse 10, a fact which St. Matthew had not expressed, he clearly presupposes it.

The next events are, first, the cure of Peter's wife's mother; and, secondly, after sunset the same day, the performance of sundry miracles of healing, or of dispossession^e. The allusion to the time of these last miracles is a proof that *they* happened on the *evening* of the Sabbath; and, therefore, that the *former* happened *on* the Sabbath. Hence, these two events, first, as miracles of the same kind, and performed on the same persons; secondly, as miracles performed on the same day; are the events which we find on record, Mark i. 29–34. Luke iv. 38–41; prior in both to the first circuit of Galilee; and with no more difference in the several accounts compared together, than may be easily explained, as in the former instance.

^e Matt. viii. 14—17.

Here, then, unless we should give up the joint testimony of *two* Evangelists, because it appears to militate against the testimony of *one*; or, unless we should run into the absurdity of supposing that all these events, the very counterparts of each other, happened more than once; we must acknowledge that St. Matthew's order is irregular; and the irregularity, in this instance, is a Trajection, that is, the relating of such things *after* others, as even in his own narrative ought to have come *before* them. Not that he affirms this order: for there is no note of time or of sequence which indissolubly associates these particulars either with what precedes, or with what follows. Our Lord *now*, as well as *then*, is at the utmost merely supposed to be in Capernaum; for Peter's house, the scene of each of these events, was certainly in that city: and though this circumstance would not prove that they all happened, as they are all related, together; it might yet be one reason for relating them all together.

The next event is the passage of the Lake of Galilee; which we may divide into the incidents on the way to the Lake; the incidents upon the Lake; the incidents on the other side; and the return: all so connected together as to form one entire narrative from Matt. viii. 18. to Matt. ix. 1, the parts of which consequently will be regular, whatever the whole may be.

The incidents on the way to the Lake, as here related, are peculiar to St. Matthew: but the same incidents, or something very like them, are found also, Luke ix. 57, to the end—at a very different time, and on a very different occasion. These incidents, in St. Matthew, are the request of a certain scribe to follow our Saviour; and the petition of one, who was a disciple, for leave to go and bury his father: to which St. Luke adds a third, of a nature akin to the last.

The occasions to which these distinct accounts belong respectively, are palpably the most different imaginable; our Lord in St. Matthew being about to cross the Lake, and in St. Luke being on a journey through Samaria. If, therefore, the distance of time between them was, as we shall see hereafter, something very considerable; this becomes an argument that events so purely anecdotal, so entirely detached from consequences before and after, could never have been arbitrarily inserted; much less so widely transposed, before or after their proper time, merely to be arbitrarily inserted—in either of these Gospels. With regard at least to St. Luke's, such a Trajection would be a singular circumstance, and altogether at variance with his extreme accuracy, and his scrupulous regard to historical precision.

Nor, in fact, can any thing be more natural and pertinent than the manner in which he relates them, and the place which they occupy in his narrative. Our Lord had just been refused admittance into one village of the Samaritans, and, therefore, he was necessarily obliged to journey on to another. And it came to pass, says the Evangelist, while they were journeying: who would not conclude that he means while they were journeying accordingly? Again; if the rudeness of his reception at this village was still fresh in the memory of the hearers; what reply could be more just or more impressive, than the terms of verse 58? which, besides setting forth the general hardships and difficulties of the Christian vocation, must have been strikingly illustrated in the particular case of Christ, driven away at the ordinary season of rest and refreshment from one village, to seek the same precarious hospitality in another. Besides which, the note of sequence, *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα*, Luke x. 1, has clearly nothing to refer to, except the general substance of

chapter ix. and especially from verse 51. to the end. As certainly, then, as the mission of the Seventy followed on *those* things in general, so must *these* things in particular have preceded the mission of the Seventy; the time of which I shall establish elsewhere. Moreover, the mission of the Twelve before this time, and the mission of the Seventy, afterwards—each for the same purpose of preaching, or proclaiming, the advent of the kingdom of God—determines a period in our Saviour's ministry, at which or after, but not before it, he had begun to employ the instrumentality of coadjutors in the proper work of his ministry itself. And it is clear that both the disciples, Luke ix. 60. and 62, were wanted for a purpose like that. On this account, more especially, I am persuaded that these three incidents in St. Luke all happened as he has related them; upon that occasion at least.

With regard, however, to the same incidents in St. Matthew; it must still be considered unlikely that they are related by him in anticipation of their proper time and place, as determined by St. Luke, where the anticipation would be so unaccountable. It is more reasonable to suppose, that *his* two of the number, or at least *his* first, happened twice. Such declarations of the willingness of individuals to become disciples might often be made; especially at the outset of our Saviour's ministry; and, if they were the effect of a forward or mistaken zeal, they might as often by him be repressed. Besides, St. Matthew calls his applicant a Scribe, and makes him style our Lord, Master; St. Luke calls his merely a certain person; who addresses Jesus by the common title of respect, κύριε. Now the rank or profession of Scribe among the Jews was much more considerable than we are apt to imagine; and the readiness of one of that order to have become

a disciple of Jesus was a still more remarkable event ; and St. Luke, I am persuaded, had the nature of the case required it, (especially in the last year of our Lord's ministry, when the Scribes and Pharisees almost universally had determined upon his rejection,) would not have failed to designate him accordingly. Capernaum was not so contiguous to the Lake, but that such an incident as this in St. Matthew might have transpired by the way ; and, if our Saviour was proceeding thither, as we shall see elsewhere, expecting to pass the night upon the water, his answer as now returned, would be just as pertinent and as pathetic, as the same answer when returned some time after.

The second incident in St. Matthew concerns one, who was a disciple already ; but the similar incident in St. Luke, one, who was then called for the first time ; and there is also this further difference between them, that in the one our Lord is made to reply merely, ἀκολουθεῖ μοι· καὶ ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς· but not, σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὼν διάγγελλε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ : in the other he is represented as saying, not, ἀκολουθεῖ μοι—but, ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς· σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὼν διάγγελλε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. The former, therefore, might have passed between our Lord and one of his Apostles, that is, even at this period of his ministry, one of his stated followers already ; the other must have passed with one, who was previously not even a disciple ; and at a time which could not be before the Twelve at least had been sent out to assist their Master.

Accordingly ; though from what source the information was obtained is not mentioned ; the former is clearly supposed by Clement of Alexandria to have passed between our Lord and Philip. Τοῦ Κυρίου . . λέγοντος τῷ Φιλίππῳ· ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκρούς· σὺ

δὲ ἀκολουθεῖ μοι^f. All the Apostles had been ordained before this time, and Philip was one of their number. To proceed, then, with the sequel of the account.

St. Mark and St. Luke have each given ^g an history of a passage of the Lake, attended with similar incidents ; the latter of which is clearly ascertained to be the same with the former : and this is fixed by the account itself to the evening of the day when our Lord began to teach in parables. Now this he did, as we learn from St. Luke, posterior to a second circuit of Galilee ; and that, a circuit undertaken after the cure of the centurion's servant. The beginning to teach in parables St. Matthew records, xiii. 1 : the cure of the centurion's servant he recorded, viii. 5. The passage of the Lake, then, between the two, may be regular as to what goes before, but it is irregular as to what follows after. Nor is there any means of evading this conclusion, except by rejecting the authority of St Mark, whose note of time, iv. 35, fixes the passage to the evening in question ; or, by contending that his passage, or St. Luke's, was a different event from St. Matthew's. But that this cannot be the case, may be inferred from certain particulars common to the accounts of all, and of so critical a nature as necessarily to characterize only the same event. These are first, the motive which induced our Lord to cross the Lake ; secondly, the storm upon the Lake ; thirdly, the miracle at the other side of the Lake.

I. The motive St. Matthew expressly attributes to the presence of the multitude ; ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς πολλοὺς ὄχλους περὶ αὐτὸν, ἐκέλευσεν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὸ πέραν. The same thing is implied by St. Mark, when, at the time of our Lord's embarkation, he shews him to have been

^f Stromatum iii. 4. Operum i. 522. l. 12.

^g Mark iv. 35—v. 20. Luke viii.

surrounded by the multitude ; and purposely to have dismissed them either before or by his embarkation : ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον. The events of the day preceding, it will be seen hereafter, had been such as might account for each of these effects ; both why the people should have been more than usually anxious to press around our Saviour ; and why he should have been more than usually desirous to escape from their importunity.

II. The passage is followed in each of the Evangelists by a storm of wind ; which fixes it, as I apprehend, to an equinoctial quarter of the year ; and, consequently, is another critical coincidence. In each, likewise, before the storm, it is implied that our Lord was sleeping ; and in each, that after a while, but not until the danger had become imminent, he was awakened. These are particulars which must identify the storm in all the accounts. It was evening, or after sunset, either at the autumnal or at the vernal equinox, when they embarked : the day before had been full of incident and exertion : what more natural, then, than that with the first opportunity of privacy and of rest, if not in the night-time, Jesus should be asleep ? I hope to make it appear elsewhere, that he actually passed the night upon the Lake ; and neither landed at Gadara, nor returned to Capernaum, before the following morning : in which case the coincidence becomes the stronger.

III. The eastern side of the Lake of Galilee is known to be rocky and cavernous ; and its rocks and caverns are known to have been employed of old as catacombs for the dead. The practice of burying in caves, hewn out of rocks, was in fact very ancient among the Jews ^h. Tiberias, situated at the south-

^h Is. xxii. 16. Vide also John xi. 38. Matt. xxvii. 60.

west extremity of the Lake, and close to the water's edge, was built on a site which had been an extensive cemeteryⁱ. Epiphanius, speaking of this neighbourhood, writes thus: ἐν τοῖς πλησιαίτερον τύμβοις· πολυάνδρια δέ ἐστιν, οὕτως ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καλούμενα, σπήλαια ἐν πέτραις ὀρυκτὰ κατεσκευασμένα^k. It is known also, (and it was no more than probable it would be so,) that such places were the resort of demoniacs, or of insane persons, who had been left at large, or were incapable of being kept under restraint; and Epiphanius gives us the following information concerning their habits in his own time: μαινόμενος δέ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὃς γυμνὸς τὴν πόλιν περιήει, φημὶ δὲ ἐν Τιβεριάδι, καὶ πολλάκις ἐνδιδυσκόμενος τὴν ἐσθῆτα διερρόγγυνεν, ὡς ἔθος τοῖς τοιούτοις^l.

It may be said, then, that if our Lord had often visited this shore, such miracles as the dispossession of demoniacs on such a spot, and under similar circumstances, might often have been wrought. But our Lord had never visited this shore before; and there are three circumstances in the miracle now performed all peculiar to it—yet all specified by each of the accounts, and, consequently, proving it to be the same miracle in each; viz. first, the strength and ferocity of the demoniacs, which are not only extraordinary features of their case in general, but expressly insisted on accordingly: secondly, the vicinity of an herd of swine, and the petition of the demons to enter into that, with its effects on the swine: thirdly, the unanimous request of the inhabitants of the country, produced by both events, that Jesus would leave their coasts; and his immediate departure. To these we might have added, as not the least remarkable among the features of re-

ⁱ Jos. Ant. Jud. xviii. ii. 3. Vita, 59.
^l Ibid. x. 134. A.

^k Adv. Hæreses, i. 132. A. Ebionæi, viii.

semblance, had it been found in St. Matthew also, as it is in St. Mark and in St. Luke, the peculiarity of the name λεγεών.

In every other instance on record, demoniacs appear to have been helpless, rather than dangerous; sufferers in some distressing way themselves; but in nowise formidable to others. No doubt the distinction in the present case was due to the number and the proper disposition of the demons, by whom these men in particular were actuated. Their number is indicated by the name Legion itself; their peculiar disposition—as more than usually delighting in mischief—as maliciously or ferociously inclined, above even the ordinary inclination of devils—appears from their request, when about to be ejected from the men, to be permitted to enter into the swine; and from the effects of this permission when granted, upon the swine; which they immediately urged into the sea, and destroyed. And, perhaps, to exemplify this property of the diabolical nature, or to shew his disciples to what lengths, when freed from restraint, in the destruction of life, for destruction's sake, and in the doing of evil, for evil's sake, whether to men, or to brutes, or to any other of the works of God, it was disposed to carry them; might be one and possibly the chief reason, why our Saviour allowed them to enter first into the swine, instead of sending them away at once to their proper abode; called in this account the ἄβυσσος, or bottomless pit.

On these several grounds, we might safely conclude that the passage of the Lake must be the same in each Evangelist: and even the differences, further observable in their accounts, will confirm, rather than invalidate, this conclusion. For first, in relation to the storm, the historical part of St. Matthew is merely

more concise than that of St. Mark, or of St. Luke. The chief distinction is, that *he* makes the disciples say, κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς· ἀπολλύμεθα—St. Mark, διδάσκαλε, οὐ μέλει σοι ὅτι ἀπολλύμεθα; But St. Matthew is implicitly confirmed by St. Luke; ἐπιστάτα, ἐπιστάτα, ἀπολλύμεθα: and, indeed, this abrupt, unconnected form of ejaculation in each, so expressive of fear and agitation, carries with it the evidence of its own truth. As, however, the act of awakening our Lord was ascribed to the disciples in common, so the exclamation, which accompanied it, is ascribed to them all in common: in which case, these different modes of expression might each have been actually employed, but by different persons among them; or their actual address might have been made up of the whole: κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς· οὐ μέλει σοι ὅτι ἀπολλύμεθα;

As to the sequel, St. Matthew is express that Jesus reproached them with their want of confidence, before he arose and rebuked the storm: St. Mark as well as St. Luke, that he did so afterwards. Nothing would be more natural than that he should have done both; the one in allusion to the overweening fear and consternation, under which they had aroused him from sleep, and even reproached him with an indifference to their safety; the other, when by having allayed the storm he had taught them how little they had to fear. Describing the effect which ensued, they all use the same and that the most appropriate expression, ἐγένετο γαλήνη: and if there is any diversity in the language with which the witnesses of the effect give vent to their surprise, (a diversity which affects only St. Mark and St. Luke,) these are as before the expressions of a number, venting their feelings to each other; and both these and others of the same kind might actually have been used.

In the account of the ensuing miracle, the comparative conciseness of St. Matthew, which is peculiarly striking, must go far to explain every discrepancy between him and the rest. Yet, notwithstanding this, no material fact is omitted in his narrative. He differs from the two others in the detail only, not in the outline; in circumstantials, not in essentials. Nor does it any where appear more satisfactorily that the later Evangelists had seen his account; and wrote mainly to supply its observable omissions.

The circumstances of distinction amount in reality to two alone; first, that St. Matthew lays the scene of the miracle in the country of the Gergesenes, and they in the country of the Gadarenes. But they all lay it in the region over against Capernaum; that is, on the same part of the eastern side of the Lake. St. Luke makes our Saviour land, ἀντιπέραν τῆς Γαλιλαίας; St. Mark makes him sail, εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης; St. Matthew, in this instance, takes him εἰς τὸ πέραν; and ix. 1. when he returned, brings him to Capernaum again at the other side. The country of the Gergesenes, then, and the country of the Gadarenes, we must have concluded, were both the same part of Decapolis—opposite to Galilee; the latter, a name most intelligible to Gentiles, and the former, one more appropriate for Jews, that is, for the natives of the country itself.

But with respect to this difference generally; in the time of Epiphanius and Theophylact, there were copies of St. Mark's Gospel extant, which the latter calls ἀκριβέστερα, containing the reading τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν, instead of τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν^m, as well as St. Matthew's*; and what

* St. Luke's Gospel, too, as Epiphanius, read τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν: Epiphanius, *loco citato*.

^m Epiphanius, *Operum* i. 650. B. Theophylact, *Operum* i. 195. A. *Comm.* in Marc. v.

the meaning of the former would be in each, will be explained by a reference to Origen's Commentaries upon St. John. Speaking of the existence of erroneous readings in the various copies of the Gospels, he illustrates this position by a case in point.

Ἡ περὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων κατακρημνιζομένους, καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ συμπνιγομένους χοίρους οἰκονομία ἀναγέγραπται γεγονέναι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Γερασηνῶν*. Γέρασα δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐστὶ πόλις, οὔτε θάλασσαν, οὔτε λίμνην πλησίον ἔχουσα. Dein: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν ὀλίγοις εὔρομεν, εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο λεκτέον. Γάδαρα γὰρ πόλις μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, περὶ ἣν τὰ διαβόητα θερμὰ τυγχάνει, λίμνη δὲ κρημνοῖς παρακειμένη οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἢ θάλασσα. ἀλλὰ Γέργεσα, ἀφ' ἧς οἱ Γεργεσαῖοι, πόλις ἀρχαία περὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Τιβεριάδα λίμνην, περὶ ἣν κρημνὸς, παρακείμενος τῇ λίμνῃ, ἀφ' οὗ δέικνται τοὺς χοίρους ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων καταβεβληῖσθαιⁿ.

Nor is it to be supposed that St. Matthew, born and educated in Capernaum, or at least in Galilee, should not have known the names current among his countrymen for every region in the vicinity of the Lake. It is, at least, plainly implied in all the accounts, but especially in St. Luke's^o, that the scene of the miracle was the neighbourhood of some city, which must have bordered on the Lake; and, consequently, could be neither Gerasa nor Gadara; each of which was one or two days' journey distant; but might be Gergesa, which would be upon the spot.

* The reading, τῶν Γεργεσηνῶν, was not uniform even in St. Matthew's Gospel. Some copies had, and still have, τῶν Γαδαρηνῶν, or the reading alluded to by Origen, τῶν Γερασηνῶν. This reading, indeed, is seen from Griesbach, to have been the most common va-

riation of all, in each of the three Gospels. It appears in Tertullian, iv. 267. De Anima, 25: Et legionarii numeri, ut in Geraseno. Also in Prudentius, Apotheosis, 414. Ecce Gerasenos legio ruit effera porcos: Operum i. 331.

ⁿ Operum iv. 140 D—141 A. In Joh. tom. vi. 24. Mark v. 14. Luke viii. 27. 34. 39.

^o Matt. viii. 33, 34.

The second circumstance of difference is the number of demoniacs, which St. Matthew makes to have been two; St. Mark as well as St. Luke one: a distinction amounting at the utmost only to an omission, but not to a contradiction; for which, too, the very reason in the later Evangelists may have been that there was no such omission as that, but another of greater importance, in the prior account. If St. Matthew's object was simply to specify the actual effect of the miracle, and nothing more; he could not discriminate between its subjects, the case of one of whom was the case of the other; the cure of one of whom was the counterpart of the cure of the other: and, therefore, he would mention them summarily in conjunction. But if there was any difference in the moral effect of the miracle on the subjects; and consequently if the moral uses, which might be proposed by the relation of the miracle, would not have been equally answered by the nature of this effect upon either indifferently; then it was possible, and it might even be necessary, to separate the accounts from each other; to relate the cure of one as altogether independent on the cure of the other. Now one of the demoniacs was unquestionably grateful for his cure, and anxious to have acknowledged it by becoming a disciple of Christ: but it does not appear that the other was. This may explain the difference between the accounts. St. Matthew might have it in view to represent merely the *physical* effect of the miracle; that is, to shew, in one of the most remarkable instances, the power and authority of Christ over evil spirits: St. Mark and St. Luke might propose the *moral*; that is, to exhibit in its proper light the natural and amiable impression produced by the miracle on one of the patients in particular. The same person might be also the more considerable of the two. The efforts made to reclaim him, or at least

to preserve him from bodily harm, are a proof that he had friends or relations who were interested in his safety. He might afterwards have become a Christian; and his case may be specified now, on the same principle on which it is probable that St. Mark specifies elsewhere the case of Bartimæus—and describes, as we have seen, Simon of Cyrene, by his relation to Alexander and Rufus. The true reason, however, appears to be supplied by Luke viii. 27, in the fact that this one demoniac was an inhabitant, and probably a native of Gergesa; but not the other. Hence it is that, at the end of the account, after relating the fact of our Lord's command to him, that he should return *home*, and tell what God had done for him, St. Luke adds^p that he departed, proclaiming throughout all *the city* what Jesus had done for him. Nor does it follow from this that he might not proclaim it in other parts of Decapolis also; only that he began to proclaim it in his own city first. The assertion of St. Mark ^q, then, would still be true in itself; as well as consistent with, though not so specific as St. Luke's.

Be this however as it may; the difference itself is so far useful, that it enables us to explain one slight, and perhaps the only remaining, discrepancy between St. Matthew and the other two. On the first address of the demoniacs to Jesus, *he* makes them say, τί ἡμῖν καί σοι, Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ; ἦλθες ὧδε πρὸ καιροῦ βασανίσαι ἡμᾶς; *they* make them say, τί ἐμοὶ καί σοι, Ἰησοῦ, υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου; ὀρκίζω σε τὸν Θεόν, οὐ, δέομαί σου, μή με βασανίσῃς. If there were two demoniacs, both speaking by the same influence of possession; each of these modes of address might actually have been used.

The next event is the cure of the paralytic; and

^p Chap. viii. 39.

^q Mark v. 20.

consequent upon that the call of Matthew ^r, which was clearly a consecutive event, and happened on the same day. For, after the account of the cure, it follows, καὶ παράγων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκεῖθεν: where in ἐκεῖθεν the reference is to the house which had been the scene of the miracle; and in παράγων to our Lord's quitting it, and passing somewhere else ^s. This part, then, of St. Matthew is regular, considered by itself; whatever it may be relatively to the rest of the same chapter, or to the chapter before it.

Now in St. Mark and in St. Luke ^t, there is an account of a similar cure, followed by a similar call; of which, if the first be the same as St. Matthew's, the latter cannot be different from his; and consequently the individual called in each instance, must be the same person, and have borne the name both of Levi and of Matthew, (as others also of the Apostles bore two names,) indifferently. It is a critical circumstance to the same effect, that he is described by each as called while sitting at the receipt of custom: for this receipt was probably near the Lake; and wheresoever it was, it is not likely that Capernaum would possess more than one such place.

With respect, then, to the cure of the paralytic; though St. Matthew inserts it here, he does not affirm its order here: the phrase καὶ ἰδοὺ, premised to his account of it, is never a note of time or sequence, but merely an admonition, which draws the attention of the reader to something about to be related, as something memorable and worthy of attention. Nor does his account of the miracle, however concise, contain any thing in common with the other two, which is not almost *verbatim* the same in all: a coincidence

^r Matt. ix. 2—9.
Luke v. 18—28.

^s Vide Matt. ix. 27. John ix. 1.

^t Mark ii. 3—14.

particularly remarkable in the address of our Lord to the paralytic, and in his defence of himself against the suspicion of blasphemy; which yet extend to some length. Two such circumstances which St. Matthew has in common with St. Mark and St. Luke, of so critical a nature as to identify his miracle with their's, may be pointed out in his narrative: first, without mentioning that our Lord was in some house at the time, much less how he was beset in that house, that he presupposes both, in the words, ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν; a distinct allusion to some display of faith, greater than ordinary, the nature of which is at once explained by the parallel accounts: secondly, that he notices the presence of the Scribes, which St. Luke^u shews to have been something on this occasion different from usual; and much more numerous or more general. This circumstance accounts also for that variation in the terms of the construction put by them on our Saviour's words to the paralytic: some might say, as in St. Matthew, οὗτος βλασφημεῖ—others, as in St. Mark or in St. Luke, τί οὗτος οὕτω λαλεῖ βλασφημίας; or, τίς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὃς λαλεῖ βλασφημίας; and as to what follows in each of these last, τίς δύναται ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας εἰ μὴ εἷς, that is, μόνος, ὁ Θεός; either it was part of the same observation, and spoken by the same persons, or St. Matthew with his usual conciseness, has merely omitted it. This miracle, then, with its circumstances, is the same in all; and if so, St. Luke's order demonstrates it to have been prior to the cure of the centurion's servant; St. Mark's, as well as St. Luke's, to have been prior to the passage of the Lake; after both of which however it is related by St. Matthew; and consequently as it stands in *his* Gospel, it is a Trajection.

The next event is the entertainment in some house,

^u Chap. v. 17. 21.

when exception was taken against our Lord's condescension in eating with publicans and sinners; and when the question concerning fasting was put by the disciples of John. Both these facts, or something very like them, occur in St. Mark and in St. Luke^v also; and the question of their agreement or disagreement in these instances with St. Matthew will be discussed in its proper place elsewhere.

With regard, however, to St. Matthew's account^w, its regularity, at least as it stands and in reference to the events which follow next, is established by its own testimony. Jesus was still speaking to the disciples of John, when the application of Jairus was made to him. A comparison of his account with St. Mark's and St. Luke's^x, will prove in like manner that it is not irregular with regard to the events which preceded, dated at least with the return from Gadara. The miracle in behalf of Jairus is recorded by all the three; and could the identity of the miracle in each be reasonably called in question, still all doubt about this would be removed by the critical interposition of another miracle in the midst of it, recorded also by each; the staunching of the issue of blood.

Now the miracle in question is placed by St. Mark, and by St. Luke, consecutively upon the return from Gadara; and, therefore, St. Matthew's account of it, which also is posterior to that return, is so far a regular account. They omit, it is true, the intermediate facts recorded by him; probably, and perhaps solely, because they had occurred and been already related before. The application of Jairus, therefore, was naturally the first circumstance, which they could particularize after the return. But they do not imply,

^v Mark ii. 15—22. Luke v. 29—39. ^w Matt. ix. 10—17. ^x Mark v. 21, 22. Luke viii. 40, 41.

much less affirm, that this application to Jesus was made directly upon his return. It is the people, not Jairus, whom they affirm that our Lord found waiting for him on his return. He had gone away, as we saw, the evening before; and had passed the night on the Lake: the people had seen whither he set out, and they were the more anxious about his return, because this was in all probability the first time that he had paid a visit to the opposite side of the Lake: they were now looking, then, in the same direction for his coming again. All which circumstances are duly specified by St. Mark and by St. Luke: A great multitude, says the one, had been brought together unto him, and was by the sea-side: The multitude received him, says the other; for they were all waiting for him.

The characteristic conciseness of St. Matthew is nowhere, perhaps, in any narrative of equal length, more remarkable than in the account which follows next. It is scarcely possible that so great a variety of circumstances could have been more summarily expressed. Such conciseness ought to account for every difference between him and the other two; and it certainly may account for that which is the chief; viz. that Jairus, in St. Matthew, speaks of his daughter, as then dead—whereas it appears from them, and from the course of the event, that she was only *in extremis*, or at the point of death. This discrepancy may be explained in various ways.

First, St. Mark says, that Jairus besought our Lord πολλά—in many words, as well as with much earnestness. He might have said, then, My daughter, ἐσχάτως ἔχει, or even, ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν—among other expressions to the same effect. He knew in what condition he had left her, and that humanly speaking she could scarcely survive until his return; and had he conjectured that, even

then, when he was speaking, she might possibly be dead, the conjecture would have been verified by the event. The words, ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησε, therefore, in St. Matthew, strictly interpreted will be only expressive of a father's fears; and mean no more than St. Mark's ἐσχάτως ἔχει.

Secondly, they may imply that she was in the mortal agony; that he left her dying; in a deliquium—senseless—or with every symptom of approaching death: but not that she was actually dead*. Had this been the case, Jairus would not have ventured to apply to our Lord at all: no one ever did apply, or as far as we know, ever thought of applying to him, to work such a miracle as the raising of a dead body to life. And though three such miracles are on record, it is clear from the account of each, that they were all unsolicited, all unexpected, and all consequently the effect of our Lord's free will. The same fact is insinuated in the language of Jairus itself; But come, lay thine hand upon her; καὶ ζήσεται—and she shall live. Had the anticipated effect been, in his apprehension, an absolute restoration of extinct life, and not the recovery merely of health; the sense would have required, καὶ ἀναζήσεται, she shall revive; not simply, she shall live.

Thirdly, the death of the patient, which occurred by the way, (a fact not mentioned by St. Matthew,) was

* Theophylact, *in loc.* Opera, i. 44. B: τετελευτηκέναι δὲ λέγει (sc. Jairus) τὴν θυγατέρα, καίτοι τοῦ Λουκᾶ λέγοντος ὡς οὕτω τετελεύτηκεν, ἢ ὡς στοχαζόμενος, διὰ τὸ ἐν ἐσχάταις ἀναπνοαῖς αὐτὴν ἀφείναι, ἢ αὐξάνων τὴν συμφορὰν, ὡς εἰς ἔλεον ἐλκύσαι τὸν Χριστόν.

The truth appears to me to be, that the address, ascribed to Jairus by St. Matthew, is made

up of the words which he actually used in his application to our Lord, at first, and of those of the message received from his house, by the way; that is, it consists of the latter part of the former, and of the first part of the latter; as may be collected from the comparison of the other two accounts with St. Matthew's.

such as to change *in toto* the character of the intended miracle; and to render it a much more wonderful event. St. Matthew knew that this change did ultimately take place; and from his usual conciseness on the one hand, and his regard to the course and the issue of things on the other, while he omits to specify the intermediate step which produced the change, he accommodates, from the first, his account of proceedings previously to the supposition of it. In other respects, it is easy to reconcile him to St. Mark. The address of our Lord to the inmates of the house is obviously to be collected from both; ἀναχωρεῖτε· τί θορυβεῖσθε, καὶ κλαίετε; οὐ γὰρ ἀπέθανε τὸ κοράσιον, ἀλλὰ καθεύδει. There is one incidental particular also in his narrative, critically explained by St. Mark. After Jesus was come into the house, St. Matthew still tells us^y, that he *entered in* and took hold of the hand of the damsel; which was literally the case. The pipers, (whose attendance upon this occasion was perfectly in accordance with the Jewish usages even of our Saviour's day^z,) and the rest of the company, were in one part of the house, and the dead body^a in another: our Lord spoke to the former as he first came in; he proceeded to the chamber where the body lay, after they had been put out. St. Mark's account of each of these miracles is, in fact, much the most circumstantial; and, if he received it from an eyewitness of each, St. Peter, this would be nothing extraordinary.

The next events are the cure of the two blind men, and the dispossession of the dumb demoniac^b; both peculiar to St. Matthew, and both regular, as they stand. The former was directly consecutive on the raising of Jairus' daughter; and the latter, upon the former.

^y Ch. ix. 25. ^z Cf. Jos. B. Jud. iii. ix. 5. Matt. xi. 17. Luke vii. 32. Hieronymus, Operum iii. 575. *ad calc.* In Hierem. ix. ^a Acts ix. 37. 39.

^b Matt. ix. 27—34.

The house to which our Lord returned (v. 28.) cannot be different from that which he had just before left (10. 19.): nor did he defer the performance of the miracle until he had entered this house again, except that so it might be performed with less publicity. As to the dispossession, it must have ensued almost when the blind men were going out; for the ἀντῶν δὲ ἐξερχομένων (v. 32.) can be understood of none but them.

The next event is manifestly a general circuit, and that, a circuit of Galilee^c: the words of the narrative here can imply no less. This circuit, then, if it came after the return from Gadara, is regular where it stands: and in St. Mark^d also, immediately after the raising of Jairus' daughter, there is an account of a visit to Nazareth; and, after that visit, of a circuit of Galilee; which I assume to be the same with this. Notwithstanding, therefore, the omission by St. Matthew, of the intermediate visit to Nazareth here, (the visit in fact being related elsewhere,) the position of the circuit, as it stands, will not be out of order.

The next event is the mission of the Twelve, which also is recorded by St. Mark after the abovementioned circuit, and by St. Luke, notwithstanding the omission of the intermediate facts, after the raising of Jairus' daughter at least^e; so that this part of St. Matthew likewise^f will be unquestionably regular as it stands. The identity of the mission in all these Evangelists it would be absurd to dispute. The Twelve had never been sent out, before this time, nor were they ever sent out again, after it; nor, indeed, to judge from the course of events subsequently to this mission, could they ever have been sent out again; and not always have continued in attendance on our Saviour. The mission of

^c Matt. ix. 35.
36—x. 1.

^d Ch. vi. 1—6.

^e Mark vi. 7. Luke ix. 1.

^f Ch. ix.

the Seventy too, which is characterized as the mission of *others also*^g, can be so opposed only in reference to this mission of the Twelve ; nor can any but this be adverted to on the night of the paschal supper^h. It is no objection that St. Matthew assigns a specific reason for it, which St. Mark and St. Luke do not : the same reason is assigned by St. Luke for the after-mission of the Seventy. Still less is it an objection, that St. Matthew recites the names of the Apostles for the first time upon this occasion ; which they had recited before. He omitted altogether in its proper place the account of their ordination, when their names would most naturally have been enumerated ; and next to the time of this ordination, no period was more appropriate for their enumeration than the period of this mission ; when the name of Apostles itself, proleptically bestowed upon them at first, was actually verified by the event.

If any argument, indeed, were requisite to prove so clear a point, it would be supplied by these two considerations ; first, that the power of working certain miracles was now first communicated to the Twelve ; secondly, that this power was ever afterwards retained ; both of which are facts attested by each of the accounts. The formal communication of such power only now, demonstrates that it could not have been communicated previously : yet the power, even now communicated, was limited to the simplest kind of miracles ; dispossession, and the cure of diseases. Each Evangelist is express that no more than this was communicated before the mission ; and that no more than this was exercised upon it : and St. Luke in particular shews also that no more than this was either communicated before, or exercised upon, the subsequent mission of the Seventy ; who yet, both in the design and in the effect

^g Luke x. 1.^h Luke xxii. 35.

of their commission, were the counterparts of the Twelve.

And that the power, whatever it was, now communicated was afterwards retained, appears first, from the case of the demoniac; cured after the transfiguration, and attested by each of the first three Evangelists; and, secondly, from the reproof of the stranger, who was attempting to cast out devils in the name of Christ; attested by St. Mark and by St. Luke. That demoniac was brought to the Apostles first; whose very attempt at the dispossessing of him, though it did not succeed, proves that they believed beforehand they were able to dispossess him; nor was their failure more surprising to others than to themselves. The rebuke of the stranger was produced by a jealousy that any one, who was not an Apostle, should pretend to the exercise of a power, which they considered or wished to be considered the exclusive privilege of Apostles. Both the retention, and also the limitation, for the rest of our Saviour's ministry, of this original power, are further intimated by the petition, Lord, add to us faithⁱ. That faith was the miracle-working faith; and the petitioners must have possessed some portion of it even then, or they could not have asked simply for an addition to it.

In each of the Evangelists the mission of the Twelve is preceded by a charge, the account of which in St. Matthew is very different from the same account in St. Mark, or in St. Luke—not as disagreeing with that, so far as both run parallel together; but as continuing by itself, long after that has ceased. The question, then, which presents itself here, is whether St. Matthew has recited more, or they have recited less, than was actually now delivered: with a view to the discussion of

ⁱ Luke xvii. 5.

which, I shall distribute St. Matthew's account into two natural and obvious divisions, x. 5-15. and x. 16-42.

With respect to the first of these; allowance being made for the omissions of the other two, and for the evident difference of their manner in this instance, compared with St. Matthew's; it contains substantially the very same matter as Mark vi. 8-11. and Luke ix. 3-5. For first; a large part of the whole^k is altogether omitted by them; unless St. Luke may be said to have expressed in the oblique, at verse 2, or 6, what St. Matthew, at verse 7, expresses in the direct. Secondly; their general manner, in this instance, is the manner of a studied conciseness; which did not propose to record all that might have been said, nor exactly as it was said, on this occasion, but only summarily and in part. Thus verses 9 and 10, which are direct in St. Matthew, are historical in St. Mark; and are a recapitulation in substance of what was directly said, in St. Luke: and as to the remainder; St. Luke is strictly accommodated to St. Mark, and by the mere addition of what is found over and above in the latter, may be reduced to a literal harmony with him: while St. Mark, in verse 11, the last sentence which he records, agrees almost *verbatim* with verse 15 of St. Matthew; and in verse 10, the sentence before that, he is merely the historical repeater of that one particular direction, (Matt. x. 11,) for that particular purpose; and no more.

Thirdly; if we except a single verse which it contains, the whole of this first division is such as might have been expected, *a priori*, in reference to a mission like the present: or if there were any doubt of this, it would be removed by comparing it with the substance of the subsequent charge, delivered to the Seventy, before their departure; which is the same with this, not

^k Verses 5-8.

merely in the sense throughout, but frequently even in the expressions¹. Yet our Lord, it is certain, must have been then repeating on a later, what he had said before on a former occasion: nor can we better account for the cursory notice which St. Luke in particular has taken of the present charge, than by supposing that he knew it would come substantially over again; and in a part of the Gospel history which he also knew to be a total blank in the preexisting narratives.

Were we to select any precept common to both these charges, but more decisive of their identity, and of their coincidence with a point of time anterior to the formal propagation of the Gospel, than another—we could fix on none more critical than the *πορευόμενοι δὲ κηρύσσετε, λέγοντες· ὅτι ἡγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν*—of St. Matthew; and the *λέγετε αὐτοῖς· ἡγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ*—of St. Luke: which are clearly equivalent to each other. A precept like this, as I shall make it appear hereafter, would be just as incongruous in either case to the supposition of a charge which appointed and commissioned the Apostles for their proper office, after the termination of the ministry of Christ, as it would be congruous and pertinent to any such supposition, at any period before. The Apostles might have been sent out for this purpose in our Saviour's lifetime; but they never could have been after his death.

Fourthly, the single verse above alluded to is this; *ἀσθενοῦντας θεραπεύετε, λεπροὺς καθαρίζετε, νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε, δαιμόνια ἐκβάλλετε*^m. The miraculous powers, conceded to the Twelve previous to this commission; and to the Seventy previous to the next; extended, as we saw, only to the first and the last of the instances here enumerated; that is, to the simplest degree of such powers.

¹ Luke x. 1—12.

^m Matt. x. 8.

It is implied, however, that they were also to cleanse lepers; and to raise dead bodies. Now this would be the utmost degree of miraculous power: they who were to work these miracles, might work any miracle. To cleanse the leper, and to resuscitate the dead, were such signs as, on more accounts than one, none but our Saviour, while he was still on earth ever did, or ever could, perform: and though for argument's sake, we should suppose that the Apostles, either on this occasion, or hereafter, performed such miracles as the former, is it credible that they ever performed such as the latter? Either the command, then, as now given was nugatory, or we must conclude that both the charge and the commission, of which it forms an integral member, contained a double reference; one to the present occasion, when the Twelve were first sent out on a partial errand and with limited powers; another to some future occasion, when they should go forth with a mandate to the whole creation, and with power unlimited to carry it into effect.

Fifthly; this conclusion seems to be placed beyond a question by the remaining division. It is not necessary to enter distinctly on the analysis and examination of its contents, in order to prove that a series of admonitions, directions, exhortations like these, could apply to nothing, and could be verified by nothing in the case of the Apostles at present, while they were still attending upon our Saviour; but would be literally applicable and punctually verified when they should enter on their office by themselves hereafter. For then it would be, that they would go forth as sheep into the midst of wolves; and would need as much the cunning of the serpent as the simplicity of the dove: then, that they might well be cautioned to beware of the men of that generation in particular; and would be brought

in due succession before sanhedrims, governors, and kings: then, that they would require the inspired, extemporaneous eloquence of Christian advocates or apologists, answering for themselves and for their religion: then, that the difference of creeds, and the persecuting spirit of bigotry, would set families at variance, and lacerate the tenderest and closest ties of natural, or of acquired endearment: then, that the prudential lesson of avoiding persecution in one city, by fleeing to the next, could first be possibly observed: then, that the obloquy which had begun with the Master would be transferred to the Disciples, and the name of Christian would become a proverb of reproach: then, that the proper arguments for the support of the Confessor or of the Martyr would only too often be wanted in order to the encouragement of suffering Christians: then, that the lamentable perversion of the natural tendencies of the Gospel of peace would become evident from the result, by setting the world in arms, and kindling a fire on earth: then, that the Apostles or emissaries of Christianity would go forth truly in the dignified character of the representatives of Jesus Christ, and through Jesus Christ of the Father; that all who should receive them, whether as Apostles or as Prophets, or as simple Believersⁿ, out of regard to their relation to Christ—and all, who should render them the least good office for the sake of promoting their Christian labours, would by no means lose their reward.

It follows, therefore, either that St. Matthew has arbitrarily transferred to this, what was actually said on some later occasion; or that St. Mark and St. Luke have purposely omitted, in their account of what was said now, all that St. Matthew's contains over and

ⁿ 1 Cor. xii. 28. Ephes. iv. 11.

above their's: and this conclusion is much the more probable of the two.

I. Because the sentiment, Behold, I am sending you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves, which forms a part of this discourse, verse 16, occurs also Luke x. 3, in the charge to the Seventy.

II. Because the historical fact alluded to, verse 25, If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub—is critically consistent with Matthew ix. 34. For that the ruler of the demons and Beelzebub were convertible terms, is proved by Matt. xii. 24. Mark iii. 22. and Luke xi. 15.

III. Because the sequel of the charge has all the appearance of the continuation of the same discourse; and if it was not actually delivered now, it would not be easy, or rather it would be impossible to say when it was pronounced. For as to conjecturing that it might have been delivered on some one or other of those occasions, posterior to the resurrection and prior to the ascension, when Christ met and conversed with the Apostles; this would be altogether a gratuitous hypothesis.

IV. Because the eighth verse, in the first division, cannot without great absurdity be supposed no part of the context where it stands; yet that verse in particular would be just as inapplicable to the present mission, as the whole of this second division in general.

V. Because it was exceedingly probable that, when addressing the Apostles on the subject of their present mission, our Saviour would gradually pass to the subject of their future. We are not to restrict the scope of his discourses, no more than the compass of his prescience, to the present and passing occasion: nor would this be the only instance in which he may be seen addressing his disciples at great length, with a special

regard not to what they were at the time, but to what they would become afterwards. Nor were they called as disciples originally, or ordained as Apostles subsequently, with a view to their present mission alone; but much more with a view to their future ministry in propagating the Gospel. Yet their present mission was a natural prelude to their future one; and the ministry, on which they were employed now, was something analogous to the business which they were to discharge hereafter. One circumstance, at least, in their present mission, seems to have been expressly designed for the sake of their future. They were commanded to make no provision either against the journey, or upon the way; solely because they were to trust in the providence of Christ: and this reliance, as Luke xxii. 35. is sufficient to prove, was destined not to be in vain. Much greater reason would there be to rely on the same providence and cooperation hereafter; and the experience that these had attended and supported them, on this occasion, would be so far a voucher for their attendance and support on any other.

VI. Because the whole of this present charge, even as relating to the future propagation of the Gospel, concerns it only as designed to be propagated among Jews. This conclusion, I think, is demonstratively certain from the two special precepts, *ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται*—and, *ὅταν δὲ διώκωσιν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, φεύγετε εἰς τὴν ἄλλην. ἀμὴν γὰρ λέγω ὑμῖν, οὐ μὴ τελέσητε τὰς πόλεις τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. These two declarations can be applicable to nothing except to the case of Jews, engaged upon the work of Evangelists among and in behalf of Jews. The present mission of the Apostles, partial and temporary as it was, was similarly restricted at the outset; *εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν μὴ ἀπέλθῃτε, καὶ εἰς πόλιν Σα-*

μαρειτῶν μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε· πορεύεσθε δὲ μάλλον πρὸς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ. And this would be an additional reason why the topics of the charge, in relation to *that* mission, might gradually have been mixed up with topics, relating to the Evangelical one : while the connection of both together in St. Matthew's Gospel, and in that exclusively, is an equally strong argument that his Gospel alone was written for and among the Jews ; and at a time when the preaching of Christianity was either still confined to them, or only on the point of comprehending the Gentiles.

VII. Because, however much might now have been said applicable solely to the Evangelical commission of the Apostles ; much, unquestionably, was also said applicable only to their first mission. These different portions might be known asunder, and separated accordingly in the later Gospels : for which separation, the circumstance that they had been conjoined in the earlier Gospel would perhaps be a sufficient reason ; with this additional inducement in the case of St. Luke, that almost every thing which he omitted here, occurred again either *in terminis*, or in substance, where it might be recorded by him.

This point, then, being presumptively established, it follows that Matthew x. is regular throughout : and consequently Matthew xi. 1. which by declaring how Christ himself was employed, while the Apostles were absent on their mission, carries forward the order and course of events consecutively upon it.

The next event is the message of John^o ; to which no note of time is prefixed. A similar message, however, is recorded by St. Luke^p, at a period of time which may be proved to have been earlier than the mission of the Apostles. If so, and the message was the same

^o Ch. xi. 2—30.

^p Ch. vii. 18—35.

in both instances, St. Matthew's account of it here is a complete Trajection. But that it was the same in both, it seems scarcely possible to doubt. In each of the Evangelists, whensoever the message occurred, it was sometime during the imprisonment of John: St. Matthew says expressly, it was sent by John from prison; and St. Luke, when he mentioned John last, left him shut up in prison. The improbability that more than one such message should have been sent by him, (especially if the cause of the message was either a wavering in his own faith, or a feeling of impatience under his imprisonment,) after the answer which had once been returned to it, would be insurmountable: and it is a critical circumstance that in each of the accounts the bearers of the message were two of his disciples, and neither more nor less than two; and that in each our Lord was found, at the time, similarly employed on the performance of miracles of a very extraordinary kind. But, in fact, though the nature of the event itself were not such as to establish its identity in both accounts, the agreement of the two narratives of it would do so.

In the merely historical part St. Matthew, as usual, is less circumstantial than St. Luke; but in the account of what our Saviour said, he is equally minute with him, or more so. Compare Matt. xi. 4-6. and Luke vii. 22, 23: their agreement extends even to the words. The same is true of Matt. xi. 7-11. and of Luke vii. 24-28. The only coincidences, not verbal, reside in the expressions, οἱ τὰ μαλακὰ φοροῦντες, of the one, and, οἱ ἐν ἱματισμῷ ἐνδόξῳ καὶ τρυφῇ ὑπάρχοντες, of the other: with respect to which, it is very possible that our Lord might actually have said, ἰδοὺ, οἱ τὰ μαλακὰ φοροῦντες, καὶ ἐν ἱματισμῷ ἐνδόξῳ καὶ τρυφῇ ὑπάρχοντες—or, at least, οἱ τὰ μαλακὰ φοροῦντες, καὶ ἐν τρυφῇ ὑπάρχοντες: for,

as to ἐν ἱματισμῷ ἐνδόξῳ ὑπάρχειν, it is clearly synonymous with τὰ μαλακὰ (ἱμάτια) φορεῖν. In the sequel, St. Luke omits Matt. xi. 12, 13, because a similar declaration occurs in his own Gospel elsewhere^q; and, Matt. xi. 14, probably because it related to an expectation purely Jewish: while Luke vii. 29, 30, which is not found in St. Matthew, is obviously not an account of any thing said by our Saviour, but a remark of the Evangelist's, historically inserted. Matt. xi. 16–19, and Luke vii. 31–35, are too nearly akin in terms, to require reconciliation together; and Matt. xi. 20–24. 25–27. is omitted by St. Luke for the same reason as before; because it would recur elsewhere in his Gospel, either substantially or literally; as it does chapter x. 13–15. 21, 22.

Now the account of the message in St. Luke is immediately subjoined to the miracle of the widow's son; and this miracle he himself proves to have been performed on the day after the cure of the centurion's servant. If so, the same account in St. Matthew, so long after its place in St. Luke, is an instance of a Trajection; for it should have come before even the passage of the lake to Gadara. The internal evidence of the account itself confirms this conclusion. For first; St. Matthew also ascribes the message to the report of the works of Christ, which had reached John in prison; an allusion to his miracles, as every one will agree, much more naturally to be understood of some one recent and special miracle, more extraordinary than the rest—such as St. Luke shews to have preceded in the raising of the widow's son, the first instance, which had yet taken place, of any raising of the dead to life—than to the miracles in general which our Saviour, since the commencement of his ministry, must have

^q Chap. xvi. 16.

been daily performing. It is true that St. Matthew does not specify any such miracle; and that may be the very reason why St. Luke does: but he specifies no miracles whatever; and yet some miracles he clearly presupposes, as the producing causes of the message. His account, then, was so far defective; and (unless we assume that it was written for those, and among those, whose personal knowledge of the facts, to which he alludes, might in some degree clear up its obscurity by supplying this omission) it was even obscure.

Again; it is superfluous to observe that when John sent this message, he was still alive: yet when the Twelve were dispatched on their errand, there is reason to conclude that he was dead; and, consequently, he could have sent no such message after or before their return. We may infer this fact, not because the mission of the Twelve would have been more necessary, or better timed, on the supposition of his death than otherwise; (for, since the imprisonment of John, it is manifest that his ministry must have been altogether at an end; and his imprisonment, as we shall see^r, took place at least a year before his death;) but simply because in consequence of the mission of the Twelve, and in consequence of the fame of Jesus, multiplied and extended by the report of the miracles performed upon this mission, in his name, Herod the Tetrarch first heard of Jesus, and could not account for what he heard, except by supposing that he was John the Baptist, risen from the dead. And out of this historical allusion to the death of John arises the digression, which, in St. Matthew and in St. Mark, without being a proper Trajection, suspends the thread of the narrative to interpose the account of his death. The argu-

^r Vide the Appendix.

ment, therefore, will stand as follows: Herod first heard of Jesus sometime after the death of John; but Herod heard of Jesus in consequence of the mission of the Twelve: John, then, was dead at the time of the mission of the Twelve. If so, he could not have sent his message either during or after their mission; and, consequently, he must have sent it before. As placed, then, in St. Matthew, this message is a Trajection.

It is true, St. Matthew says that the disciples of John, after taking up and burying the body of their master, went and informed Jesus of his death; and that Jesus, having heard of it, retired from where he was, in a ship, to a desert place apart. But this retiring was with the Twelve, immediately after their return; and from Capernaum; (because it was to the desert of Bethsaida, on the opposite shore;) and with a view to rest and refreshment for himself and for them. For, as says St. Mark, they that were coming, and they that were going, were many; and they had not time so much as to eat. Now Herod certainly heard of the fame of Jesus before the return of the Twelve; and John, according to St. Matthew himself, was certainly dead when he heard of it. Either, then, the disciples of John did not tell Jesus of his death until some time after his burial; or St. Matthew, who says nothing of the return of the Twelve, nor in fact of any thing between their departure and their return, at least in its proper place, has with his usual conciseness joined the results of the two accounts in one: both what the disciples of John did, in consequence of the death and burial of their master, and what Jesus himself did, in consequence of the return of the Twelve.

There will still be no inconsistency, on this principle, in his narrative. He does not say that Jesus withdrew to Bethsaida solely or immediately in consequence of

the news of John's death, but simply after it : and this would still be true, if he went thither any time after it ; and nothing was recounted meanwhile. There is a still more remarkable connection of strictly consecutive, but compared with what immediately precedes, very distant events, at Matt. xix. 1. and Mark x. 1. And if we were to suppose that John was put to death a little before the mission of the Twelve, and the news of his death was brought to our Lord soon after their departure and while he was still alone ; then, the withdrawing in question would be the first thing done after both this information and the return of the Twelve : and if a prudential motive, such as is implied by St. Matthew, cooperated with the other, such as is implied by St. Mark, it might be ascribed indifferently to either. But unless the death, and the news of the death of John ; and Herod's hearing of the fame of Jesus ; and the return of the Twelve ; had been all synchronous events, our Saviour could not, even in St. Matthew's account, have both been told of the death of John, and also retired with the Apostles to Bethsaida, exactly at the same time.

After this account of the message of the Baptist, which takes up the whole of Matt. xi, I consider it unnecessary to carry the present examination any further : because, with three exceptions only, (two instances of Anticipation, and one instance of Trajection,) each of them noticed in its place hereafter, and each of them very defensible, the rest of his Gospel, from the twelfth chapter forwards, would be found to be regular ; and, however much it might omit, to relate nothing out of its order. I shall pause, therefore, here, for the sake of some necessary observations on the above review ; and then conclude this dissertation.

I. From Matt. i. to Matt. viii. 13, there was no ap-

pearance of irregularity in the train of events before—and from Matt. xii. to Matt. xxviii. there would be no proof of any irregularity afterwards. The strictly irregular part of the Gospel, then, is comprehended between these extremes, from viii. 14. to xii. 1, amounting, as we elsewhere asserted, not quite to four entire chapters out of twenty-eight; that is, not to one seventh part of the whole.

II. In the eleven chapters hitherto considered, it will be seen hereafter, is comprehended the history of two years, out of three, of our Saviour's ministry; during which there were three general circuits of Galilee—one in the first and two in the second year. Each of these circuits would be a cardinal point in the course of his ministry; and each was distinguished by one event more memorable than any other belonging to it; the first, by the sermon on the mount; the third, by the commission of the Twelve; the second, by the message of John: all which are recorded by St. Matthew, and all except the last in their proper order relatively to each other.

III. The irregularity of these eleven chapters, such as it is, is due to three reasons only: first, the interposition of the cure of Peter's mother-in-law, and of the other miracles on the same day; secondly, the interposition of the cure of the paralytic, and of the call of Levi; thirdly, the interposition of the message of John: each where it stands. But for these exceptions, the eleven chapters, referred to every thing which they contain, would have been regular: and with respect to each of these exceptions, something may be suggested to account for it.

For the first; first, community of place between the scene of those two events, and of that which immediately precedes or follows them, respectively; viz. Capernaum—where the centurion's servant was heal-

ed, and from whence the passage was made to Gadara. Secondly, reflexive relation to the circuit of Galilee last mentioned; which these miracles precede in St. Mark and in St. Luke by only a single day; and preliminary to which, after the call of the four disciples, they were almost all that remained to be related. Thirdly, order of importance, specially in comparison of the two miracles just before related; one of which, the cure of the leper, was probably the first of its kind, and the other, the cure of the centurion's servant, gave occasion to the first distinct prediction of the rejection of the Jews, and of the reception of the Gentiles in their stead.

For the second; first, community of place as before; the cure of the paralytic, the call of Levi, as well as all that ensued upon the return from Gadara, having taken place alike in Capernaum. Secondly, the principle of association between the call of Levi, and what occurred at the entertainment upon the return from Gadara. If the same things had happened—however long before—in consequence of the call of Levi; the entertainment would suggest the history of the call, and that would require of necessity to be preceded by the history of the paralytic.

For the third; first, the connection of the death of John with the time of the mission of the Twelve. If their mission followed immediately after his death, their mission might suggest the recollection of his death; the recollection of his death, his message—so recently before his death; and his message would be the only circumstance necessary to complete his history, between his imprisonment and his death. Secondly, the place of this message itself, as one of the events belonging to the second circuit of Galilee; which circuit, because it followed directly on the ordination of the Twelve, St. Matthew, who omits the ordination, naturally omits also. Hence, if he any where recorded

this single incident of the circuit, he could not fail to record it as a detached event; and either altogether out of its place, or at least as something standing by itself. Thirdly, order of importance; not merely because this was an event belonging to a circuit omitted, but also, because it was not so memorable, as in every point of view an event belonging to a circuit not omitted. The second circuit of Galilee, to which the message belongs, being entirely passed over by St. Matthew, the third circuit, as the next in order, would naturally stand in his Gospel as the second: and that circuit was distinguished by the charge and commission of the Twelve; which, if they were such as we endeavoured to prove them; viz. designed for their future much more than for their present office; would be the most interesting event in the history of the Apostles, and the very warrant by which they acted, when they proceeded to evangelize the world.

IV. Had the fourteenth chapter of St. Matthew followed directly on the eleventh, his order would have been regular, from the close of the eleventh chapter to the end of his Gospel. What, then, is the use of the two chapters which come between them? They give an account, in a regular order, of such particulars—all belonging to the second year of our Lord's ministry—as had been omitted until then; and they conduct the course of affairs from the beginning of that year, to where the fourteenth chapter takes it up. For the first circumstance mentioned in chapter the twelfth, was the earliest incident (upon record at least in the three first Gospels) of our Lord's second year; and the last event in the thirteenth was that visit to Nazareth, which St. Mark in particular shews to have preceded the third circuit of Galilee.

V. It would seem, therefore, that the Gospel of St.

Matthew is divisible into two great sections; one, from chapter the first to chapter the eleventh inclusive, the other, from chapter the twelfth to the end; during the former of which, the order of events (at least of the principal events) is determined by something like a regard to their relative importance, or to their respective connection with the circuits of Galilee; and the course of succession is not strictly regular, nor yet absolutely irregular; but rather regular than otherwise: during the latter, with three very excusable exceptions, the order of the narration is also the order of the events, and the history is regular throughout. It would appear, then, that while each of these divisions has a proper ἀρχὴ of its own, the whole Gospel has a kind of double one; for both a new order of things and a new law of narration begin at the twelfth chapter, with the commencement of our Lord's second year. And indeed this fact seems to be insinuated by the very notice, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, premised to that chapter itself; a notice which it would be as absurd in this instance, as in other instances like this^s, to refer to what immediately goes before; and which must therefore be referred to what comes immediately after in the same account.

It cannot, then, now be doubted whether St. Matthew's Gospel is safely to be made, throughout, the basis of an Harmony for the rest. The reasoning of those learned men, who contend that because he wrote as an eyewitness, he would write the most regularly of all, however plausible in theory, appears to be completely inconsistent with the matter of fact. Nor, indeed, is it difficult to retort the argument; for one, like St. Luke or St. Mark, who though not an eyewitness of the events recorded by St. Matthew, yet proposed to write

^s Matt. iii. 1. xiv. 1.

an account of them, it might naturally be supposed, even humanly speaking, would take so much the greater pains to remedy this defect; both by acquiring a perfect knowledge of his subject, and by verifying in every instance the order of his facts. Meanwhile, if St. Matthew in particular, though he must have written as an eyewitness, has yet written at all irregularly; this may be a good presumptive argument that he must have written early, and while the recollection of the facts, which he records, was still unimpaired: in other words, that he must have written among and for eyewitnesses as well as himself; whose own knowledge or possibilities of knowledge might supply the omissions, and rectify the transpositions perceptible in his accounts. Whether his Gospel was written first or not, I think there can be little doubt; but whether it was all written at once, and not at different times in the order of the two leading divisions just pointed out, may very reasonably bear a question.

Those, also, who contend that the principle of classification is the characteristic distinction of St. Luke's Gospel, are not less mistaken: for while St. Luke is uniformly attentive to historical precision, this constructive tendency by which facts, though really different in the order of time, are yet brought together out of deference to certain principles of association, and related consecutively, is rather the predominant characteristic of St. Matthew. The structure of all the Gospels, indeed, as far as they enter into details, is *anecdotal*; that is, they consist of a selection of particular passages out of a much larger and a more continuous body of events: the effect of which structure is necessarily that each particular stands in a great measure by itself, and has little or no connection with either what precedes or what follows it. It rarely happens that

even the occurrences of a single day are found to be related in order ; and then only by a comparison of one narrative with another. The history of the proceedings in Passion-week would be the sole material instance to the contrary.

This anecdotal arrangement is a different thing from the principle of classification ; and even this is only so far peculiar to St. Luke, compared with St. Matthew or with St. Mark, that without altering or disturbing the order of their succession, he has communicated to the particulars of his Gospel in many instances, the most integral and independent shape, the most separate and detached position, of any. St. John's Gospel, from its peculiar relation to the rest, could be nothing else but a digest of remarkable passages ; which followed at great intervals of time asunder, and were almost entirely independent of each other : and the great vivacity, minuteness, and circumstantiality of detail with which he has invested all these accounts, are truly wonderful, and among the strongest internal evidences of the inspiration and the truth of a Gospel, which must have been written so long after the events which it records, and so late in the lifetime of its author. Yet St. Matthew, notwithstanding his characteristic differences in other respects, has defined with more precision than any of the rest the times of certain memorable events ; as when Jesus began to preach publicly ; when to teach in parables ; when to predict his sufferings and his death without disguise ; when the Apostles began to dispute about precedency ; and when Judas conceived the design of betraying his Master. And this also may be another proof that he wrote early, and as an eyewitness of what he relates : not as one who had obtained his information from others, and did not commit it to writing until long afterwards.

DISSERTATION IV.

On the date of the Passover, John ii. 13.

THE several questions which concern the time of the Baptist's, or of our Saviour's, birth; the time, and their age at the time, when they entered on their respective ministries; the duration of the ministry of either; the age of our Lord at his baptism; and the like; however important or interesting they may each of them be, are yet so connected together that it would be impossible to consider any of them as absolutely independent of the rest. For this reason, I shall so far treat of them in conjunction as to devote the present Dissertation, and a number of others which will follow it, to a series of discussions, in which will be comprised whatsoever I have to say on these subjects.

First, then; assuming only that the passover, John ii. 13, was some passover posterior to our Saviour's baptism, I contend that the words which passed at that feast; τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος—ii. 20: determine it to have been the passover which fell out in the thirteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, U. C. 780. A. D. 27: and none either before or after that date.

For first; if these words had been intended to mean, Forty and six years hath this temple been built—the sense would have required, τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτη ᾠκοδομήθη, or, ᾠκοδομήται, ὁ ναὸς οὗτος: secondly; if they had been intended to mean, In forty and six years was this temple built—they would most probably have been expressed, τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδόμητο, or, ᾠκοδομείτο, ὁ ναὸς οὗτος: but thirdly; if they were in-

tended to mean, For forty and six years hath this temple been building—the above is exactly the form of words which such a sense would require. And it is needless to add, that the reasoning of the Jews, founded upon the literal acceptation of our Lord's answer at verse 19, and a genuine instance of *elenchus*, or the *reductio ad absurdum*, will apply to no other sense, so well as to this. Our Lord had just said, Destroy this temple, and in three days' time will I raise it up; to which they naturally reply, Forty and six years' time hath this temple been building—forty and six years hath it taken to build this temple—nor is it yet completed: and wilt thou in three days' time raise it up?

Among the ancient commentators, Chrysostom may be thought to have understood the allusion in the text aright^a: τεσσαράκοντα δὲ καὶ ἕξ ἔτη ἔλεγον, τὴν ὑστέραν οἰκοδομὴν δηλοῦντες· ἡ γὰρ προτέρα εἰς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀπηρτίσθη χρόνον. This last assertion, if referred to the building of the second temple after the return from captivity, is strictly true. For that building was begun in the second of Cyrus, B. C. 535, and finished in the sixth of Darius, B. C. 515 or 516^b; between which are twenty years, either current or complete. Origen, however, declares that he knew not how to explain it^c; while others of the Fathers, and even Eusebius himself, in their attempts to verify the assertion by computation, agreeably as they conceived to the matter of the fact, and to prophecy, (especially the prophecy of the Seventy weeks,) run counter to all historical testimony, both sacred and profane^d.

The truth is, that Herod the Great began to rebuild the temple, U. C. 734. B. C. 20^e; but it was not com-

^a Operum viii. 135. A. in Joh. Hom. xxiii. 2.

^b Ezra i. 1. iii. 8. iv. 24.

vi. 15. ^c Operum iv. 200. D. in Joh. tom. x. 22.

^d Dem. Evang. viii.

cap. 2. 392. C. D. ^e Ant. Jud. xv. xi. 1.

pleted until U. C. 818, A. D. 65, the year before the Jewish war, when Josephus writes thus: *ἤδη δὲ τότε καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐτετέλεστο*^f: and, even then, something still remained to be done, which the arrival of the war prevented from being accomplished, but, in allusion to which, as designed and yet not effected, it was said at the time of the first account *g*, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Νέρωνος καιροὺς ἐπεγείρειν ἐγνώκειμεν; that is, And this we had determined about the times of Nero to raise up again, (when, as it is implied, the war intercepted the design.)

At any period of the interval, then, between U. C. 734, and U. C. 818, an interval of eighty-four years, it might be said with truth that the building of the temple had been going on for such and such a time, and was not yet completed.

The following calculations will demonstrate the strict exactness of this statement, as referred to the passover in the thirteenth of Tiberius; and consequently its inaccuracy, if understood of any passover before or after that.

I. From the passover when Herod began the restoration of the temple, to the passover when he died, were XVII. years complete.

II. From the passover when Herod died, to the death of Augustus Cæsar, were XVI. years and VI. months complete.

III. From the death of Augustus Cæsar, to the passover in the thirteenth of Tiberius Cæsar, were XII. years and VI. months complete.

IV. These sums being added together, from the passover when Herod began to rebuild the temple, to the passover in the thirteenth of Tiberius, were XLVI. years complete.

^f Ant. xx. ix. 7. Cf. B. v. i. 5.

^g Ant. xv. xi. 3.

If, then, the passover in question had thus been proved to belong to the thirteenth and not to the fourteenth, and much less to the fifteenth or the sixteenth, of Tiberius Cæsar; and if it were only some passover posterior to the baptism of our Saviour; it would have been proved that our Saviour was baptized in the thirteenth of Tiberius Cæsar, and in the first half not in the second of that year itself. For as the years of Tiberius bear date from the month of August, the passover posterior to the last half of his thirteenth would be the passover belonging to the first half of his fourteenth: which would be contrary to the conclusion established.

It would have been proved at least, that he could not have been baptized *later* than the first half of Tiberius's thirteenth: but it would not have been proved, it might be said, that he could not have been baptized earlier—as, for instance, in the last half of his twelfth. To this, however, I reply, first; that if his baptism was preparatory to the commencement of his ministry, and his ministry was actually begun at this passover, (both which assumptions will be established hereafter,) it would be palpably at variance with the final end of the baptism that it should have taken place six months, or more, before the passover; it is utterly inconceivable that Christ should have been formally consecrated to his ministry, and yet have continued so long inactive. Secondly; the time of the commencement of the ministry of John, which must have been prior to the baptism of Christ, and though placed at the very beginning of the thirteenth of Tiberius, would still be apparently contradictory to Luke iii. 1, which places it in his fifteenth, becomes, as we shall see hereafter, absolutely incompatible with the testimony of that text, if it is placed in any year before his thirteenth.

With respect, then, to this objection, these answers may suffice for the present: and having stated this first and, as I consider it, this palmary argument for determining the year when our Lord entered upon his ministry—on which determination many other conclusions will hereafter be found to depend—I shall proceed to review and to confirm the data upon which it is grounded*.

* Origen, *Operum* iv. 200. *Comm. in Joh. tom. x. 22*: πῶς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἑτεσιν ᾠκοδομησθαι φασὶ τὸν ναὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λέγειν οὐκ ἔχομεν, εἰ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ κατακολουθήσαιμεν. He then quotes the Book of Kings, to shew that the building, and preparation for the building, of the first temple took up only eleven years at most; viz. from the first to the eleventh of Solomon; unless indeed the latter should be supposed to bear date from the fifth of David; at which time he considers it possible that David might first have conceived the design of building the temple. Cf. 2 Samuel vii. 2. Ἐὰν οὖν δυνηθῇ ἀποδείξαι τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς γεγονέναι συνάγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιτήδειον ὕλην, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐ. χρόνου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, δυνήσεται βιασάμενός (τις) περὶ τῶν μς'. ἐτῶν εἰπεῖν.

It is honestly enough that Origen admits this would be a forced explanation; but it happens unfortunately for it, forced as it is, that so far from David's having begun to make preparation for the building of the temple in the fifth year of his reign, it is much more probable he did not seriously set about it, until between his thirty-seventh and his fortieth. See 1 Chron. xxii. 1—xxvi. 31—xxix. 23.

Origen proceeds: ἄλλος δέ τις ἐρεῖ τὸν δεικνύμενον μὴ τὸν ὑπὸ Σολομῶντος ᾠκοδομημένον εἶναι· ἐκείνον γὰρ κατεστράφθαι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας χρόνους· ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐπὶ Ἑσδρά οἰκοδομηθέντα· περὶ οὗ οὐκ ἔχομεν τρανῶς τὸν τῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἐτῶν ἀποδείξαι ἀληθεύοντα λόγον. ἔοικε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ πολλή τις ἀκαταστασία γεγονέναι περὶ τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὸν ναὸν, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα εἴ ποτε ἀνωκοδομήθη τοσούτοις ἑτεσιν ὁ ναός.

The candour of Origen, in frankly and explicitly declaring his inability to explain the historical fact asserted in the text, is deserving of all praise. Nor can there be a question but that, under such circumstances, the words of the text must have been supposed by him to contain a very serious difficulty.

Heracleon, a Valentinian commentator on St. John, of great antiquity, whom Origen has frequent occasion to notice, boldly cut the knot: ὁ μέντοιγε Ἑρακλέων, continues he, μηδὲ ἐπιστήσας τῇ ἱστορίᾳ, φησὶ τὸν Σολομῶντα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἑτεσι κατεσκευάκεναι τὸν ναὸν, εἰκόνα τυγχάνοντα τοῦ Σωτῆρος, κ', τ. λ. So also the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, cap. iv. Vide the Latin version in the *Codex Apocryphus*, i. 247. and the Greek, in the *Auctarium Codicis Apocryphi*, cap. iv. p. 27.

Likewise the *Narratio* of Joseph of Arimathea, Auctarium, 186.

Methodius, bishop and martyr in the reign of Decius, and consequently a contemporary of Origen's, explained the interval in question as taken up by the impediments offered to the building of the second temple: *εἰργοντο γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν πολλάκις, οἰκοδομῆσαι θελήσαντες τὸν ναόν· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν μ'. αὐτὸν καὶ ς'. ἔτεσι μόλις ἡδυνήθησαν δεῖμασθαι*. Photii *Bibliotheca*, Codex 234. p. 300. line 25 *ad dextram*.

Eusebius either adopted this opinion from Methodius, or was led to it of himself. Dem. Evang. viii. 2. 392. B: where he has occasion to explain the prophecy of the seventy weeks, he places the return from captivity in the *first* of Cyrus, and the first of Cyrus (393. B. 394. C.) Ol. 55. 1. B.C. 560. The rebuilding of the temple being then begun, *ἀλλ' ἐπι-σχεθέντος τοῦ ἔργου ὑπὸ τῶν περι-οίκων, αἱ πρῶται ἐπτά ἐβδομάδες τῶν ἐτῶν, αἱ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου δηλούμε-ναι, συμπεραιοῦνται, καθ' ἃς ἀτελὲς διέμεινε τὸ ἔργον τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκο-δομῆς*. And this he supposes to be the reason of the division of the prophecy into the *first* of its periods, that of *seven* weeks: *ἐπτά γοῦν ἀπὸ Κύρου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τῆς τοῦ ἱεροῦ οἰκοδο-μῆς, ἐβδομάδες ἐτῶν εὐρίσκονται*. *ἔν-θεν ὁρμώμενοι τῷ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν ἔλε-γον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ὠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος*.

He proceeds: *ἀλλ' οὗτοι μὲν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ὠκοδο-μῆσθαι τὸν ναὸν ἔφασαν*. *τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἀπὸ πρώτου Κύρου βασιλείας, ὅς πρῶτος ἀνῆκε τῆς Βαβυλῶνος τοὺς βουλομένους τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν γῆν ἐπανιέναι, ἐπὶ τὸ ἕκτον ἔτος Δαρείου βασιλείας συνάγεται, καθ' ὃν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον τῆς οἰκοδομῆς*

τέλος εἴληφεν. ὁ γὰρ μὴν ἐξ Ἑβραίων Ἰώσηπος καὶ ἄλλον τριετῆ χρόνον εἰς τὴν τῶν ἕξωθεν, τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν ναόν, κατασκευασμάτων συμπλήρωσιν ἔφη-σεν, κ', τ. λ.

True it is, that from B.C. 560, the supposed first of Cyrus, to B. C. 516, the sixth of Darius, there were forty-five current years, if we take in the first and the last: but not forty-six. And as to the returning of the Jews, and the beginning to rebuild the temple, B.C. 560; it is an opinion that requires no refutation. I shall observe only, that where Eusebius affirmed, though the forty-six years ended with the sixth of Darius, yet there was another *three* years before every thing was completed, for which he quotes Josephus—I suppose he referred to Ant. Jud. xi. iv. 7. which places the completion on the twenty-third of Adar in the *ninth* of Darius: and that he took occasion from the difference of that statement, and what occurs at Ezra vi. 15; viz. that all was completed on the third of Adar in the *sixth* of Darius—to suppose one kind of completion in the sixth, and another in the ninth, of the reigning king. But Josephus makes no such distinction. And though the reading in his text, of the ninth of Darius, be supposed to be correct, as I believe it to be; still we may contend it was founded on an apocryphal or erroneous lection of 1 Esdras vii. 5: a book whose accounts he follows in this part of the Antiquities, rather than those of the canonical Book of Ezra. Even there, the completion of the work is placed on the twenty-third of Adar, it is true; but in the sixth of Darius.

Eusebius' exposition is adopt-

ed by Theodorit, or a similar one is proposed by him, *Operum* ii. 976, 977: In Ezek. xxxiv. 31: and 1580, 1581. In *Aggæum*, *Proœmium*.

Theophylact, while he admits that the building of the first temple took up only twenty years at the utmost, boldly asserts that the construction of the second, from Cyrus to Artaxerxes, took up forty-six: *Operum* i. 537. D. E. in Joh. ii. As most of the statements of this commentator are borrowed from Chrysostom; it is not quite certain that he did not take this from Chrysostom also. It is asserted at least, in Chrysostom's commentary on Ps. 126. *ad princip.* that the building of the second temple occupied forty-six years. *Operum* v. 355. B.

Julius Pollux, the author of the *Chronicon* first published anonymously, at Bononia, in 1729, and subsequently under the name of the author, at Leipsic, by Hardt, 1792, also gives Eusebius' exposition, or one like it; page 143.

Augustin's explanation of the numbers in question may be found, *Operum* vi. 25. E. F: *Liber de diversis quæstionibus: Quæstio lvi.*

Operum iii. 36, *Pars i^a:* De *Doctrina Christiana*, Lib. ii. 42: he observes, *Nam et per Olympiadas, et per Consulum nomina multa sæpe quærentur a nobis, et ignorantia consulatus, quo natus est Dominus, et quo passus est, nonnullos coegit errare, ut putarent quadraginta sex annorum ætate passum esse Dominum, quia per tot annos ædificatum templum esse dictum est a Judæis, quod imaginem Dominici*

corporis habebat.

Operum iii. *Pars ii^{da}.* 373, 374. In Joh. ii. Tract. x. 12. he explains the forty-six years on the principle of a mystical reference to the numeral value of Adam in Greek characters: the amount of which is exactly forty-six: a notion which occurs also in the two treatises, appended to the works of Cyprian, *De Monte Sina et Sion*, p. 36. and *De Paschate Computus*, p. 68.

These examples are sufficient to prove what difficulties the most learned and judicious of the ancient commentators were reduced to, in explaining a simple historical statement, the truth of which becomes so palpably clear and demonstrative, when it is known that the process of rebuilding the temple began at the Passover, U.C. 734, and was only just over at the Passover, U.C. 819; and that the words in question were spoken at the Passover of U.C. 780. And on any other principle but this, I will venture to say it will be found as inexplicable to the ingenuity of modern commentators, as to that of ancient.

With regard to the supposition that some such thing as the idea of a forty-six years' interval between the beginning and the completion of either temple, though not founded in history, might yet have been traditionally current among the Jews of our Saviour's time; it would be a pure conjecture, without a shadow of testimony in favour of its truth. Photius, indeed, seems to assert that Josephus supposes this interval for the building of the second temple; (*Codex* 238. p. 313. line 31, 32 *ad dextram*;))

but I have never yet met with the passage in *his* works, which does. And it is clear from the comparison of Ant. xi. i. 1: ii. 2: iii. 1, 2: that from the first of Cyrus, in which he places the return from captivity and the foundation of the second temple, he supposes a nine years' interval to the first of Cambyses, when the progress of the work was suspended — and another nine years' interval to the second of Darius, during which it continued suspended — and (Ant. xi. iv. 7 :) a seven years' interval, from the second to the ninth of Darius, within which it was resumed and completed. The whole interval, then, between the first foundation, and the final completion of the temple,

supposed by Josephus, is twenty-five years and no more. In like manner, Contra Apion. i. 21: the whole interval between the destruction of the first temple in the eleventh of Zedekiah, and the foundation of the second in the first or second of Cyrus, is reckoned by him at fifty years, or else at fifty-four. Certainly not at forty-six. In short, the idea of a forty-six years' interval is one which appears first in Christian writers; and was doubtless excogitated, in defiance of history, solely because of the necessity which they felt of some explanation of this statement in St. John; and yet their inability to explain it satisfactorily in any other way.

DISSERTATION V.

Verification of the date of the passover, John ii. 13.

THE validity of an argument, which depends on so slight an aberration from the truth as an excess or a defect of a single year, requires that the calculations, on which it proceeds, should be ascertained with the utmost exactness: and this I shall endeavour to do in the present dissertation, and in those which follow it.

Assuming, then, the correctness of the statement^a that Herod began to rebuild or enlarge the temple in the eighteenth year of his reign—I observe that Josephus assigns two periods to the duration of this reign; one of thirty-four; the other of thirty-seven years: the former, dated from the time when Herod became sole king, by the capture of Antigonus; the latter, from the time when he was first declared king by Mark Antony, Cæsar Octavianus, and the Roman senate. The former he places in the consular year of Agrippa and Gallus, U.C. 717. Ol. 185. B.C. 37; which notes of time agree together: the latter, in the consular year of Calvinus and Pollio^b, U.C. 714. Ol. 184. B.C. 40; which also agree together; except that the year of this last Olympiad must be understood as made up of the last half of Olymp. 184. 4. and the first half of Olymp. 185. 1; both which together make up the consular year, U.C. 714, and answer to B.C. 40.

Between these dates there is a difference of three years, either current or complete. Yet it may be shewn to a demonstration that the former, and not the latter, is uniformly the date from which Josephus computes the years of Herod's reign.

^a Ant. Jud. xv. xi. 1.

^b Ib. xiv. xiv. 5. xvi. 4.

I. Being himself descended from the Asmonæan family^c, whose title to the throne of Judæa was unquestionably prior to Herod's, he would naturally date the commencement of the new dynasty only from the time of the absolute extinction of the old; that is, from the capture and death of Antigonus; whom he recognises as still king of Judæa when Herod was besieging Jerusalem^d; and speaking long after of the wife of Antipater, the daughter of this Antigonus, he describes him by a similar title: αὐτῇ δὲ ἦν ἡ γενομένη Ἀντιγόνου παῖς τῷ πρὸς Ἡρώδου Ἰουδαίων βασιλευκότη^e.

II. Wheresoever he has occasion to specify the length of Herod's reign as such, he puts this number before the other^f, or he specifies this and not the other^g.

III. He dates the expiration of the Asmonæan dynasty, after a duration of one hundred and twenty-six years, with the capture of Jerusalem and of Antigonus by Herod and Sosius^h*. This same duration is stated by Herod himself at one hundred and twenty-five yearsⁱ; between which and the other statement there is no further difference than between current years and complete. The capture of the city took place, τῇ ἐορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, which means on the tenth of Tisri; U.C. 717. B.C. 37. The Asmonæan dynasty, therefore, expired on the tenth of Tisri, U.C. 717. B.C. 37. But it began in the hundred and fiftieth year of the Æra Seleucidarum^k; that is, between Oct. 1. U.C. 591. B.C. 163. and Oct. 1. U.C. 592. B.C. 162. when Antiochus Eupator made peace with Judas Maccabæus.

* Contra Apionem, ii. 11. the duration of the Asmonæan dynasty is estimated at 120 years; which of course is in round numbers merely.

^c Ant. Jud. xvi. vii. 1. Vita, 1. ^d Ant. xiv. xvi. 1. 2. ^e Ib. xvii. v. 2.
^f Ib. xvii. viii. 1. B. Jud. i. xxxiii. 8. ^g Ant. Jud. xv. x. 5. ^h Ib. xiv.
xvi. 4. ⁱ Ib. xvii. vi. 3. ^k Ib. xii. ix. 1—3—7. 1 Macc. vi. 20—61.

This peace was concluded towards the close of that year¹; and, therefore, the computation should strictly begin with U.C. 592. B.C. 162. From the tenth of Tisri, in that year, to the same time U.C. 717. B.C. 37. there are one hundred and twenty-five years complete, which is the computation of Herod; and from the tenth of Tisri, in the year before, U.C. 591. B.C. 163. to the same time U.C. 717. B.C. 37. there are one hundred and twenty-six; which is the computation of Josephus*.

* I am aware that, besides the tenth of Tisri, there were three other fasts at least in the Jewish calendarⁿ; and I am also aware that some eminent chronologers have supposed this capture of Jerusalem to have fallen out upon one of them. But no day is ever spoken of *ἀπλῶς* as ἡ νηστεία—the *day of the fast* κατ' ἐξοχήν—except the tenth of Tisri; the great day of the atonement. It is in allusion to this alone, that we meet with such expressions as these: ἡν Ἰουδαῖοι νηστεῖαν ἄγουσι—τρὶσιν ἑορταῖς . . . καὶ τῇ νηστείᾳ—διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νηστεῖαν ἤδη παρεληλυθέναι—καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νηστείᾳ δὲ τράγοι δύο—εἰς ἃ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς εἰσέρχεται τῇ νηστείᾳ λεγομένη—τὴν γὰρ λεγομένην νηστεῖαν ἀκμάζοντι τρυγητῷ . . . προστίθενται^o. Add to these, διὰ τοῦ συμβόλου τῶν ἐν τῇ νηστείᾳ προσφερομένων τράγων: Justin M. Dialogus, 373. l. 23—τίς δὲ τὴν λεγομένην νηστεῖαν οὐ τέθειπε καὶ προσκυνεῖ; Philo Jud. ii. 138. line 2. De Mose, lib. ii. The Tarentines celebrated an annual festival, called Νηστεία:

the cause of which is related by Ælian, Var. Histor. v. 20.

The phrase τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, in the present instance, is clearly to the same effect as τῇ τῆς νηστείας ἡμέρᾳ^p, when Jerusalem was taken by Pompey, Ol. 179. in the consular year of Cicero and Antony, U.C. 691. B.C. 63. This fact is attested by Dio^q; who agrees with Josephus in placing the capture even on the Saturday, that is, the Sabbath-day; for the tenth of Tisri whensoever it fell was a Sabbath. It is also not impliedly, but plainly asserted by Strabo, a contemporary writer; who informs us that Pompey took Jerusalem, τηρήσας τὴν τῆς νηστείας ἡμέραν^r.

The length of the siege is reckoned in the Antiquities^s at three months, and in the History of the War at five months, and even at six^t; between which computations there is only this difference; viz. that the latter expresses the entire of the time, the former a certain part of it. Both the Antiquities and the War^u shew that Herod first in-

¹ B. Jud. i. i. 5. ⁿ Zech. viii. 19. Ant. Jud. x. vi. 2. ^o Ib. xvii. vi. 4. xviii. iv. 3. Acts xxvii. 9. Justin Mart. Dial. 219. l. 2. Philo, ii. 591. i. 6. De Virtutibus. Plutarch, Symposiaca iv. Questio v. Operum viii. 669. ^p Ant. Jud. xiv. iv. 3. ^q Lib. xxxvii. 16. ^r xvi. 2. §. 40. 366. ^s xiv. xvi. 4. ^t i. xviii. 2. v. ix. 4. p. 898. ^u Ant. xiv. xv. 14. B. i. xvii. 8.

IV. From the time of the appointment of the first high priest by Herod, to the day when the temple and city of Jerusalem were destroyed by Titus, was a period of one hundred and seven years^w. The date of the destruction of the temple was the ninth or tenth of the Jewish Ab or Lōus; and the date of the destruction of the city was the seventh or eighth of the Jewish Ælul or Gorpiaëus; U. C. 823. A. D. 70. The first high priest appointed by Herod was Ananelus^x: and the time of the appointment of Ananelus may be thus determined.

The death of Aristobulus the brother of Mariamne^y, who superseded Ananelus soon after this appointment, was certainly prior to the last Armenian expedition of Antony^{*}, if not to the death of Lysanias^z. This expedition, which ended in the capture of Artabazes, is placed by Dio^a U. C. 720; and the death of Lysanias, prior to that^b, U. C. 718. The death of Aristobulus, then, cannot be assigned to a later period than U. C. 719. He was put to death soon after a feast of Ta-

vested Jerusalem with the return of spring, in the third year after his appointment to be king: which would be the spring of the consular year U. C. 717; but, having done this, that he repaired to Samaria, and celebrated his nuptials with Mariamne. The siege was going on in his absence, which might well occupy the first two or three months: and when he was come back to resume the command in person, the summer was already set in^c. The last three months must be dated from this return; and the time of this return coinciding

with midsummer, or being even later than it, U. C. 717, the city might be taken, about the beginning of the Tisri following.

* Plutarch, Antonius 40: Antony's first Armenian expedition U. C. 718, was going on, *μετὰ φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν*: 52. 53. his next, U. C. 719: 56. his third, U. C. 720. This is the expedition alluded to by Josephus. Yet Dio, xlix. 43. 44. another expedition of his to the East is spoken of, apparently in U. C. 721. which may be the third-mentioned one of Plutarch. Cf. Antonius, 54.

^w Ant. xx. 10. *ad finem*.

^x Ib. xv. ii. 4.

^y B. i. xxii. 2. Ant. xv.

iii. 3. ^z B. i. xviii. 5. Ant. xv. iv. 1—4.

^a xlix. 33. 39. 40.

^b Ib. 32.

^c Ant. xiv. xvi. 2.

bernaclcs; and he had held the priesthood one year ^c. He was appointed, then, about the time of a feast of Tabernacles, U. C. 718. He was seventeen years old at the time of this appointment ^d; he was seventeen years old, therefore, about the middle of U. C. 718: consequently he was sixteen years old about the same time, U. C. 717. But Ananelus was already in office, when Aristobulus was sixteen years old ^e. Ananelus was consequently appointed in U. C. 717. From this time to the middle of U. C. 823. there are one hundred and seven current years.

V. The battle of Actium is placed in the seventh year of Herod's reign ^f. This battle was fought on the second of September, U. C. 723 ^g. If Herod's reign is dated from the spring of U. C. 717. he had reigned at that time six years and six months: but if it is dated from U. C. 714. he had reigned nine years and six months.

VI. The commencement of the building of Cæsarea is placed *after* the thirteenth of Herod ^h. This thirteenth could not possibly be the thirteenth dated from U. C. 714. but it might be the thirteenth dated from U. C. 717: for, at a previous period ⁱ, in the account of Salome's quarrel with Costobarus, the sons of Babas, it was said, had been secreted by the latter χρόνον ἐν-
αυτῶν ἤδη δώδεκα—which twelve years were to be reckoned from the capture of Jerusalem, U. C. 717.

The same section states that the city was finished in twelve years. But a later passage says it was finished in ten years: δεκάτῳ μὲν ἔτει πρὸς τέλος ἐλθού-
σης αὐτῷ τῆς ὅλης κατασκευῆς, ἐκπεσούσης δὲ τῆς προθε-

^c Ant. Jud. xv. iii. 3. ^d B: Jud. i. xxii. 2. Ant. xv. iii. 3. ^e Ant.
xv. ii. 4. 6. ^f B: Jud. i. xix. 3. Ant. xv. v. 2. ^g Dio, li. 1. ^h Ant.
Jud. xv. ix. 1—6. ⁱ Ib. xv. vii. 10.

σμίας εἰς ὄγδοον καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος δευτέρας καὶ ἐνενηκοστῆς πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν^k. That this was actually the case, in the first year of Olympiad 192. U. C. 742. B. C. 12. I shall make to appear elsewhere. In the mean while there is no mode of reconciling these statements together, except by attending to the literal sense of προθεσμία; of which the following are instances from Josephus himself: προθεσμία δὲ ἐχρήσατο Ῥωμαϊκῶ πολέμῳ—τῇ προθεσμίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔργου—διελθούσης δὲ τῆς προθεσμίας—ἐφ' ἣν συνετέτακτο προθεσμίαν^l. In all these passages the word implies a preconcerted period of some kind or other. One of the statements, therefore, will affirm that he originally intended to complete the work in twelve years; the other, that he actually completed it in ten: and the truth of this conclusion (both dates being referred to the first year of the reign of Herod, U. C. 717.) may be further confirmed as follows.

Ant. xv. ix. 2. Petronius is mentioned as the prefect of Egypt; and, xv. ix. 3. Ælius Gallus, as carrying on an expedition in the neighbourhood of the Red sea. The first prefect of Egypt, in the reign of Augustus, was Cornelius Gallus; whom Dio shews to have been recalled in U. C. 728^m. There can be little question that Cornelius Gallus was succeeded at this time by Ælius Gallus, and Ælius Gallus afterwards, by Petronius; for this very expedition of Ælius Gallus is recorded by Dio in U. C. 730.ⁿ at which time he was governor of Egypt; and U. C. 732.^o a war, which arose out of that expedition, was waged by Petronius, in the same capacity, with Candace queen of the Ethiopians.

^k Ant. Jud. xvi. 5. 1. ^l Ib. xv. v. 1. xi. 6: xvi. ix. 2. B. Jud. ii. xxi. 8.
Vide also Ant. Jud. iii. xi. 5. Gal. iv. 2. ^m li. 17. liii. 23. ⁿ Ib. 29.
^o liv. 5.

The testimony of Strabo, who was the contemporary and friend of Gallus*, is still more decisive to the same effect. He specifies the number of Herod's auxiliaries agreeably to the account of Josephus; and he proves that the expedition must have lasted upwards of eighteen months^p. The first winter of the campaign was spent in Albus Pagus, an emporium of Nabatæan Arabia; and the final return to Alexandria was at least nine months later than that. If the expedition began, then, U. C. 730, it was not over before the middle of U. C. 731.

Again, the same author shews^q that the commencement of hostilities by the Ethiopians was principally due to the absence of the Roman forces under Gallus. The war with Candace, therefore, arose out of this expedition. The commander of the Romans in that war was Petronius; who must, consequently, have now succeeded to Gallus: and if Gallus was superseded U. C. 731, this would be critically in unison with Dio. The Ancyran monument, which speaks of two expeditions, one against Arabia, and the other against Ethiopia, as undertaken by command of Augustus, *eodem fere tempore*, that is, one after the other, but with a slight interval of time between them, agrees with the same conclusion^r.

The ambassadors of Candace, whom she sent the second time to Petronius to negotiate peace, were ordered by him to prefer their requests to Augustus; whom they are said to have found at Samos, preparing to proceed into Syria, and sending Tiberius into

* Vide Lib. ii. cap. 5. p. 313. which speaks of his invasion of Arabia, and his government of

Egypt, and of a voyage of Strabo's up the Nile, in his company. Cf. xvii. i. §. 46. 599. §. 50. 608.

^p xvi. 4. §. 22—24. 443—455. 847. Vide also Pliny, H. N. xii. 31.

^q xvii. i. §. 54. 615.

^r Tacitus, iv.

Armenia: which proves that the arrival of this legation could not be earlier than U.C. 733, when Augustus was wintering at Samos^s; nor later than U. C. 735, when he again returned to Rome^t. The prisoners, therefore, which Petronius sent to the emperor before this—*νεωστὶ ἐκ Καντάβρων ἤκοντι*—were sent at the close of the third Cantabrian war, U.C. 732 or 733^u, not at the close of the first, U.C. 729.^v Augustus himself was not in Spain, waging any such war in person, after U. C. 729.

The order of the governors of Egypt, then, from U. C. 724, and down to the conclusion of the war with Candace, was this: viz. Cornelius Gallus, Ælius Gallus, and Petronius*. If Josephus, therefore, has placed

* It is quite clear from the account of Strabo, xvi. *locis citatis*, that the expedition of Ælius Gallus lasted more than eighteen months; beginning in the spring or summer of one year, and not being over before six months, and seventy-one days, at least, after the winter of the next: the six months having been taken up by the march into the interior, the seventy-one days by the return to Myos Hormus only.

The same expedition is alluded to generally by Pliny, H. N. vi. 32. That more was meditated by it than the reduction of Arabia, will appear from a reference to Horace, Carm. i. xxix. xxxv: iii. v. 1—4: and to Propertius iii. iv: each of which can be understood of nothing else but of this expedition, and its objects.

Propertius iii. xii. and iv. iii. both relate to the same subject,

and both profess to be a letter from the lady of one of those who had gone on the expedition, to her husband. This lady is with reason supposed to be Ælia Galla, the sister of the commander of the expedition himself.

It is a curious coincidence, that at the time of these military movements, which appear to have aimed at such considerable conquests in the East, Augustus himself, as we have seen, was in the neighbourhood of the scene of action—at Antioch, or on his way into the East. And while he was still there, on the same occasion, he received the submission of the Indians and Scythians also: Strabo xv. 1. §. 73. 154. *E Nicolao Damasceno*.

Strabo himself, xvii. i. §. 53. 614. enumerates the three first governors of Egypt in the same order as Josephus; Cornelius Gallus, Petronius, Ælius Gal-

^s Dio, liv. 7.

^t Ibid. 9. 10.

^u Ibid. 5.

^v Dio, liii. 25. 26.

Petronius before Ælius Gallus, he has made a great mistake. But I am persuaded he has done no such thing; and that his account is quite consistent with itself.

About this year, says he ^w, which was the thirteenth of the reign of Herod, the greatest sufferings befell the country, partly from the effects of dearth, and partly from those of pestilence; the consequence of the dearth. The first cause of the dearth was a succession of droughts, ἀνχμοὶ διηνεκεῖς; the length of which succession, though not exactly specified by him, is shewn impliedly to have extended through three summers, before the country yielded any thing again. He speaks of the failure of *one* harvest; and then, of a *second*, involving the loss of the seed, reserved even in the former year; before any steps were taken to import supplies of corn from Egypt. These supplies, it is manifest, were imported at the close of some year; for directly after, there is mention of the winter, and after the winter, of the seed time of the following year; and lastly of the harvest, in due succession after that ^x.

If these droughts, then, set in in the thirteenth of Herod, which would answer to U. C. 729. the country had not recovered from them until the harvest of 733; which would be in the seventeenth of his reign: and

lus: but he shews immediately after, §. 54. that Ælius Gallus really preceded Petronius.

The Æthiopian expedition of the latter is alluded to, and some particulars of it are given, Pliny, H. N. vi. 35. That it was actually at an end, U. C. 732, may be collected from Strabo *loc. cit.* who tells us that when Petronius took Premnis (in Pliny, Primis) from the Æthiopians,

he left a garrison there, with two years' and upwards supplies of provisions. This was in order to secure possession of it against all attempts of the enemy, until the expiration of his term of office, U. C. 734, at least.

To this Æthiopian war also Horace alludes, iii. vi. 1 — 16. and Propertius, iv. vi. 7.

^w Ant. Jud. xv. ix. 1.

^x Ibid. xv. ix. 2.

the period when it suffered most severely, and when Herod took the most active and effectual measures for the relief of its necessities, was exactly between U. C. 731. and U. C. 732; partly in the fifteenth, and partly in the sixteenth, of his reign.

Now there are a few observations which we may make upon this account. First; no droughts would be considered unnatural in Judæa, which did not set in in the winter-half of the year. If these, then, began in the thirteenth of Herod, they began in the latter half of U. C. 729. Secondly; Petronius might be governor of Egypt in the latter half of U. C. 731; and was certainly so in the first half of U. C. 732. Thirdly; from a table of Sabbatic years, which I shall exhibit hereafter, it will appear that from seed time U. C. 731, to seed time U. C. 732, (the period during which the people suffered most severely, and Herod imported the supplies in question,) was actually a Sabbatic year: and that one of these years of drought coincided with such a year, might be inferred from Josephus himself; for he specifies it, among the effects of the droughts, that the land not merely yielded no crops from the seed committed to it, but did not produce even what it was accustomed to bear of itself; a circumstance of distinction which could be applicable specially, only to a Sabbatic year; when the fields and the vineyards lay fallow, and bore nothing except of themselves. Fourthly; it is a singular coincidence, that according to Strabo^y, during the whole of the administration of Petronius, the Nile never rose to a greater height than twelve cubits, and on one occasion only to eight; and yet Egypt was exceedingly fertile. It is clear that the supplies of the Nile, as was naturally to be expected, were affected by these constant droughts,

(which do not appear to have ceased in Judæa before U. C. 733. at the soonest;) and that one year in particular, when it seems to have sympathized with them most, might be the very year when Petronius came into office, U. C. 731. or 732; after the droughts had continued longest*.

The whole of this account, then, beginning with the thirteenth of Herod, U. C. 729. was so connected together, that Josephus very properly made an end of it, before he noticed the expedition of Ælius Gallus; the time of which, viz. from U. C. 730. to U. C. 731; was interposed exactly in the midst of it. After this, however, the thread of the history is resumed with the marriage of Herod to the second Mariamne; and the beginning of the building of Cæsarea^g: the time of both which events belongs to the same year,

* The ordinary or average height of the Nile's rise is stated by Strabo^z at fourteen cubits; by Pliny^a at sixteen. Hence it is, that upon the coins of Egypt the Nile was often represented with sixteen little boys playing around him; which boys denoted as many cubits^b. Εἴ ποὺ τὸν Νεῖλον εἶδες γραφῇ μεμιμημένον, αὐτὸν μὲν κείμενον ἐπὶ κροκοδείλου τινός, ἣ ἱπποποτάμου, οἶον οἱ πολλοὶ γράφουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ· μικρὰ δέ τινα παιδία παρ' αὐτὸν παίζοντα· πῆχεις αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι^c, κ', τ. λ. Περὶ τὸν Νεῖλον οἱ πῆχεις ἄθροουσι, παιδία, ξύμμετρα τῷ ὀνόματι· καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος αὐτοῖς ὑπεργάννυται, τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ ὅτι κηρύττουσιν αὐτὸν ὁσος Αἰγυπτίους προεχύθη. προσάγεται

οὖν, καὶ οἶον ἔρχεται αὐτῷ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος βρέφη ἀπαλὰ καὶ μειδιῶντα, μετέχειν δὲ οἶμαι αὐτὰ καὶ τοῦ λάλου. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῖς ὤμοις αὐτοῦ ἐφίζανουσιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πλοκάμων ἐκκρέμανται, οἱ δὲ τῇ ἀγκάλῃ καθεύδουσιν, οἱ δὲ κωμάζουσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ στέρνου, κ', τ. λ.^d. Πῆχεις οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ Νεῖλου προσαγορεύουσι, καὶ μέτρῳ μετροῦσι τὰ νάματα, καὶ πανήγυρις αὐτοῖς ὁ πῆχυς γίνεται^e.

Strabo ascribes the fertility in question, notwithstanding the shallowness of the river, to the cleansing of the drains and canals. And these, as Suetonius will shew^f, had been cleansed as early as U. C. 724. or 725. when Egypt was first reduced by Augustus.

^z Lib. xvii. 1. §. 3. 480. ^a H. N. v. 10. xviii. 47. Cf. Seneca, Nat. Quæst. iv. ii. 9: Solini Polyh. xxxii. 15: Aristides, Oratio xlviii. 445. line 10: 485. l. 15: Plutarch, vii. 451, 452: De Iside et Osiride: Ammianus Marc. xxii. 15. 335. ^b Pliny, H. N. xxxvi. 11. Eckhel, Doct. Numm. Vett. iv. 38. ^c Lucian, Rhetorum Præceptor, vi. Operum iii. 6. line 12. ^d Philostrati Icones, lib. i. 737. A. Νεῖλος.

^e Himerius, Ecloga xv. sect. 1. 246. ^f Aug. 18. ^g Ant. Jud. xv. ix. 3. 6.

U. C. 733, the seventeenth of Herod *ineunte*. The foundation of Cæsarea, then, was begun U. C. 733: the original *προθεσμία* for its completion extended to U. C. 744, twelve years afterwards: its actual completion coincided with U. C. 742, two years sooner. The former would answer to the twenty-eighth of Herod, and the latter to his twenty-sixth; and both to Olympiad 192: which coincidences are further confirmed by what is said at the beginning of the next chapter, concerning the completion of the building of Sebaste*.

The rebuilding of the temple, therefore, which was certainly undertaken after all these events, could not have been commenced before the eighteenth of the reign of Herod at the earliest; and the eighteenth dated from U. C. 717, alone. To this year accordingly it is assigned in the Antiquities^o: and I see no reason why we should question the correctness of that

* The mission of Herod's two sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, to Rome, which is related in the same chapter^g, cannot be placed earlier than the foundation of Sebaste, (which belongs to U. C. 729: Ant. xv. viii. 5. ix. 1. x. 1.) nor later than U. C. 733, after which Augustus himself was not at Rome. It is probable that they were sent at the beginning of U. C. 732, before the emperor set out to Sicily, as he did in the course of U. C. 733^h, preparatory to a visit to the East: at which time one of them might be fourteen or fifteen, and the other, twelve or thirteen years old.

The history of the tetrarchy of Zenodorus also is connected with this mission; but, as I shall have occasion to allude

to it elsewhere, I shall say no more about it at present than this; that the first Actian solemnityⁱ as such, if dated from U. C. 724, would be over in U. C. 729: and the first mission of Agrippa, when Herod met him at Lesbos^k, took place, according to Dio, U. C. 731; and was terminated by his recall and his marriage to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, in the consular year 733^l. The visit of Augustus himself to the East, which Josephus places in the seventeenth of Herod^m, is shewn by the same historianⁿ to belong to the beginning of the consular year 734; which is the close of the year of the city 733. when Herod's seventeenth year would actually just have expired.

^g Ant. Jud. xv. x. 1. ^h Dio, liv. 6. ⁱ B. Jud. i. xx. 4. ^k Ant. Jud. xv. x. 2. ^l Dio, liii. 32. liv. 6. ^m Ant. Jud. xv. x. 3. ⁿ Dio, liv. 7. ^o xv. xi. 1.

statement. If so, the rebuilding of the temple was begun U. C. 734.

The date of the same undertaking which occurs in the War^p must, consequently, be understood with some degree of latitude; otherwise it is confuted not merely by the contrary assertion of the Antiquities, but by the History of the War itself. For the rebuilding of the temple, even there, is placed after the visit of Augustus to Syria; and this visit to Syria^q is placed in the tenth year after a former visit, which is the visit recorded just before^r, when Augustus was certainly in Syria, and spending the winter at Antioch, subsequently to the reduction of Egypt, U. C. 724^s. The tenth year from that date would still be current, in the spring, U. C. 734; at which time, the emperor, as we have seen, was actually again in Syria.

Now it was mainly in consequence of the favours which were bestowed upon Herod at this visit, that he was lifted up εἰς μεῖζον φρόνημα—καὶ τὸ πλεόν τῆς μεγαλονοίας ἐπέτεινεν εἰς εὐσέβειαν: that is, that he conceived the magnificent design of renewing the temple. Πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ γούν ἔτει, κ', τ. λ. There can be no doubt that the numbers ought to have stood, Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ γούν ἔτει: and if there has been no error of the copyists, the only explanation which I can imagine of the statement of Josephus is this—that as this chapter of the War contains an account of Herod's other great works—the foundation of Sebaste, and of Cæsarea in particular—all, after the mention of the rebuilding of the temple; the note of time, prefixed to the whole, must be understood of the earliest, as well as of the latest: in which case it will serve as a kind of average statement between the thirteenth of Herod, the time of com-

p i. xxi. 1.

q i. xx. 4.

r Ibid. 3.

s Cf. Dio, li. 18.

mencing the first, and his eighteenth, the time of commencing the last of the works in question *.

* These two chapters, xxi. and xxii. of the first book of the War, are full of inversions in the order of facts. The latter of them concludes with the account of the death of Mariamne, which, by a great oversight, is placed at the same time with that of Joseph, Herod's uncle (Ant. Jud. xv. iii. 5. 9.) U. C. 719, or 720, instead of that of Soëmus, (Ant. Jud. xv. vii. 4. 5.) U. C. 726.

The Antiquities were a later production than the History of the War; and being written with more care and precision, they are entitled to greater credit of the two. This is not, however, the sole instance (especially where numbers are concerned) in which the one is at variance with the other: or either with itself. I shall have occasion to point out some of these discrepancies hereafter: and I will mention a few others at present.

B. i. Procœm. 7: i. 1. also v. ix. 4. p. 896: Antiochus Epiphanes, it is said, kept possession of Jerusalem, and stopped the daily sacrifice for three years and six months—Ant. xii. v. 4. vii. 6: only for three years: viz. from 25 Casleu, Ær. Sel. 145. to 25 Casleu, Ær. Sel. 148. And this is confirmed by 1 Macc. i. 20. 29. 54. and iv. 52.

B. i. xix. 3: the earthquake in the seventh of Herod destroyed 30,000 men—Ant. xv. v. 2: it destroyed about 10,000.

B. i. xxxiii. 9: the body of Herod was carried from Jeri-

cho, where he died, to Herodium, the place where it was interred, 200 stades—Ant. xvii. viii. 3: it was carried eight stades. The reason of this mistake might be that there were two Herodiums; one sixty stades from Jerusalem, the other much further off^r.

B. ii. vii. 3: Archelaus is said to have seen in his dream nine ears of corn, and to have reigned nine years—Ant. xvii. xiii. 3, 2: he is said to have seen ten ears, and to have reigned as many years.

B. ii. ix. 1: the building of Cæsarea Philippi, and of Julias, is placed in the first year of Tiberius—Ant. xviii. ii. 1: it is placed about the first year of Coponius.

B. ii. x. 5: the alarm excited in Judæa, by the news of the orders of Caius, lasted fifty days—Ant. xviii. 8. 3: it lasted forty.

B. ii. ix. 5: the length of the reign of Tiberius is computed at twenty-two years, six months, and three days—Ant. xviii. vi. 10: at twenty-two years, five months, and three days.

B. vi. iv. 5. 8: Nebuchadnezzar set fire to the first temple on the tenth of Lōus—Ant. x. viii. 5: on the first.

Ant. xv. xi. 4: the sacerdotal robes were to be restored to the custody of the Jews, one day before every feast—Ant. xviii. iv. 3: they were to be restored seven days before.

Ant. xx. i. 3: the government of the temple, and the right of

^r Ant. Jud. xiv. xiii. 9: xv. ix. 4: B. Jud. i. xiii. 8: xxi. 10.

I think, then, it must now be admitted that the date, which is followed by Josephus in his history of the

appointing the high-priests, entrusted by Claudius to Herod of Chalcis, continued with his descendants as long as the temple lasted. But Ant. xv. xi. 4. xx. viii. 8. even before the death of this Herod, as well as after it, it appears that this power was vested in his nephew, Agrippa the younger; and was repeatedly exercised by him.

Ant. xv. vi. 4: Hyrcanus, after his restoration by Pompey U. C. 691, continued in the possession of the high-priesthood, *ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα*—Ant. xx. x: he enjoyed it from the time of this restoration to the time of his next dispossession, U. C. 714, only twenty-four years: and this assertion upon the whole is correct. For as Hyrcanus was reinstated in Tisri, U. C. 691, and Antigonus, whom the Parthians had substituted, U. C. 714, in his stead, was dispossessed by the capture of Jerusalem on the tenth of Tisri, U. C. 717, three years and three months afterwards^s; it is manifest that Hyrcanus had been in office until three months before the tenth of Tisri, U. C. 714; to which time from Nisan U. C. 691, there were twenty-four current years.

Nor is it difficult to account for this mistake. Hyrcanus was made high-priest on the accession to the throne of his mother

queen Alexandra, U. C. 678, *exeunte*, or U. C. 679. *incunte*^t; from the first of which dates, to the time, U. C. 717, when Antigonus was finally deposed, there were thirty-nine years complete; which might be stated in round numbers at forty current years. Josephus has, therefore, confounded the whole period, for which he would have continued high priest, had he never been dispossessed, from his first appointment until the extinction of the Asmonæan dynasty—with the particular interval between his first restitution, and his second deprivation.

B. i. xxxiii. 1. Ant. xvii. vi. 1. a short time before the death of Herod, it is said he was almost seventy. Concerning the year of his death, something will be said by and by: I assume, at present, that it could not be later than U. C. 751. *exeunte*. If so, Herod was more than sixty-nine, and almost seventy, U. C. 751. *exeunte*. Now, Ant. xiv. ix. 2. at a time which the context fixes to the year next after the battle of Pharsalia, when Julius Cæsar visited Syria, (which was U. C. 707, about the end of summer^u, it is said he was fifteen years old: that is, he had turned his fifteenth, and was in his sixteenth year after midsummer U. C. 707. If so, he would be turned of seventy, and be in

^s Ant. Jud. xx. x.

^t Ib. xiii. xvi. 2.

^u It is clear from Dio, xlii. 48. 55, that the time when Cæsar rewarded Mithridates (and, we may presume, Antipater likewise,) for his services in the Alexandrine war, was the summer of U. C. 707. That war was not ended before March in that year; nor did Cæsar himself take leave of Egypt before June or July afterwards.

reign of Herod, is the date of U.C. 717. But, whichever of the dates we adopt, the computation begins

his seventy-first year, before the same time U. C. 762. But Josephus asserts he was about seventy, U. C. 751. It is impossible, therefore, that both these assertions can be correct.

If Herod, however, was about twenty-six, that is, was turned of twenty-five, but not yet twenty-six, U. C. 707. *medio*, he would be turned of sixty-nine, but not yet seventy complete, at the same time, U. C. 751. And this is all that Josephus means; whose expressions, *καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἔτος ἐβδομηκοστὸν ἦν*, in the Antiquities, and, *ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη σχεδὸν ἑτῶν ἐβδομήκοντα*, in the War, by no means imply that he had completed his seventieth year; but rather that he had either not yet attained to it, or was only just entered upon it. He has a similar expression with respect to himself^u, *περὶ τριακοστὸν γοῦν ἔτος ὑπάρχων*—which, being understood of U. C. 820. *ineunte*, was when he had entered on, but not completed, his thirtieth year. Though, therefore, the number fifteen is recognized by Photius^v, we can scarcely doubt that it is a mistake; which possibly arose on the part of the copyists, from confounding the numeral note *κε'*. (25.) with *ιε'*. (15.)

Phasaëlus was the eldest son of Antipater; and Herod was the next to him^w: we may presume, therefore, that he was but a year or two younger. When Herod was retreating before the

Parthians, U. C. 714, about midsummer^x, he had with him a son of this Phasaëlus, at that time seven years old. He must have been born, therefore, and consequently Phasaëlus must have been married in, or before, U. C. 707: at which time, if Herod was only just turned fifteen, Phasaëlus was probably but sixteen or seventeen. Is it likely that he would be already married at this age? Besides, when Herod himself was contracted to Mariamne, his second wife^y, (which was certainly not later than U. C. 711,) he had already been married to Doris, his first wife. If he was twenty-five in U. C. 707, this might be the case; but it would be very improbable, if he was then only fifteen. The truth is, that Phasaëlus, at twenty-eight or twenty-nine years old, was most probably married U. C. 706 or 707, so as to have a son seven years old U. C. 714: and Herod, when about the same age, U. C. 709 or 710, was married to Doris; so as already to have had Antipater born to him, before his espousals to Mariamne.

It is true, that the marriage of Antipater and Cyprus, the parents of Herod, is first mentioned Ant. xiv. vii. 3. But it is evidently mentioned out of its place: for the same section mentions just before, the death of Crassus, who was consul U. C. 699, and perished in Parthia U. C. 701^z.

^u Vita, 15. ^v Bibliotheca, Cod. 238. p. 315. l. 8, *ad sinistram*. ^w B. Jud. i. x. 4. Ant. xiv. ix. 12. ^x Ant. Jud. xiv. xiv. 1. B. i. xiv. 1. ^y Ant. xiv. xii. 1. B. i. xii. 3. ^z Dio, xl. 17.

from the spring; and so far proceeds by current years, not by complete. There can be no doubt on this point with respect to the shorter date: for the battle of Actium, which is stated to have happened in the seventh of Herod, could not possibly have so happened, unless this seventh be supposed to begin with U. C. 723. *in-eunte*. The great earthquake, which is assigned to the same year, is said to have taken place in the spring^{a*}. The seventh year of Herod, then, is necessarily to be deduced from the spring. There is hardly a date examined by us above, which does not exemplify this principle of Josephus' mode of reckoning, by

It is said in the same place of the Antiquities, as well as Bell. i. viii. 9, that Antipater had deposited his children with the Arabian (that is, with Aretas) while he was engaged in this contest with Aristobulus, the brother of Hyrcanus: which contest ended in the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey, U. C. 691. *ab auctumno*. This assertion would not be true, unless Herod (and, consequently, Phasaëlus) had been committed to the care of Aretas, by the middle of this same year at least; and therefore unless Herod in particular had been born before or in that year. Let us suppose that this last was the case. If he was born U. C. 691. somewhere between the spring and the midsummer, he would be turned of fifteen U. C. 706. and, consequently, of sixteen U. C. 707. *medio*. The statement, therefore, that he was only fifteen in this year, would be inaccurate as before; but still it would be so near the truth, that Josephus, by a lapse of memory, might

unawares have fallen into it. The true year of the birth of Herod, if he died U. C. 751 or 750. and was in his seventieth year when he died, could not have been later than U. C. 682. and might have been as early as U. C. 681. But if Josephus for the moment had forgotten this, and confounded the true year of his birth with U. C. 691. every thing else would follow as matter of course.

Lastly, B. i. ii. 8. the length of the reign of John Hyrcanus is computed at thirty-three entire years; Ant. xiii. x. 7. at thirty-one; Ant. xx. x. at thirty. All these dates may be reconciled together; but the first alone, as dated from the death of his father, is the true one.

* Ant. Jud. xv. v. 4. 5: Herod's victory over the Arabians, obtained soon after this earthquake, was obtained in the summer season; which also proves that the earthquake happened in the spring.

^a B. Jud. i. xix. 3.

current years, much more frequently than by complete. Besides which, if Reland is to be believed^b, the practice of dating the reigns of their kings from the first month in the sacred year, was familiar to the Jews: *Inde etiam anni regum Hebræorum supputabantur; ita ut si quis rex in Adar regnaret, a Nisan alter annus imperii ejus inciperet.*

The work thus begun, as far as concerned the rebuilding of the *ναὸς* in particular, was completed in eighteen months' time; and the period of the completion coincided both with one of the feasts, and with the anniversary of Herod's appointment to be king^c. This anniversary could be nothing but the periodical return of the day when, under circumstances so honourable, and so unexpected to himself, he was first declared king. The year of this appointment was U.C. 714; and the time of the year may be determined as follows:

First; the irruption of the Parthians, which took place U.C. 714^d, took place between the Passover and the Pentecost of that year^e: and consequently the departure of Herod to Rome^f, which was soon after the irruption, was soon after the feast of Pentecost. The time of his departure, therefore, was midsummer, U.C. 714*; and it agrees with the same conclusion, that when

* A great oversight is therefore committed by those critics, who have confounded the time of this departure with midwinter. The mention of *χειμῶνος*, which occurs in the account of his voyage^g, implies nothing more than stormy weather; such as is often encountered about the tro-

pical points of the year: of which history furnishes various examples. Thus Polybius i. 37. the great shipwreck, U. C. 499, in the first Punic war, happened *μεταξὺ...τῆς Ὠρίωνος καὶ Κυνὸς ἐπιτολῆς*: that is, about midsummer. Cf. also Plutarch, Pyrrhus 15.

But the most apposite exam-

^b Antiquitates Hebraicæ. pars iv. cap. i. p. 203. Vide also Buxtorfii Syn. Jud. cap. 17.

^c Ant. Jud. xv. xi. 6.

Jud. i. xiii. 1. 3. Ant. xiv. xiii. 3. 4.

^g Bell. i. xiv. 2. Ant. xiv. xiv. 2. 3.

^d Dio, xlviii. 15. 24. 26.

^e Bell.

^f Bell. i. xiv. 2. Ant. xiv. xiv. 2.

Herod left Egypt, the civil wars in Italy were known to be at their height.

Again: when he arrived at Brundisium both Antony and Cæsar were at Rome. But they were not at Rome, U.C. 714. until after the peace of Brundisium, concluded the same year.

Again: the time of this peace was late in the summer of U.C. 714: for the Ludi Apollinares, which began to be celebrated about the Nones of July, were either over, or passing, before the war itself broke outⁱ. It was later also than the operations of Augustus the same year in Gaul; than the arrival of Antony at Brundisium, from Asia (where he was in the spring); than Augustus' sickness at Canusium; and than the commencement of the siege of Brundisium, posterior to all.

Again: the pacification which ensued was due partly to the death of Fulvia^k, and partly to the instrumentality of Cocceius and Mæcenas; of which Appian has given a particular account^l. This fact is sufficient to prove that the well-known satire of Horace^m, which describes his journey from Rome to Brundisium, was composed a little before the pacification. It mentions the meeting of Mæcenas and Cocceius at Anxurⁿ or Tarracina:

Huc venturus erat Mæcenas, optimus atque
Cocceius: missi magnis de rebus uterque
Legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.

ple is that of the storm which befell the fleet of Augustus, July 1, or 3, U.C. 718, and concerning which the same language as that of Josephus, is used by Appian, B. C. v. 97, 98: ἀρχο- μένου μὲν τοῦ χειμῶνος. A similar

storm happened the year before, from the same quarter, the south, and at the same season, midsummer. Ibid. 88—90. 93. 100. See another instance, Tacitus, Ann. ii. 55.

ⁱ Dio, xlviii. 15. 20. 28. 32. 34. Appian, B. C. v. 57.
Appian, B. C. v. 59. ^l Ib. 60—64.

^m Serm. i. v.

^k Dio, xlviii. 28.
ⁿ Verse 26.

And at verse 32, it mentions also Fonteius Capito, another friend of Antony's ;

..... Antoni, non ut magis alter, amicus.

Now in this satire there are clear allusions to the autumnal season, or to the approach of the autumnal equinoxⁿ; which prove that the peace was concluded about that period of the year*.

Again : after this, Antony and Augustus went to Rome to celebrate the nuptials of Octavia and Antony^o: and the time of their presence there may be thus determined.

First : it was after the usual period when the cornships ought to have arrived^p; that is, it was not earlier than the beginning of September.

* Some of the commentators on Horace, it is true, seem to be of opinion that the conference alluded to in this satire, took place in the autumn of U. C. 717.

But the Scholiast on line 28, appeals to Livy, cxxvii. in proof of the fact of the meeting in question, between Cocceius and Mæcenæ, at Brundisium : and Florus' epitome of this book, which is all that remains of it, abundantly proves that it related to events in U. C. 713 and 714, only.

Plutarch, Antonius, 35. Mæcenæ was certainly present at the negotiations between Cæsar and Antony, U. C. 717 : but at Tarentum, not at Brundisium. In like manner, Appian, B. C. v. 92, mentions a mission of Mæcenæ to Antony, U. C. 716. *exeunte*, or U. C. 717. *ineunte*, (consequently on the same occasion, as appears further from the three next

chapters :) but he mentions none of Cocceius to Augustus. And as to Fonteius Capito, he might be in Italy with Antony, U. C. 717, it is true : but we have no direct proof of it, except that, Plutarch, Antonius, 36. U. C. 718, he was afterwards with him in Syria.

Besides which, it is very doubtful whether Antony himself was still in Italy, so late as the autumn of U. C. 717. Appian, B. C. v. 97. 98. 93. 95 : at the beginning of spring, he sailed from Athens to Tarentum ; and he was certainly in Italy till near the first of July. But we know that early in U. C. 718, he was again in Asia : and though Dio's account of these things (xlviii. 54.) may imply that he was yet in Italy U. C. 718. *ineunte*, this is probably an oversight—or rather it is to be understood of U. C. 717. *exeunte*.

ⁿ Verses 14. 95. 96.
Appian, B. C. v. 66. 67.

^o Appian, B. C. v. 64. 66.

^p Dio, xlviii. 31.

Secondly: it was during the Hippodromia or Ludi Circenses; that is, between September 15. and September 19^q. All these events, both the peace with Antony; the expected arrival of the corn-ships; the celebration of the games; and the news of the renewal of hostilities by Sextus Pompeius; are mentioned by Dio and Appian as nearly coincident. According to the former^r, the two parties were still at Rome on the last days of the year: according to Appian, they went away, apparently soon after their arrival, to Baiæ. Yet he supposes them to have returned again from Baiæ to Rome, after making peace with Sextus; and then to have set out, Cæsar for Gaul, Antony for Greece, where he spent the winter with Octavia at Athens^s; whence it appears that this departure to Baiæ, and the peace concluded with Sextus, took place U. C. 715. If so, the very mention of it, so soon after their arrival in the city, proves that they could not have come to Rome much before the end of the year*.

* It appears also from Dio, xlviii. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36—38, that the peace with Sextus, though determined on, U. C. 714, could not have been concluded before U. C. 715 *ineunte*, at least.

And with respect to the visit to Baiæ, above alluded to, it may perhaps be considered to furnish some note of the time when it happened, if we reflect that the object of such visits was commonly to take the waters in the spring. Every one is familiar with Horace's exclamation, *De Arte Poetica*, 301: *O ego lævus, | Qui purgor bilem sub ver- ni temporis horam.* And in a fragment of Cicero's oration in *P. Clodium et Curionem*, iv. p.

73. it occurs; *Primum homo durus ac priscus invectus est in eos qui mense Aprili apud Baias essent: on which the commentary is, Consuetudo erat multis, ineunte verno, ad aquarum quæ sunt in Campania velut fomenta salubria convenire.* The visit in question, then, most probably took place in the spring. Cf. *Tibullus*, *Lib. iii. v. 1—4.* *Hor. Epp. i. xv.* and elsewhere.

There were other games, which might be understood by the *Hippodromia* in question; called the *Ludi Circenses Plebei*; the time of which was about the middle of November: and according to the calendars, apud *Foggini*, Nov. 15—17. But the Hippo-

^q Dio, xlviii. 31.

^r *Ib.* 32.

^s B. C. v. 69. 74—76.

Again: it appears from Dio^t, that for a time after their arrival, especially during the Ludi Circenses, there were great disturbances at Rome; by which the life of Augustus himself was once seriously endangered. Nor did these cease until the people had carried their point; which was to oblige Antony and Augustus to make peace with Sextus Pompeius. I think it is clear from the account of Josephus, that these commotions were over at the time of the arrival of Herod. If so, he did not arrive until after the Ludi Circenses; that is, until after September 19. in this year. Accordingly, about the third week in September I place the precise time of his arrival: which would thus coincide with the celebration of the Jewish feast of Tabernacles; for that began, U.C. 714. on September 14. And as he was detained only seven days in all^u, after his arrival and before his departure, the anniversary of his appointment would necessarily fall almost every year about the time of this feast*.

dromia ἀπλῶς can scarcely be understood of any thing but the Ludi Circenses as such, or the Ludi Romani in Circo: Sept. 15—19. Vide the *Calendaria* in question.

Appian, B.C. v. 75. 76. supposes Antony to have made Herod king at Athens, U. C. 715: where he proposed to winter: which also is some proof that he did not make him so at Rome, until late, U.C. 714.

* That it did so, at least, in the year when he had done rebuilding the temple, might be collected from the allusion to the feast itself; and may thus be further proved.

By means of an eclipse of the moon, U. C. 735. B.C. 19. June 25, which has been calculated in Pingré's Tables, it may be shewn that the Jewish passover would not be celebrated, the year when Herod finished the temple, later than March 28. In this case the feast of Tabernacles, which was six lunations or one hundred and seventy-seven days exactly after that, would not begin later than Sept. 21. This is a very critical coincidence; and must go far to strengthen our inference that Herod arrived at Rome, and was appointed king, sometime about the last week in September: for though the feast of Ta-

^t Loc. cit. Vide also Appian, B. C. v. 68. Suetonius, Aug. 16. Vell. Pat. ii. 77.

^u Ant. Jud. xiv. xiv. 5.

I think it is a striking confirmation of the same conclusion, that during the time of his absence the siege of Masada was going on, not only through the heat of the summer, but exactly until the recurrence of the autumnal rains^v; the period of which in Judæa was commonly about a month later than the feast of Tabernacles*.

It is very true, that after Herod's return to Judæa, and the mention of his landing at Ptolemais^w, there is no reference made to more than two winters, or two campaigns^x; before he was in possession of Jerusalem. But the second of these winters was the winter posterior to the siege of Samosata, in which Herod assisted Antony^y: and the time of that siege may be determined, independently of Josephus, as follows.

When Augustus Cæsar had just reduced Perusia^z, (which, according to Suetonius, was before the Ides of March, U.C. 714.) and while the Parthians were still in possession of Judæa—Antony, says Dio, ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἦρα^a. After he had at length been roused from his lethargy, he left Egypt and sailed first to Tyre; thence, along the coast of Asia, to Greece; and finally to Italy: where he laid siege to Brundisium^b. After this, the events ensued which we have considered already.

From Brundisium, as soon as the peace was concluded, according to Appian^c, he dispatched Ventidius

bernacles had begun September 21, it would not be over until September 28. Vide infra the Table of Jewish Feasts in Dissertation vii.

once, as to fill the reservoirs of the besieged in a single night, could never have set in, in Judæa, before the end of October, or beginning of November.

* Rain in such quantities, at

^v B. Jud. i. xv. 1. Ant. xiv. xiv. 6.

^x Ant. xiv. xv. 3. 4. 11. 12. 14. B. i. xv. 6. xvi. 1. 2. xvii. 1. 3. 6. 8.

^y B. i. xvi. 7. Ant. xiv. xv. 8. 9.

^z Appian, B. C. v. 34. Dio, xlviii. 15. 14.

Suet. Aug. 15. Vell. Pat. ii. 74.

^a Dio, xlviii. 24.

^b Ib. 27. Appian,

B. C. v. 52. 56.

^c B. C. v. 65.

^w B. Jud. i. xv. 3. Ant. xiv. xv. 1.

into Asia. Nor is this much at variance with Dio^d, who seems to place his mission in the following year, U. C. 715, when Antony himself was at Athens. Both Dio and Appian^e shew that for the whole of U. C. 715. Antony was resident at Athens. They shew also that at the beginning of U. C. 716. he either did meet, or was to have met, Augustus again at Brundisium^f.

In the mean while, Ventidius had gained several victories over the Parthians—one, soon after his arrival, U. C. 715, in which he slew Pharnapates, the lieutenant of Pacorus; the effect of which, among other things, was the recovery of Syria and Palestine, where Antigonus is spoken of as still king^g: another and a still more splendid one^h in the following year, U. C. 716, when he defeated and slew Pacorus himself. This success he was proceeding to follow up by attacking Antiochus, the king of the Commagenes, when Antony arrived, and took the command of his army in person: the first operation after which was the siege of Samosata*.

* Ventidius gained in all three victories over the Parthians, the two first, U. C. 715, over Labienus and Pharnapates, near mount Taurus, and Amanus, and the Pylæ Ciliciæ, respectively: the third, U. C. 716, over Pacorus, in the regio Cyrrhestica of Syria: Dio xlviii. 39—41: xlix. 19. 20. Plutarch, Antonius, 33. 34. Some further particulars, relating to these several victories, are found, Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 8. 310: Florus, iv. 9: Frontinus Strateg. i. 1, 6: ii. 2, 5.

The same successes must also be alluded to in the following

fragments, falsely perhaps ascribed to Cornelius Gallus, yet not unworthy of their reputed author. Non fuit Arsacidum tanti expugnare Seleucen, | Itaque ultori signa referre Jovi; | Ut desiderio nostri curaque Lycoris | Heu! jaceat menses pæne sepulta novem. Lines 1—4. Again, line 51: Illic bellantum juvenum studiosa figuras, | Atque audita levi prælia pingit acu. | Pingit et Euphratis currentes mollius undas, | Victricesque aquilas sub duce Ventidio: | Qui nunc Crassorum manes, direptaque signa | Vindicat, Augusti Cæsaris au-

^d Dio, xlviii. 34. 39.

^e Dio, xlviii. 39. Appian, B. C. v. 76.

^f Dio,

xlvi. 43. 46. Appian, B. C. v. 78. 79.

^g Dio, xlviii. 40. 41.

^h Dio, xlviii.

43. xlix. 19—22. Cf. Ant. xiv. xv. 7. B. i. xvi. 6.

It is manifest, therefore, that this siege could not have been begun by Antony before the midsummer of U. C. 716*; and, consequently, the winter after that siege was the winter of U. C. 716. This winter both the Antiquities and the History of the Warⁱ expressly declare to be part of the third year since Herod's appointment to be king at Rome. The third year, from that appointment, dated September U. C. 714, would expire with September U. C. 717. and begin with September U. C. 716. It is, consequently, evident that Herod did not return to Judæa, or did not commence any operations after his return, until the spring of U. C. 715: and if he was appointed only in the latter end of September U. C. 714, it was impossible that, by any degree of dispatch, he could have arrived in Judæa from Italy, so as to take the field, before the spring of the following year*.

spiciis. | Parthe, tumens animis,
et nostra clade superbus, | Hic
quoque, Romano stratus ab hoste,
jaces. Page 301. 302.

Now it is recorded as a remarkable coincidence, that Pacorus was defeated and killed by Ventidius on the very same day of the month, U. C. 716, on which Crassus had been defeated and killed by the Parthian general, Surena, U. C. 701. Dio, xl. 21: Eutropius, vi. 5: Plutarch, Crassus 29: and Dio, xl. 23: would prove that this was some day about midsummer in general: but the old Roman calendar, and Ovid, Fasti, vi. 463. seqq. shew it to be the feast-day of Vesta, v Idus Junias, or June 9. Scilicet interdum miscentur tristia lætis; | Ne populum toto pectore festa juvent. | Crassus ad Euphraten aquilas, natumque, suosque | Perdidit: et leto est

ultimus ipse datus. | Parthe, quid exsultas? dixit Dea. signa remittes: | Quique necem Crassi vindicet ultor erit.

It is scarcely possible, then, that the siege of Samosata could have been begun before July at the earliest, in the same year.

* Ant. Jud. xiv. xv. 10, 11: B. i. xvii. 1. 3: while Herod was absent upon this expedition to Samosata, his brother Joseph was killed near Jericho, at a time which it appears was corn-harvest, ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέρος. Yet Herod heard of his death first at Daphne, near Antioch, on his return, as the context immediately after shews, just before the winter season set in.

* After this, the assertion of Dio, that Sosius and Herod took Jerusalem, in the consulate of Norbanus and Claudius, U. C. 716, is not to be implicitly re-

i B. i. xvii. 8. Ant. xiv. xv. 14.

These points, then, being previously established, the year of the death of Herod is a necessary consequence.

ceived: no more than his assertion that Antigonus, being made prisoner, was put to death by Sosius^k. The siege of Samosata itself was not over until near the end of that year; when it was too late to commence operations against Jerusalem: and in ascribing the execution of Antigonus to Sosius, Dio would be contradicted by Strabo^l, by Josephus^m, and by Plutarchⁿ: besides that *he* asserts that Antigonus was crucified; *they*, that he was beheaded: not to mention, that the execution of a king even in this last manner, and by one like Antony himself, being an unexampled occurrence, it is not credible that his legate Sosius, on his own responsibility, would venture to take such a step as the putting Antigonus to death, or otherwise ill-treating him, in a much more ignominious way.

The truth is this. There was no further mention of Antony in Dio, lib. xlviii. after cap. 46. U. C. 716, when he was said to have returned from Brundisium to Greece; until cap. 54, when he is said to have come again from Syria to Italy; implying that in the meanwhile he had been in Syria: and from Italy he is supposed to sail again into Syria, to prosecute the Parthian war; and all this before the be-

ginning of the consular year 718^o. At the beginning of U. C. 717, Appian also, as we have seen, shews he was again at Athens; and soon after he makes him set out from Tarentum to Syria, on another expedition against the Parthians^p.

In U. C. 716, towards the close of the year, after having made peace with Antiochus; and left Sosius to prosecute the war in Judæa; Antony himself departed from Samosata to Egypt, and afterwards to Greece^q. The whole of the next year, U. C. 717, was taken up by him in going to, and returning from, Italy^r; while his lieutenant was besieging Jerusalem. At the beginning of U. C. 718. he renewed his operations against the Parthians^s; and in the winter of the same year he was forced to retreat into Armenia^t. On his way from Egypt into the East, he would pass through Antioch; and, while he was there; consequently, U. C. 718, *ineunte*; according to the correct account of Strabo, he put Antigonus (at that time a prisoner and in confinement) to death^v.

Whatsoever weight is due to the chronologer Africanus—with regard to the points in dispute—it is all on the side of Josephus. Vide the Reliquiæ Sacræ,

^k xlviii. 43. xlix. 22.

^l Ant. Jud. xv. 1. 2. xx. x.

^m B. i. xviii. 3.

Ant. xiv. xvi. 4.

ⁿ Antonius, 36.

^o Dio, xlviii. 49. 54.

^p B. C. v. 93.

95. ^q B. Jud. i. xvii. 2. Ant. xiv. xv. 9.

Plutarch, Antonius, 34.

^r Dio,

xlix. 22. 23.

^s Ib. 17. 18. 24.

^t Ib. 25—31.

^v It is not, indeed,

clear from the text of Dio, that his statements are after all at variance with those of our other authorities. The putting Antigonus to death seems to be attributed to Sosius; but it will bear to be understood as the act of Antony. Dio's conciseness, in this instance, is the source of all the confusion and seeming contradiction in question.

If the length of his reign be computed at thirty-seven years, and it began U.C. 714, it ended U.C. 751: if it be computed at thirty-four, and began U.C. 717. it ended U.C. 751. If it is to be computed in either case from the spring, it is to be computed from about the passover: and it is certain that it terminated close to the passover^u. If so, the length of his reign was thirty-seven or thirty-four years complete: and the time of his death was the passover, U.C. 751.

This conclusion agrees with every other note of time in reference to the same thing, which is to be observed in Josephus.

First: if Herod at the time of his death was nearly seventy, he must have been born in the spring or

ii. xlix. 177—182, or Syncellus, i. 581—584.

He supposes Herod to go to Rome, when he was made king, Ol. 185: to reduce Antigonus, aided by Sosius, in three years, and to reign thirty-four years afterwards. Antigonus he supposes to have been put to death by Antony himself—at the time of one of his Parthian expeditions; and all before, or early in Olympiad 186.

It is peculiar, however, to the Olympiads of this chronologer, that they do not stand for regular Olympic cycles, but merely for leap years as such—which agreed with the former in recurring every four years: and thence the denomination of Olympiads, as applied to them.

This appears from his saying that the 188th Olympiad followed on the capture of Alexandria,

U.C. 724 or 725. The regular 188th Olympiad would begin U. C. 726, which was not a leap year. But B. C. 29. U. C. 725, was a leap year, the fourth in succession from the first Julian year, as such, U.C. 709, B.C. 45.

It appears, also, most plainly from what is said of the 189th Olympiad: *ἡν ὀλυμπιάς ρπθ'. ἥτις πρὸ 5'. καλανδῶν Μαρτίων κατὰ Ἀντιοχείς κδ'. ἡχθη δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τῶν ιδίων ὅρων ἔσθη ὁ ἐνιαυτός.* *Æræ Antiochenæ* 24, coincided with U. C. 728—729, B. C. 26—25, the latter of which was *bissextile*, being *twenty* years complete, from U. C. 709, B. C. 45.

On this principle, Africanus might truly place the death of Cleopatra, Ol. 187. 4, or U. C. 724. B.C. 30. His 185th Olympiad, therefore, bears date, U.C. 713, B. C. 41; his 186th, U. C. 717, B. C. 37; his 187th, U. C. 721, B. C. 33, &c.

^u Ant. Jud. xvii. viii. 1—ix. 3. Bell. ii. i. 1—3.

summer: and if he was twenty-five complete, as we have supposed, U. C. 707, he would have been seventy complete U. C. 752; and therefore would be about to enter on his seventieth year U. C. 751: and that very possibly near the time of the passover itself.

Secondly: the census of Quirinius is placed in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium^v; and in the same year as the deprivation of Archelaus^w. The thirty-seventh year from the battle of Actium expired September 1. U. C. 760. The census of Quirinius, therefore, was held either in the last half of U. C. 759, or the first half of U. C. 760; to determine between which, besides a general reason which will appear elsewhere, we must consider the exact period of the deprivation of Archelaus.

By Dio^x, his banishment is mentioned U. C. 759; which, though an erroneous statement in itself, is some proof that this event ought to be placed early U. C. 760. The Antiquities place his disgrace in his tenth, the War in his ninth, year^y; to make which statements consistent, we must suppose him to have reigned nine years complete and part of a tenth; or ten current years*.

* If the length of the reign of Archelaus is computed in the History of the War, from the time of his appointment to the throne by Augustus, and in the Antiquities from the time of his father's death; the two statements will be perfectly in harmony together. The death of Herod must have happened in the spring; but the ratification of his will, by the Roman emperor, could not have taken place until three or four months after.

On this principle, also, the different accounts respecting the number of the ears of corn, which he is said to have seen in his dream, may be rendered consistent. This number is stated in the History of the War as *nine*, and in the Antiquities as *ten*: and by the number of the ears in either, it is obvious that we are to understand the number of harvests, between the appointment and the deprivation of Archelaus, which he could be supposed to have witnessed. The

^v Ant. xviii. ii. 1.
xiii. 2. Bell. ii. vii. 3.

^w Ibid. xvii. xiii. 5.

^x lv. 25. 27.

^y Ant. xvii.

If so, he was deposed in the latter half of the thirty-seventh year from the battle of Actium; which was the

last harvest which he could have witnessed in either case, was the harvest of the year of his removal. Let us assume that this was the harvest of U. C. 760: and that Herod died in the spring of U. C. 751. From the spring of U. C. 751, to the mid-summer of U. C. 760, there would be ten harvests in all; which is the statement of the Antiquities: but from the confirmation of Archelaus by Augustus, (which was three or four months later,) to the same time, there could be only nine: which is the statement in the War.

The species of corn, which he is supposed to have seen, is wheat; and, therefore, the harvest implied in each instance is the wheat-harvest, and not the barley; the time of which, in Judæa, was never much later than the feast of Pentecost. And it is certain that it was not before the feast of Pentecost, subsequent to the death of Herod, at least, that Archelaus was confirmed in his government by Augustus^a. This Pentecost, U. C. 751, when the passover fell on March 31, as may be seen from the Table of Feasts in Dissertation vii, fell upon May 21. It is certain, also, that within five days after his dream, he received the orders of the emperor to repair to Rome^b.

Now the arrival of Quirinius in Judæa, one object of whose coming was to confiscate the property of Archelaus on the

emperor's account, having taken place forthwith upon the departure of the deposed monarch; cannot be placed either before, or much after, the last of the harvests which Archelaus had witnessed. The last harvest, then, was the harvest of the year when Quirinius came into Judæa; which year Josephus himself makes the thirty-seventh from the battle of Actium. The harvest of this year was the harvest of U. C. 760. The harvest of the year before that would be the harvest of U. C. 759. Nor could Quirinius have come into Judæa after the harvest of U. C. 759, unless he had come there in the thirty-sixth year from the battle of Actium; or unless he had arrived after the second of September, U. C. 759, at least; that is, in the first half of the thirty-seventh: against which supposition there are these three objections; first, that there is no instance on record of any governor, whether of Judæa or of Syria, arriving in his province for the first time, so late as the winter-half of a given year: secondly, that Quirinius having been sent to take the census of certain regions, he would be sent at the time most convenient for this purpose; which would certainly be in the summer: thirdly, he is said to have been dispatched from Rome to take the census of Syria as well as of Judæa, besides securing the effects of Archelaus; whence we may conclude that,

^a Ant. xvii. x. 2. to xi. 1—5. Bell. ii. iii. 1—vi. 1—3. Bell. ii. vii. 3.

^b Ant. xvii. xiii. 3.

first half of U. C. 760. The year U. C. 760, therefore, was the tenth of Archelaus incomplete; and, consequently, U. C. 751. was his first. The same thing is implied by the mention of a passover^z so soon after his removal from the throne. The census beginning to be executed U. C. 760, *medio*, Archelaus had reigned nine years and three or four months before it.

Thirdly: the death of Philip the tetrarch is placed^a in the twentieth of Tiberius, and the thirty-seventh of his own reign. The twentieth of Tiberius began August 19, U. C. 786, and ended August 18, U. C. 787; and the beginning of Philip's reign is necessarily to be dated from the spring. Hence if he died in the spring of U. C. 787, and reigned 37 years complete, he began to reign U. C. 750. *ineunte*; which would make the death of his father to have happened in the spring of U. C. 750. If this cannot have been the case, Philip had not reigned thirty-seven years complete, at the time of his death: but he had reigned thirty-six years

though both these purposes are specified as the object of his mission conjointly, the former was more properly so; and, therefore, that he was on the spot already, when Archelaus was ordered by Augustus' messenger, to Rome; and consequently would come into Judæa himself as soon as Archelaus left it.

To these considerations we may add the following; that the census appears to have been completed in the interim between two feasts: for the removal of the high priest Jōazar, and the appointment of Ananus in his stead, which is ascribed to Quirinius, after the census was over^b, we may take it for

granted would be either preparatory to a feast of Tabernacles, or not until one was past. If Quirinius came into the province about midsummer, and with his accustomed dispatch of business finished the census in four or five months' time; the first of these suppositions, which is the more probable of the two, might actually have been the case. For the census, being begun about the Pentecost, U. C. 760, which Pentecost fell that year upon May 11, would thus be completed by the time of the feast of Tabernacles, which was about September 15. Vide Dissertation vii.

^z Ant. Jud. xviii. ii. 2.

^a Ant. Jud. xviii. iv. 6.

^b Ant. xviii. ii. 1.

complete and part of a thirty-seventh. If so, his thirty-sixth year expired with U. C. 787. *ineunte*: and, consequently, his first began U. C. 751, *ineunte*.

Fourthly: both in the Antiquities and in the War the foundation of Cæsarea-Philippi is ascribed to the tetrarch Philip; and in both it is made to synchronise with the foundation of Julias upon the Lake of Galilee. In both, too, the former is implied or asserted to have been founded in honour of Augustus, and the latter in honour of Julia his daughter. Further than this, however, the War and the Antiquities are not in unison: the former placing the foundation of each city about the time of the death of Augustus; and the latter, about the time of the removal of Archelaus^e. In the midst of this uncertainty we are bound to prefer the testimony of the Antiquities; which being understood of the time when these cities, and especially the more considerable of the two, Cæsarea, after having been begun some years before, were finally completed, may not be far from the truth.

The exact era of its foundation, however, which Josephus has left indefinite, may be ascertained by the help of its coins: and as so discovered, cardinal Noris had fixed it to some year between U. C. 751. and U. C. 755^f: but Eckhel, in his work *De Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, shews that it must be confined to still narrower limits; and, in fact, is neither earlier nor later than U. C. 751.^g This is a strong presumptive argument that the reign of Philip, the founder of Cæsarea, is to be dated from that year; and that year only.

It is certain that he could not lay the foundation of the city until after his father's death, and his own

^e Bell. ii. ix. 1. Ant. xviii. ii. 1.
§. iv. pp. 442—451.

^g iii. 342.

^f De Anno et Epochis, Diss. iv. cap. iv.

confirmation by Augustus in the tetrarchy bequeathed unto him; and it is equally certain that, had he begun to lay the foundation in any year before U. C. 751, the coins of Cæsarea would not have borne date from U. C. 751. The presence of Philip as well as of Archelaus at Rome, before the decision of Augustus, and at a time which the context proves to have been between the passover when Herod died, and the feast of Pentecost next after it, when fresh disturbances broke out at Jerusalem; is attested by Josephus*^h. Philip, and the deputation of the Jews, which Josephus mentions, both must have set out together, and both before the nation rose in arms; that is, not only before Pentecost, but soon after the departure of Archelaus. For it was soon after this event that the Jews began to rebel openly; and this was the rebellion, news of which was brought to Rome by letters from Varus; and to suppress which Varus went himself to Jerusalem, and left the legion there. After the ensuing Pentecost, when he was there again—in order to rescue Sabinus, and this legion—and had crucified two thousand of the Jews, and received the submission of the rest, the rebellion was at an end.

Consequently, though the time of Augustus' decision, which was only a few days later than the previous audience of this deputationⁱ, could not be earlier than the feast of Pentecost in question; still both Archelaus and Philip must have been soon after that feast confirmed in their respective possessions; and in the course of the same

* We find it distinctly asserted, Bell. ii. vi. 1. that the deputation of the Jews, there mentioned, was sent to Rome by permission of Varus, before the revolt; and consequently

immediately after Varus was at Jerusalem for the first time. Now this was soon after Varus and Archelaus met at Cæsarea, when the latter was on his way to Rome.

^h Ant. xvii. x. 1—xi. 1—4. Bell. ii. iii. 1—vi. 1. 3. ⁱ Ant. xvii. xi. 4. B. ii. vi. 3.

summer would doubtless return home again. It would be in the power of the latter, then, to lay the foundation of Cæsarea U.C. 751, before the autumnal quarter of that year itself; in which case, the coins of this city would naturally proceed from that date: though if the foundation had been laid any time before the autumn of U. C. 752, they would still do the same. When we consider, indeed, how much later an original Josephus appears to ascribe to it; it becomes not improbable that its coins were meant to be referred to the first year of the reign of its founder, as to the first and proper epoch of its own existence: which, if the first year of Philip and the foundation of Cæsarea coincided together, would be in fact the same thing.

Fifthly: among the coins of Ascalon, there is one described by Eckhel^k, which exhibits a double date, $\frac{\epsilon N}{BP}$; that is, 56 and 102. Now the occurrence of double dates on ancient coins is so rare a circumstance, that even from the elaborate work of this author, three more only which exhibit the same peculiarity—one a coin of Antioch in Syria, and the other two coins of Gaza—can be produced, to compare with this of Ascalon^l. It is an obvious conjecture, therefore, that the double date on this coin must be an index of something peculiar; and something which concerned Ascalon more especially.

The larger of the two dates is necessarily to be referred, as Eckhel demonstrates, to U. C. 650; which being the case, it follows that the coin was struck between the autumn of U. C. 751, and that of U. C. 752. Moreover, it has been shewn elsewhere^m, that until the time of the death of Herod, Gaza and the neighbouring cities, among which Ascalon would naturally be

^k iii. 446.

^l iv. 403.

^m Supra, Diss. ii. 178.

included, were more or less subject to him, and part of the territory of Judæaⁿ: but that, upon his death, they were attached to the province of Syria. Were the fact of this attachment doubtful concerning any of the rest, it would still be certain in the case of Ascalon: for when Augustus decided on the will of Herod, while he confirmed it in its other particulars, he sanctioned it also in what related to Salome the sister of Herod; to whom her brother had left Jamnia, Azotus, and Phasaëlis. In addition to this bequest, the emperor gave her his palace in Ascalon^o; but, as he gave her only this, the rest of the city was not made subject to her. Nor yet was it given to Archelaus: it was assigned, therefore, to none of the family of Herod; but like Gaza, Gadara*, and Hippos, contiguous cities, became incorporated with the province of Syria; or ceased at least to be connected with the native authorities of Judæa.

Now the people of Ascalon, as we are told by Philo and Josephus^p, were distinguished by a bitter ill-will to the Jews; nothing, then, was so likely to give them pleasure as this change in their political relations, when they were transferred from the dominion of Herod, or of any of his family, to that of the Roman presidents. It is probable, therefore, that the coin with the double date was struck expressly to commemorate this change. The minor number, in order to synchronise with the greater, must be dated from the autumn of U. C. 696: and this year, as we have seen elsewhere^q, was the

* Besides Gadara in Decapolis, there was a Gadara on the sea coast of Palestine. Vide Strabo xvi. 2. §. 29. 348: and Ste-

phanus, De Urbibus. 1 Maccabees xv. 28. 35. xvi. 1. 21. this Gadara is called Gazara.

ⁿ Cf. B. Jud. i. xxi. 11. Ant. xvi. viii. 4, 5. ^o Ant. xvii. xi. 5. B. ii. vi. 3. ^p Philo, ii. 576. l. 18: De Virtutibus. Bell. Jul. iii. ii. 1. ^q Supra Diss. ii. loc. cit.

very year before U. C. 697, when Gabinius, after his consulate, came into Syria; and soon after which, it is probable, he caused Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and other towns, including, as we may suppose, Ascalon itself, to be either rebuilt or repaired.

From the autumn of the year before U. C. 697 might, consequently, be dated the first close and beneficial connection of those parts with the Roman government; the memory whereof the people of Ascalon might desire to revive, by striking such a coin as this, when they were finally transferred to that government in the reign of Augustus. If so, this transfer, and, therefore, the death of Herod, took place U. C. 751. It is peculiar also to this coin that it makes one of a consecutive series, before and after it; bearing the dates AP. BP. ΓΡ. 101. 102. 103. U. C. 750—751. 751—752. 752—753. respectively. Had, then, the transfer of Ascalon to Syria, and the death of Herod, taken place in the first of these years, and not in the second, we should have found a double date, $\frac{EN}{AP}$, on the first of these coins; if in the last, we should have found it, in $\frac{ZN}{ΓΡ}$, on the third*.

* No conclusion of any kind can be drawn from the assertion in the Antiquities, that within an hundred years after the death of Herod, almost all his posterity had become extinct^z. The Antiquities were composed in the thirteenth year of Domitian^a; that is, between September, U. C. 846, and September, U. C. 847. The above assertion, then, might still hold good, though Herod had died either U. C. 749, or U. C. 750, or U. C. 751. A similar general statement occurs

B. Jud. vii. viii. 4. at the time of the capture of Masada, U. C. 826: viz. that Herod had fortified it an hundred years before; which literally understood would be U. C. 726. But if Herod designed this castle as a place of refuge, in case of danger, for himself, before the death of Cleopatra; it could not have been fortified later than U. C. 723 or 724. Josephus' expression is certainly qualified, and will admit of being understood to denote a few years less

^z xviii. v. 3.

^a xx. xi. 2.

The result of our reasonings, hitherto, is to this effect ; that the death of Herod cannot be placed either earlier or later than the spring quarter of U. C. 751. The building of the temple, therefore, which was begun in his eighteenth year, and the completion of which, a year and six months afterwards, coincided with the annual recurrence of a feast of Tabernacles ; must have been begun about the time of a feast of the Passover. It was begun, then, about the time of the passover in the eighteenth year of his reign : that is, U. C. 734 : and the context of the account alone ^d is sufficient to prove that the time, when Herod proposed to undertake the work, was some time when the people were assembled ; and, consequently, at one of the feasts. From the passover U. C. 734, to the passover U. C. 751, there were seventeen years complete. The remainder of the calculation originally proposed is too simple to require any proof. The emperor Augustus died on the nineteenth of August U. C. 767, and the passover U. C. 780, was the middle of the thirteenth of Tiberius. From the passover U. C. 734, to this passover U. C. 780, there were forty-six years complete : for the passover in the former year fell upon April 7, and in the latter, upon April 9. Vide Diss. vii.

than one hundred, as well as that number exactly, or even more : καίτοι σχεδὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πα-

ρασκευῆς εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἄλω-
σιν, ἑκατὸν ἦν χρόνος ἐτῶν.

^d Ant. Jud. xv. xi. 1. 2.

DISSERTATION VI.

On the time of the deposal of Herod Antipas, and on the eclipse before the death of Herod.

THERE is in existence a coin of Herod Antipas, to which, among other considerations relating to the time of the death of his father, a reference is frequently made; and which, if the date of Herod's deposal from the tetrarchy of Galilee could be satisfactorily determined, would naturally be of great use in fixing the beginning of his reign, and, consequently, the year of the death of his father. But the question concerning this date, like many others, is encumbered with difficulties which it is not easy to remove.

The coin (a small one and of brass) exhibits on one of its faces, within a crown of laurel, the characters ΓΑΙΩ. ΚΑΙCΑ. ΓΕΡΜ. CEB. Caio Cæsari Germanico Augusto: and on the other, a branch of palm, surrounded by the inscription ΗΡΩΔΗC. ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΗC. with the numeral character ΛΜΓ. Herodes tetrarcha, anno quadragesimo tertio^a. It must have been struck, then, sometime in the reign of Caius Cæsar; that is, in some one of the years between March 16, U. C. 790, and January 24, U. C. 794. Its date will not apply either to the first two, or to the last of these years; and the question, which we have to discuss, lies between the third and the fourth; U. C. 792, and U. C. 793. If the coin was struck U. C. 792, the first year of Herod Antipas must have been U. C. 750: if it was struck U. C. 793, it must have been U. C. 751. The last of these conclusions is entirely in unison with the date of the death of Herod, which we have other-

^a Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. iii. 486.

wise established; the first is at variance with it, and antedates that death by at least one year.

According to Josephus, Herod Agrippa, who succeeded Antipas in his tetrarchy, died in the seventh year of his reign; four years of which he passed under Caius; and the remainder under Claudius: τέτταρας μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Γαίῳ Καίσαρος ἐβασίλευσεν ἐνιαυτούς—τρεῖς δὲ ἐπιλαβὼν ἐπὶ τῆς Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος αὐτοκρατορίας ^b. For the first three of these years he was in possession only of the tetrarchy which had belonged to his uncle Philip: τῆς Φιλίππου μὲν τετραρχίας εἰς τριετίαν ἄρξας ^b. In the fourth he received the accession of that of Antipas: τῷ τετάρτῳ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου προσειληφώς ^b. He was invested with the tetrarchy of Philip not many days after the decease of Tiberius, March 16, U. C. 790 ^c. The first year, then, of his three years' possession of this tetrarchy begins and proceeds from U. C. 790; the fourth year, consequently, or that in which he received the accession of the tetrarchy of Antipas, begins and proceeds from U. C. 793.

Now, in the account of the disgrace of Antipas, the tetrarchy of which he was deprived, together with the rest of his possessions, is said to have been conferred by Caius upon Agrippa: τὴν τετραρχίαν ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν, προσθήκην τῇ Ἀγρίππου βασιλείᾳ ποιεῖται ^d. And it is clearly implied by the account, that these two things were simultaneous—that the grant was made to the one at the very time when his dominions were taken from the other. If so, the banishment of Herod took place in the fourth year after the appointment of Agrippa to the tetrarchy of Philip; (that is, in the consular year 793;) at least: and this conclusion is confirmed by the testimony of Philo, so far as to imply

^b Ant. xix. viii. 2.

^c Ant. Jud. xviii. vi. 10. Bell. ii. ix. 6. Dio, lix. 8.

^d Ant. xviii. vii. 2.

that in the last year of Caius, U.C. 793, (and about the middle of the summer, as it will be proved by and by,) Agrippa was already in possession of this addition to his original dominions. Τὸν μέγιστον καὶ εὐτυχέστατον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλῆρον ἔχαρίσω μοι, βασιλείαν, πάλαι μὲν μιᾶς χώρας, αὐθις δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας μερίζονος, τὴν Τραχωνίτιν λεγομένην καὶ τὴν Γαλιλαίαν συνάψας^e. Trachonitis, it is true, had formerly belonged to Philip^f, and, therefore, must have been included in the original grant*. Nor is it asserted that it was now first bestowed; as it will appear from the version of the words in question: The greatest piece of good fortune which can fall to the lot of men, you graciously bestowed upon me, viz. a kingdom—as given me a good while ago—over a single region; and afterwards over another, and a greater; when you united together Trachonitis, as it is called, and Galilee. It is implied, then, that he was before in possession of Trachonitis, but only of that; whereas, by the recent extension of his dominions, Trachonitis had been united to Galilee; and he had been put into possession of a kingdom, which consisted of both.

Unless, therefore, we were to consider it probable that the tetrarchy of Antipas might remain still undisposed of, for some length of time after his banishment; that is, unless Josephus, who makes his banishment and the disposal of his dominions to have been coincident events, is not entitled to implicit credit; the year of the grant of Galilee to Herod Agrippa was necessarily

* The grant of the tetrarchy of Philip as such to Agrippa is alluded to by Philo, in the following words, *Adversus Flac-cum*: *Operum* ii. 520. line 46:

Γάιος Καίσαρ Ἀγρίππᾳ τῷ Ἡρώδου βασιλείῳ νύμφῃ δίδωσι βασιλείαν, τῆς παππῶας λήξεως τρίτην μοῖραν, ἣν Φίλιππος τετράρχης, θεῖος ὦν αὐτῷ πρὸς πατρός, ἐκαρπούτο.

^e *De Virtutibus*, ii. 593. l. 37.

^f *Ant. Jud.* xviii. iv. 6. *Luke* iii. 1.

the year of the removal of Herod Antipas; and neither can be placed except in the fourth and last year of Caius, U. C. 793.

We are informed by Josephus, that after the original appointment of Agrippa to the first portion of his dominions, he did not revisit Judæa before the second year of Caius, U. C. 791^g: and that the time of his return was in the autumn of that year may be further inferred from Philo^h, who shews that, acting by the advice of Caius and taking advantage of the Etesian winds, he returned by way of Alexandria in Egypt. The Etesian winds did not usually set in before the middle of Julyⁱ: and, consequently, Agrippa could not set sail for Egypt before the middle of July or the beginning of August. The same thing is implied in the course of the narrative subsequently, by the allusion to the harvest in Egypt^k, as over; and also to the birth-day of Caius^l, that is, August 31^m, as arrived or past about the time when Agrippa was at Alexandria. And that all this was in the second year of Caius appears from the fact that the mourning for the death of Drusilla, the favourite sister of Caius, was still a recent eventⁿ. Drusilla did not die before the second of Caius^o. The younger Tiberius, and Macro, were also both dead^p; and neither had the latter been put to death before the second of Caius^q.

Now it was this return of Agrippa home, invested with the insignia of royalty, and enriched by the grant of his uncle Philip's dominions, which excited the envy of his sister Herodias, at that time the wife of Antipas: who still remembered that he had been recently a dependent on the bounty of her husband, whose

^g Ant. xviii. vi. 11. ^h Adv. Flaccum, ii. 521. l. 3. ⁱ Pliny, H. N. ii. 47.
^k Philo, Adv. Flaccum, ii. 526. l. 34. ^l Ibid. 529. l. 6—23. ^m Suet. Caius, 8. Dio, lix. 7. ⁿ Philo, Adv. Flaccum, 525. l. 34. ^o Dio, lix. 9. 10. 11. 13. Suet. Cai. 24. ^p Philo, Adv. Flaccum, ii. 520. l. 22. ^q Dio, lix. 10.

equal he was now become^r. Her ambition, then, being stimulated in behalf of her husband, she began to urge him to go to Rome also; and to solicit from Caius the name and dignity of king; if not an accession of his kingdom.

If this account be correct, she could not have begun to urge her suit before the second of Caius; nor before the end of that year at least. Josephus tells us^s, that Herod for a long time would not listen to her; and when he gave way to her entreaties at last, that he did not set out except with great pomp and state; sparing no expense, but making all the preparation for the success of his suit, in his power. On these preparations time would necessarily be spent: to which, if we add the consideration of the delay before his mind was made up to the journey, which must have taken place previously—it will follow, that he could not have set out from Judæa before the midsummer of U. C. 792, the middle of the third of Caius, at the earliest.

Agrippa was aware both of his departure and of its design; and either at the time, or immediately after the time, when Herod set out, he dispatched his freedman Fortunatus, to defeat his purpose: and both the parties are said to have arrived so critically together, that Caius had received and was reading the letter of Agrippa, at the very time when he was giving an audience to Antipas. Now Josephus makes them land at Dicæarchia or Puteoli, and find Caius at Baïæ, in its immediate neighbourhood. And hence arises the chief difficulty of the question; for though Baïæ, or Campania in general, was a favourite resort of Caius^t, and he might often be there in the course of his reign; yet (if we except the passing visit which he seems to have

^r Ant. Jud. xviii. vii. 1. Bell. ii. ix. 6.
Caius, 37.

^s Ant. xviii. vii. 2.

^t Suet.

made it, in the first paroxysm of his grief for the death of Drusilla, and before even her funeral itself; consequently, in his second year, U. C. 791*^u;) there are only two occasions—and each in his third year—on which we have distinct testimony that he actually was there: the first, when he went into Campania, and returned soon after to celebrate the birthday of Drusilla^v, the second, when he was building the bridge across the sea from Puteoli to Baiaë or Bauli†^w.

* As it appears from Philo (*lib. cit.* 525. line 34. compared with 526. 34.) that the mourning for Drusilla was going on at Alexandria not long after the time of corn harvest in Egypt, viz. April and May; she could not have died earlier than February or March. The time of this visit would be the same.

† Suetonius, Caii 14: Caius, it is true, paid a visit to the islands in the neighbourhood of Campania, (though not to Campania itself,) in June or July, U. C. 790.

The birthday of Drusilla is not exactly known; but we may infer with probability that it was sometime in the spring of the year; perhaps about the period of the Ludi Megalenses^x. We are told, indeed, by Suetonius^y, that Agrippina, Drusilla, and Livilla or Julia, the three sisters of Caius, were born *continuo triennio*; that is, in three consecutive years. Agrippina, who was the first married among them^z, we may conclude was consequently the oldest; and Julia, we are informed by Tacitus^a, was certainly the youngest.

The birth of Julia is fixed by the context of Tacitus' account to some time in the first half of U. C. 771, about midsummer: the birthday of Agrippina, according to the *Kalendarium Antiatinum*, was November 6, in some year: which, on the implicit construction of Suetonius' testimony, should be U. C. 769. Hence the birthday of Drusilla, the intermediate sister, on the same construction, must be placed somewhere in the year U. C. 770; not earlier, according to the common course of nature, than August or September in that year: which circumstance would make it almost to coincide with that of Caius himself.

There is, however, some reason to hesitate upon this point; and perhaps to call in question the truth of Suetonius' statement, that these three children of Germanicus and Agrippina were born successively in as many successive years. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was with child, and not far from the period of her delivery, at the

^u Suet. Caius, 24. Vide also Seneca, *Consolatio ad Polyb.* xxxvi. 4. ^v Dio, lix. 13. ^w Ib. 17. Suet. Caius, 19. ^x Dio, lix. 24. 11. Suet. Caius, 24. Tiberius, 5. ^y Caius, 7. ^z Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 75. vi. 15. ^a *Ann.* ii. 54.

The bridge from Puteoli to Bauli must have been completed before the thirty-first of August, the birthday of Caius; when he was again in Rome^z. In the section of Dio just before, he is spoken of as then in his twenty-seventh year^a; and he was twenty-five

time of the mutiny among the Legions, U. C. 767^b; which time is fixed by the date of the eclipse, also specified^c, to the end of September or the beginning of October, in that year. I should be of opinion that the child, with which Agrippina was then pregnant, was Agrippina the sister of Caius; whose birth might thus fall out on November 6: and, if she was then born, U. C. 767, she would be only fourteen years of age when she was married to Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father of Nero, U. C. 781, *ex-eunte*. Her sister Drusilla was not married before U. C. 786, *ineuntem*; four or five years later: and had *she* been born U. C. 770, and her elder sister U. C. 767, she would be three years younger than Agrippina.

It is true, according to Suetonius, that Agrippina, the consort of Germanicus, was twice brought to bed among the Treviri^d; but it was at either time of a daughter. One of these daughters must have been born after the mutiny, U. C. 767; and this we may conclude was Agrippina. For Germanicus her father had nine children in all: six of whom are said to have survived; and the rest, consequently, did not survive. Now these three who thus died in their infancy are plainly sup-

posed to have been boys. It would seem, then, that Germanicus and Agrippina had no daughters except the three which we have mentioned: two of whom must have been born among the Treviri; and, consequently, one of them (which I have little doubt was Agrippina) in U. C. 767: the other, Drusilla, between that year and Germanicus' recall from Germany, U. C. 770.

Pliny also asserts that Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, bore male children and female alternately; and that *novies*^f: an assertion which can be understood in one of two senses only; either that every other child of her's was a daughter, (which would contradict Suetonius,) or that her first six children were males, and her three last were daughters; which would accord with him. But it would also imply that all her male children were born before the death of Augustus; and this fact is certain of the older of those two whom Suetonius stated to have died in their infancy^g; a child born at Tibur, about U. C. 763 or 764, and called Caius^h, as well as his brother Caligula, who was born U. C. 765, after his death. The birthday of Drusilla, then, might possibly have happened in the spring.

^z Dio, lix. 20. Suet. Caius, 26.

^a Dio, lix. 19.

^b Tac. Ann. i. 40—

44. ^c Ibid. 28.

^d Caius, 8.

^e Ibid. 7.

^f H. N. vii. 11.

^g Caius, 7.

^h Ibid. 8. Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. vi. 209.

complete, August 31, U. C. 790¹; so that he would be twenty-seven complete, August 31, U. C. 792.

It would seem, then, that Caius was twice in Campania, within the first six months of U. C. 792: once sometime in the spring, and again during the summer. He visited the suburbs of Rome also between these periods^m; but whether he went into Campania likewise does not appear. Nor is any other journey of his mentioned, except one to Mevania in Umbriaⁿ, before his German expedition^o. But though this journey might be in the same year, it was not to the same quarter, as the previous visits to Campania. A visit to Puteoli is ascertained by Philo^p; which, however, as we shall see, was U. C. 793: and a visit to Campania in general, when he returned by sea from Astura to Antium, is alluded to by Pliny^q, as the last visit which he made it before his death; and, consequently, in U. C. 793 also.

It might be supposed, then, that Herod must have arrived when Caius was at Baiæ on one of these several occasions: yet there would be great difficulty connected with such a supposition as to any. The first visit, or that in the spring of U. C. 792, would be much too early: for Herod, at that time, could scarcely have set out from Judæa. The last, or that in U. C. 793, would be as much too late; for according to Philo, Agrippa, who himself arrived at Puteoli not long after Caius was gone thither on that occasion, had already been put into possession of the tetrarchy of Antipas before his arrival^r. The middle visit, or that in the summer of U. C. 792, when Caius was employed upon the bridge, would consequently appear to be the only

¹ Dio, lix. 6. 7. Suet. Caius, 8. ^m Dio, lix. 16. ⁿ Suet. Caius, 43. ^o Dio, lix. 21. Suet. Caius, 43. 44. ^p ii. 573. l. 11. De Virtutibus. ^q H. N. xxxii. 1. ^r ii. 584. l. 39: 593. l. 37. De Virtutibus.

one left: yet, though Herod might by that time have arrived from Judæa, still, if he was deposed and his tetrarchy was bestowed upon Agrippa, at one and the same time; each of these events must have taken place in the summer of U.C. 792. in the third, and not in the fourth, of Caius: which would both contradict Josephus, and except on one supposition, render it, in my opinion, impossible satisfactorily to explain the origin of the coin.

This supposition is that, though Antipas had been deposed and Agrippa appointed in his stead, both in the summer of this year, the news of neither event was received in Judæa before the spring of the next. The conjecture is not improbable: for Caius, there is reason to conclude, did not return from Campania, after this visit, until after his birthday; that is, until after the 31st of August, at least: and if Herod, which is also very probable, had not set out from Judæa before the midsummer of the year, he might not have arrived in Italy before the end of August. His father, upon a former occasion, when he was journeying to Rome, passed through Greece at the time of an Olympic festival^s; that is, about the second or third week in July, when the Olympic games were commonly celebrated; and even then he was some weeks' journey distant from Rome. Herod Antipas, who was travelling on this occasion with much more of pomp and state, would consequently both set out later and travel slower.

In this case, it is possible that Fortunatus, the messenger of Agrippa, might not be enabled to return home from Italy, with the intelligence of his master's appointment to the dominions of Antipas, before the middle or the end of September at the soonest: and

^s Bell. Jud. i. xxi. 12.

consequently, that he might not arrive in Judæa before the spring of the ensuing year. It has been seen that something like this was the case both with the arrival in Italy, and with the return to Judæa, (before and after *his* appointment,) of Herod the Great. If Fortunatus was not actually back in Judæa earlier than the first or second week in March; a coin, bearing date in the forty-third year of Antipas, might have been already struck: for the years of his reign, as dated from his father's death, (if that happened, as we have supposed, at the time in question, U. C. 751.) would begin and proceed from the month of March, in the consular year 751. The forty-third year from this date would begin with the same month, in the consular year 793.

By this means, even on the supposition that Antipas was deposed U.C. 792, the origin of a coin struck in U.C. 793, might possibly be explained. Notwithstanding, I am inclined to conjecture that in this one circumstance of his account, the circumstance of the place where Antipas is said to have been received by Caius, Josephus has made a mistake; and that in reality his reception, or at least his deprivation, took place not at Baïæ in Italy, but at Lugdunum in Gaul. It is no objection to this supposition that he is represented as landing at Puteoli; for to land there in coming from Asia or Egypt, or to set sail thence in going thither, was equally matter of course^t: and it may be further supported by the following arguments.

I. Ant. xviii. vii. 3. it is said that Antipas was both banished to, and appointed to reside in, Lugdunum: Bell. ii. ix. 6. it is said that he was both banished to, and lived ever after, as well as died, in Spain. These

^t Philo, ii. 521. l. 12. Adv. Flaccum: 573. l. 11, 584. l. 39. De Virtutibus. Joseph. Ant. xviii. vi. 4. Vita, 3. Acts xxviii. 13. Suet. Aug. 98. Titus, 5. Nero, 20. Joseph. Bell. ii. vii. 1. Seneca, Epist. lxxvii. 1. Strabo, xvii. 1. §. 7. 500. Pliny, H. N. viii. 3. Statius, Silv. iii. ii. 21. seq.

statements are not consistent with each other; and one of them must consequently be incorrect. If, however, he was actually sentenced *at* Lugdunum to banishment *into* Spain, and went thither accordingly from thence, we may account for the confusion between them; and the very mistake itself in this instance will so far confirm our conjecture.

II. At the time of Caius' third consulate, which he entered upon January 1, and abdicated January 12, or 13, at Lugdunum, U.C. 793^u, Agrippa and Antiochus are both said to have been with him, or at least were reported at Rome to be with him, ὥσπερ τινὲς τυραννο-διδάσκαλοι. This report, as far as concerned Antiochus, might be true or might be false: but as far as concerned Agrippa, who had left Caius about the midsummer of U.C. 791, and did not revisit him, as we shall see, before the midsummer of U.C. 793, it was certainly false. Yet the report, though false, may naturally be accounted for in this instance also, if Fortunatus, the freedman of Agrippa, or if Herod Antipas, who at that distance might easily be confounded with Agrippa, had been or still was with Caius at Lugdunum, when he entered upon the consulate in question.

III. The German or Gallic expedition of Caius was hastily resolved upon, and as hastily executed, after the return U.C. 792, posterior to his birthday^v; and it was over before the first of January U. C. 793. Within thirty days, too, after this date he must have been again in Rome; for he married Cæsonia, his last wife, while he was still in Gaul^w, only one month before her delivery; and when the child, with which she was pregnant at the time of her marriage, was born, he is said to have taken and placed it on the knees of

^u Dio, lix. 22. 24. Suet. Caius, 17. 22.
44—49. Cf. 39.

^w Dio, lix. 23.

^v Dio, lix. 20. 21. Suet. Caius, 43,

the statue of Jupiter in the Capitol^x; which proves that it was born in Rome*. If Herod was banished from Lugdunum, and at this time, it follows that he could not be banished before the beginning of the consular year 793; in which case, the news of his disgrace could not reach Judæa under two or three months' time after; when the mint of Tiberias, or wheresoever else the coin was struck, might already have put forth an issue of money, bearing date in the forty-third year of his reign. Nor would it be surprising that some of the coins so struck should have come down to us. There is a still more remarkable contingency of this kind with respect to a coin of Galba: which bearing date, as it does bear, in his second consulship, must have been struck between January 1, U.C. 822. when he entered on that consulate, and January 15, in the same year, when he died†^y.

IV. Herod Agrippa arrived at Puteoli^z while Caius was still in Campania, and at a time of the year which the context demonstrates to have been the midsummer of U.C. 793; and this was exactly the time when, if he had received the news of his appointment to the dominions of Antipas, in March or April, and had left Judæa directly after, he might be expected to arrive in Italy. He came, as Philo says, *κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀσπασόμενος Γάϊον*: and no reason was more likely to have

* The first of January, therefore, alluded to by Suetonius, cap. 42. must have been the first of January of the ensuing year; U.C. 794: though Dio, if not Pliny, shews that contributions were made to Caius, on the first of January, U.C. 793, as well as

U.C. 794: see Dio, lix. 24: and Pliny, H. N. xi. 73.

† Coins of Antoninus Pius are still extant, bearing the date Trib. P. xxiv. and consequently struck between January 1. or February 25. and March 7. See Eckhel, vii. 27.

^x Dio, lix. 28. 25. Suet. Caius, 25. 42. Joseph. Ant. xix. i. 2. ^y Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm. Vett.* vi. 298.

^z Philo, ii. 584. l. 39. *De Virtutibus.*

produced such a visit, than this recent instance of the favour of Caius; which his own letter, as we have seen above, proves him to have already experienced ^a.

V. In a former passage of the *Antiquities*^b, it is not obscurely implied that the disgrace of Antipas was due in part to the ill offices of Vitellius; whose enmity against him had been excited U.C. 789, in the twenty-second of Tiberius, and had been secretly cherished until the banishment of Antipas in the reign of Caius. Vitellius, it is well known, was the most consummate flatterer in the court of Caius^c; and it is implied in the above allusion to him, that he was one of his parasites at the time of the disgrace of Antipas. The question of this time, then, is connected with the question when Vitellius was recalled from his government of Syria, or when Petronius was appointed to succeed him: and this question is intimately connected with another; viz. when it was that Caius attempted to erect his statue in the temple at Jerusalem.

We have two accounts of this attempt, one from Josephus, the other from Philo; agreeing in the main facts, though differing apparently in some of the circumstances. One of these differences is that, according to Josephus, Petronius was sent into Syria, and consequently succeeded Vitellius, expressly to carry the attempt into effect^d; according to Philo, he was already in office before he was commanded to make the attempt^e. It appears from the same account of Philo's that Petronius had been governor of Asia before he was appointed to Syria^f; and the statement of Philo is confirmed by a coin of Smyrna, which exhibits a Petronius as proconsul of Asia in the reign of

^a ii. 593. l. 37. De Virtutibus.

Vitellius, 2. Tac. Ann. vi. 32.

De Virtutibus.

^b xviii. iv. 5.

^d Ant. xviii. viii. 2.

^c Dio, lix. 27. Suet.

^e ii. 576. l. 34.

^f Ibid. 582. l. 22—27.

Tiberius ^g. There can be little question that this was the same person, Publius ^h Petronius Turpilianus, afterwards prefect of Syria ^{*}.

The discrepancy, however, is otherwise of no great moment ; and may be decided upon in favour of either account without prejudice to the general truth of the other. It will be more to the purpose to observe, that, according to Dio, as well as to other authorities ⁱ, Caius did not begin to aspire at divine honours, or conceive the design of making himself to be every where worshipped as a god, before the last year of his reign, and before that return to Rome, which we have shewn was within a month after his marriage to Cæsonia [†]. Now the origin of this madness Suetonius ^k distinctly ascribes to the abject servility of Vitellius ; such as he began and continued to practise, from the time of his recall home, and the commencement of his personal attendance on Caius : which would imply that he was not recalled perhaps before the last year of Caius, and certainly not before the middle of his third ; that is, the summer quarter of U. C. 792. Before this time, then, Antipas would not have found Vitellius at the court of Caius ; but after it he might. He would not have found him therefore at Baiaë, when Caius was building his bridge ; but he might do so at Lugdunum, after the German expedition.

VI. The differences, observable in the account of Josephus and of Philo respectively, may be satisfactorily adjusted by supposing that the one is a conti-

^{*} Tac. Ann. vi. 45. Petronius was at Rome, U. C. 789 : and Dio, lix. 29. Suetonius Caius, 57. Caius Cassius Longinus was governor of Asia, U. C. 793.

^g Eckhel, ii. 555.

Caius, 22. Jos. Ant. xix. i. 1.

^h Ant. xix. vi. 3.

^k Vitell. 2, 10.

[†] It agrees with this, that the attempt to remove the statue of Jupiter Olympius was made about February, or March, U. C. 793 : Suet. Caius, 22. 57. Dio, lix. 28.

ⁱ Dio, lix. 25, 26. Suet.

uation of the other; that the narrative of Josephus begins where the narrative of Philo, which is manifestly abrupt and imperfect, had closed; and relates the sequel, as that had related the first part, of the same history in general. On this principle, I can discover little or no inconsistency between them. They both place the attempt in the last year of Caius; and yet with this critical distinction of the time, that what Josephus says of it belongs exclusively to the *last*, and what Philo says of it, belongs exclusively to the *first*, half of this year; as may thus be proved.

I. Petronius, in obedience to the orders of Caius, is asserted to have moved his army to Ptolemais; intending with the return of spring to carry the measure by force into effect. Here it is clearly implied that the season of military operations for that year was past; and consequently that the autumnal quarter at least was drawing to its close. Ant. xviii. viii. 2. Bell. ii. x. 1, 2.

II. Leaving his forces at Ptolemais, he himself repaired soon after to Tiberias; where the Jews also, who had begun to resort to him in great numbers at Ptolemais, assembled in still greater multitudes; and where they are said to have continued in the neighbourhood, neglecting the usual operations of the season, which was seed-time or approaching to seed-time, for forty, if not for fifty days. Ant. xviii. viii. 2. 3. Bell. ii. x. 3. 5.

III. When their importunity had at length prevailed with Petronius, to try the effect of a representation to Caius before he proceeded in the attempt, the seed-rains, which had unaccountably held off until then beyond their usual time, immediately set in. The seed-rains usually set in about the middle of the month Marchesvan; which would answer in that year to the

last week in our October, or to the first in our November. Ant. xviii. viii. 6. Vide Diss. vii.

IV. To the representation made accordingly Caius returned an angry answer, commanding Petronius in no obscure terms—if he wished to avoid a worse kind of death—to make away with himself. This answer, it is said, was three months on the road; and twenty-seven days, or almost an entire month, before it arrived, Petronius received news of the death of Caius^l. I believe, however, that Josephus has here made a mistake; the nature of which will be explained by and by.

Now his death took place January 24, U.C. 794^m. Petronius might hear of it in the following March or April; in which case the answer of Caius must have been dispatched in January itself; and very probably not many days before the 24th. Consequently, the representation had been sent at least in the November preceding. All these circumstances, as here detailed, are manifestly in unison with each other; and conspire to place it beyond a question that the account from first to last belongs to the last half of the fourth of Caius; from the period of seed time U.C. 793, to his death U.C. 794.

The reverse is true of the narrative of Philo. For, first; his account itself arises out of the history of the mission, relating to the dispute between the Jewish and the Greek inhabitants of Alexandria; in which he and four others represented the Jews, and Apion with his colleagues were deputed for the Greeksⁿ. The time of this mission was later first, than the death of Macro, and of Silanus^o, and the passage of Agrippa through Alexandria^p; each in the second of Caius; and secondly, than the beginning of the German expe-

^l Bell. ii. x. 5. Cf. Ant. xviii. viii. 8, 9. ^m Suet. Caius, 58. ⁿ Ant. Jud. xviii. viii. 1. Philo, li. 600. l. 17. De Virtutibus. ^o Ibid. 554. l. 25—555. l. 18. ^p Ibid. 572. l. 16—21.

dition^q, undertaken in the middle of his third; and thirdly, it coincided with the winter posterior to that^r; which was the winter of U. C. 793. The deputies, therefore, arrived at Rome in the spring; and when they arrived Caius was there also^s. They arrived, therefore, U. C. 793, *ineunte*, when he was recently returned from Gaul. In a short time after he went to Puteoli, and they were obliged to follow him thither^t; and while all the parties were still there, Agrippa too arrived from Judæa^u.

From the time of the departure to Puteoli, but not before it, the history of the attempt relating to the statue begins to be interwoven with the history of the Legation; for the deputies first heard of the attempt there^v. It is now that we meet with the mention of letters or instructions, as only just sent to Petronius^w; and conveying the original commands of Caius: and what follows next, relating to the conduct of Petronius, relates to his conduct *upon* their receipt. These instructions, if sent now, were sent early in the spring of U. C. 793: Petronius would consequently receive and prepare to act upon them first about the time of wheat-harvest: and it is at this time that, when the nature of the orders became known, the effects which they produced in Judæa are described to have taken place*. When Agrippa landed at Puteoli,

* Philo, De Legatione, ii. 583. 7: as the corn, it is said, was ἐν ἀκμῇ, when Petronius received Caius' first commands; he received them a little before either the Passover, or the Pentecost. Moreover, *ibid.* 41. as he is said to have dispatched his first reply by messengers εὐζώ-

vous, ἐθάδας δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ἐπιτομῶν, these might arrive at Rome by *midsummer*; and so 584. 37. they must have done, if it could be conjectured *there* by the time of their arrival, that the harvest as such, which includes the harvest of both kinds, was over in Judæa.

^q *Ibid.* 598. l. 20.

^r *Ibid.* 573. l. 40—44.

^s *Ibid.* 572. l. 26; 597. l. 22

—31. ^t *Ibid.* 573. l. 11—15.

^u *Ibid.* 584. l. 39.

^v *Ibid.* 573. l. 15—31.

^w *Ibid.* 576. l. 32—41.

he was still ignorant of the intentions of Caius, or of the orders which he had transmitted to Petronius; and so he might well be: for he must have set out from Judæa at the very time when these orders were dispatched from Rome.

On this occasion also it is said that the governor wrote to the emperor^x, excusing himself for not having immediately executed his commands, on the score of the certain destruction of the harvest—of the general famine which would be consequent upon that and of the emperor's personal inconvenience, in his projected voyage to Alexandria, if the supplies of provisions for himself, and for his train, should by this means be impaired. Caius also is described as replying to Petronius, repeating his orders, and obviating the former objections, by telling him that the harvest, before the receipt of this second letter would necessarily have been gathered in^y, and no further danger was to be apprehended on that account.

The details of what passed in Judæa are here suspended by Philo: the arrival of Agrippa took place at this juncture; and the next particular related is one which followed immediately upon that; viz. the mission of his supplicatory letter to Caius. The result of this letter is said to have been that Caius promised to desist from his purpose; and gave orders to countermand his last instructions to Petronius^z. It is manifest, however, as the narrative proceeds to inform us, that he was not sincere in this concession; or that he shortly repented of it^{*a}; which being the case, though

* *Τί δὲ ὄφελος; εἴποι τις ἄν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡρεμούντων ὁ Γάϊος ἡρέμει· μετανοῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι ἥδη, καὶ τὴν* *πρὸ μικροῦ ζωπυρῶν ἐπιθυμίαν, κ', τ.λ.* which shews, that the emperor did speedily change his mind,

^x ii. 577. l. 3—582. l. 40.
l. 39—595. l. 10.

^y Ibid. 583. l. 41—584. l. 38.
^a Ibid. l. 10—13.

^z Ibid. 584.

the account breaks off here ; that is, about midsummer U. C. 793 ; it states enough to prepare us for what Josephus, as we have seen, (from a point of time almost consecutive on this,) begins to relate as taking place in Judæa*.

To revert, then, to our original subject. If I have

giving orders for a statue to be constructed at Rome, which Petronius was to cause to be erected in the temple by stealth, or unawares to the people : Philo, ii. 595. 10.

* There is this further difference between Josephus and Philo, which has now been satisfactorily explained ; that Josephus begins with laying the scene of transactions at Ptolemais ; Philo lays it at Sidon. They could not have done otherwise respectively ; for what was transacted in Sidon belonged to a much earlier point of time than what was transacted at Ptolemais. There is this agreement, however, also ; that in both it is distinctly implied, though neither at the beginning nor at the end of the affair, could Herod Antipas have been any longer tetrarch of Galilee, yet that Agrippa, his successor, was not present in Judæa.

It is very possible, therefore, that what Josephus relates further of the conduct and behaviour of Agrippa, Ant. xviii. viii. 7. 8, may be consistent with what Philo related, 584. l. 39—594. l. 18 : the latter must have referred to Caius' *original* attempt ; the former might refer to his *renewed* ; and there is obviously this difference between them, that the time of the one must have been near the outset, and that of the other near the

close, of the attempt. Nor is the account of Josephus liable to any objection on the score of an alleged absurdity ; viz. that he speaks of seed-time, or preparation for the next year's harvest, at the beginning of a sabbatic year. In this supposition, as it will be seen hereafter, Josephus is right. From seed-time in U. C. 793, to seed-time in U. C. 794, was not a sabbatic year ; but from seed-time in U. C. 794 to seed-time in U. C. 795, was. Lastly, as it is proved by Philo, that from spring to midsummer U. C. 793, Caius was actually in Campania ; so is the same thing implied by Suetonius, Caius, 49 ; especially as compared with the passage before recited from Pliny. If he celebrated the ovation for his successes in Germany, on his birthday, Aug. 31, it must have been in this year, U. C. 793 : and it is in this year that the *Fasti Triumphales* exhibit it. But as it was so late in the year, and only five months before his death, it must have been previously to the ovation that he was returning from Astura to Antium, upon his last visit to Campania, when his ship is said to have been detained by the *remora* or sucking-fish : a fish which, in allusion to that event, Pliny calls *auspicalis* ; one that might furnish an omen of the fate which awaited the emperor.

rendered it probable that Antipas was really deposed and sent into banishment at Lugdunum, and not at Baiæ, there is little or no difficulty with respect to his coin. He must have been deposed at the beginning of the consular year 793: in which case, before the tidings of his removal could reach Judæa, where no event would be less expected, his forty-third year dated from U. C. 751, inclusive, would have already set in; and a number of coins, one of which has come down to us, might be struck accordingly. If I have not succeeded in rendering this probable, we have no alternative left except to embrace the solution proposed above: which yet may possibly suffice. I shall conclude, therefore, with one or two observations more; but upon another subject.

The opinions of learned men concerning the time of the death of Herod the Great have not much fluctuated, except between U. C. 750, and U. C. 751. In favour of this latter date there are yet some strong arguments which might be urged; such as the succession of the contemporary presidents of Syria, and the time of the council of Berytus; both which, however, I am obliged to reserve for future consideration. The time of the council in question, as it may be shewn almost to a demonstration, could not have been earlier than the spring quarter of U. C. 749: which being the case, it is absolutely impossible that the death of Herod could have happened so soon after it, as the passover of U. C. 750: it could not have happened before the passover of U. C. 751, at the earliest. It is not, however, my intention to reckon up all the objections which might be produced against the date in question, and to shew how insuperable they would be: I have noticed, or shall notice, only the two most plausible of the arguments in its favour; the testimony of the coin of An-

tipas, which we have hitherto been considering, and the supposed time of the lunar eclipse, which Josephus^b proves to have preceded the death of Herod.

The testimony of the coin, I think, I have now shewn either to be implicitly in favour of the contrary opinion, or at least to be neutral : and as to the supposed date of the eclipse, though the principles of all astronomical calculations, rightly conducted, may justly be considered too fixed and immutable to allow their results to be lightly called into question ; yet there are not wanting instances where the most profound mathematicians, in the determination of ancient eclipses, are seen to have arrived at very different conclusions. I will suppose, however, that the calculation of Kepler, or of Petavius, in this instance is right ; and that an eclipse of the moon actually took place, as they discovered, March 13, U. C. 750 : still it may be contended that this cannot be the eclipse which Josephus mentions before the death of Herod. A rigid calculation of the time between that eclipse and his death will prove this assertion to a demonstration.

If there was an eclipse of the moon at the full, March 13, U. C. 750, it must have happened exactly one lunar month before the Jewish passover, the time of which would be necessarily (and in fact is calculated accordingly to have been) the time when the moon was next at the full ; that is, not later than April 11, in the same year^c. All the events, then, recorded by Josephus, between the eclipse and the ensuing passover, must have come to pass within the space of one month at the utmost ; but the events between the eclipse and the death of Herod, which hap-

^b Ant. xvii. vi. 4.

^c Vide Diss. vii.

pened after the one and before the other, must be comprehended in a much shorter time.

For after the death of Herod, we have mention made in Josephus ^d first, of the seven days' mourning for his death, before Archelaus presented himself in the temple, as completely over: secondly, of that presentation, which could not be earlier than the day after the close of the period of mourning: thirdly, of the commencement of the disturbances in the temple, on the evening of that day: fourthly, after these had continued some time, of the influx of the people from the country against the feast of the passover; an influx, which could not begin later than four days before the passover, and might begin earlier; for there is an instance on record, when it had begun and was going on before the eighth of Nisan ^e: and lastly, of the dispersion of the people by violence on the day of the passover itself. The death of Herod, then, could not have happened less than fourteen days before the passover; that is, not less than fourteen days before April 10^f, nor, consequently, more than fourteen days after March 13.

All the events between the eclipse and the death of Herod, on this principle, must be comprehended within fourteen days at the utmost. The death of Antipater is one of these events; and Antipater was put to death five days before the death of Herod ^g. The events, then, between the eclipse and the death of Antipater, must have all come to pass within the space of nine days at the utmost. Now what were these events? First, the progressive advancement of Herod's disorder; which was slow and lingering, and began to grow worse only after the eclipse itself; until it ar-

^d Ant. xvii. viii. 4—ix. 3. Bell. ii. i. 1—3. ii. 5. ^e Bell. vi. v. 3. Vide also John xi. 55. ^f Diss. vii. ^g Ant. xvii. viii. 1. Bell. i. xxxiii. 8.

rived at its crisis: secondly, a journey from Jericho to the warm baths at Callirrhoë, in the vicinity of the Lake Asphaltites, when the disease was at its highest; the time taken up by his continuance there, trying the effect of the waters; and the return to Jericho again: thirdly, after this return the mission of orders, throughout all his dominions, to the principal men every where, to repair to Jericho; and in obedience to these orders, their assembling in Jericho accordingly: fourthly, the arrival of Augustus' answer from Rome, and the interval between that arrival and the death of Antipater, which was the next event *^h.

It is not possible that all these particulars could have come to pass, in the order here recited, between the 13th and the 27th of March; which yet they must have done, if the eclipse on the 13th of March was the eclipse which immediately preceded the death of Herod.

The truth is, the sickness of Herod, such as it was, is said to have first attacked him very soon after the conviction of Antipater before Varus, and the two communications sent to Rome, which arose out of that convictionⁱ. This conviction and these communications all took place, as I shall shew elsewhere^k, in the month of September before his death. The communications in question were both answered by Augustus together;

* The language of Josephus, with respect to the order above mentioned, is very strong, and proves how general it was: Τοὺς γὰρ ἀφ' ἐκάστης κώμης ἐπισήμους ἀνδρας ἐξ ὅλης Ἰουδαίας συναγαγόν^l. Ἀφικομένων, προστάγματι τῷ αὐτοῦ, Ἰουδαίων ἀνδρῶν παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους οὔποτε ἀξιολόγων^m.

If the fact in question was real, it would not take less than a week to collect persons at Jericho from *all* parts of Herod's dominions, the most remote from, as well as the nearest to, that place: Cf. 1 Sam. xi. 3. 2 Sam. xx. 4.

^h Ant. xvii. vi. 5, 6: vii: Bell. i. xxxiii. 5, 6, 7. ⁱ Ant. xvii. v. 7—vi. 1. Bell. i. xxxii. 5—7. ^k Diss. xiv. ^l Bell. i. xxxiii. 6. ^m Ant. xvii. vi. 5.

which proves that they had been sent, and been received together, or the one very soon after the other: and the answer, as we saw, was received by Herod about a week, or perhaps somewhat longer, before his death. Now, for the dispatch of his own letters to Augustus, and for the transmission of the emperor's answer to him, an adequate length of time would evidently be necessary; and that adequate length of time, in the present instance, would as evidently be nothing less than *twice* the usual interval of time requisite for a journey in the winter season, from Judæa to Rome; or back again.

On no subject, perhaps, have more gratuitous suppositions been made, than as to the proper measure of this requisite period; which, as I shall prove by a number of instances in a separate Dissertationⁿ, is not to be estimated, under ordinary circumstances, at less than six weeks, or one month and an half, in the summer season; nor at less than twice that length of time, or three months, in the winter*. The present Dissertation itself has already supplied one example to this effect. Petronius must have written to Caius at the end of October, or the beginning of November; yet he did not receive his answer until twenty-seven days, or almost an entire month, after he had previ-

* In the Opera inedita of Fronto, Epp. ad Verum, lib. ii. Ep. 1^a. p. 108, Verus himself supposes that several months must intervene before the answer of Fronto to a letter of his, could be received. Verus was then in Syria, and Fronto in Italy: and Verus, it must be remembered, was emperor, whose letters would of course travel

with more than ordinary dispatch. His words are, Tot interea mensibus, dum meas litteras accipis, dum ego tuas recipio, &c. Cf. the same work, part ii. 278—280, De Testamentis transmarinis; which also will shew that it would be two months before a person, who was still in Asia, could be expected to arrive at Rome.

ously heard of his death. The death of Caius took place January 24, U. C. 794: and his answer to Petronius had necessarily been dispatched before that date. But the death of Caius was followed by a period of considerable confusion and disorder, before Claudius was firmly seated on the throne: and the messengers, who brought to Petronius the news of the death of Caius, were evidently sent to announce to him, as governor of Syria, the accession of Claudius also. The time when these were dispatched, it may be conjectured from Josephus, was not earlier than the anniversary of the Feralia °, which began about February 17th; for at that time first it was that the commotions at Rome were put an end to, and Claudius was finally recognised as emperor P.

Now it is a critical circumstance that, between the 24th of January and the 17th of February inclusive, there is just a five and twenty days' interval; and if the ship, which was dispatched to Syria to notify the accession of Claudius, was dispatched two days after the *latter* date; or the ship, which carried the answer of Caius to Petronius, was dispatched two days before the *former*; there might be, between the times of their respective missions, just seven and twenty days' interval: which may lead to the conjecture, that Josephus has made a mistake in saying that the second ship arrived seven and twenty days before the first; and that the truth is, it arrived first, though it was dispatched seven and twenty days later. It was thirty days, according to Dio ¶, after Claudius had been declared emperor, before he formally assumed the government; and met the Roman senate in public *. It

* Suet. Claudius, 10. 11. there was a *biduum* of deliberation previously to the acknowledgment of Claudius, *De mutando reipub-*

° Ant. xix. iv. 6. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, 565—570. P Suet. Claudius, 11, 9. ¶ lx. 3.

would, consequently, be about the same time before he dispatched messengers to notify his accession in the provinces. The assertion is not repeated in the Antiquities^r; but, on the contrary, the first ship is said to have been dispatched only just before the death of Caius; and the second to have arrived only just before the first. On this principle the first ship must have been dispatched on or about the 22d of January, and the second on or about the 17th of February. The first ship was three months on the road, and therefore the second was two; and they must both have arrived about the middle of April: the second a little before it, and the first a little after it. The first ship must have sailed in the middle of winter; the second much nearer to the spring; the first consequently was likely to have a longer, and the second a shorter passage.

It seems, then, that in this instance, between the sending of Petronius' letter to Caius from Judæa, and the arrival of his answer to it from Rome, there was so long an interval as the time included between the beginning of November, and the middle of April; that is, an interval of five months and an half; two months and one half of which were probably taken up by the arrival of Petronius' letter some time in January, not many days before the 24th; and the remainder by the arrival of Caius' answer to it.

On the analogy of the principle, thus established, (which will be further confirmed hereafter,) no answer was to be expected from Augustus, under five months'

licæ statu, which is also implied by Dio, lx. 1. and may be collected from the account of Josephus, Ant. xix. iii. iv. This

would be January 24 and 25. Still the *τριακοστή ἡμέρα* of Dio, above alluded to, will bear to be dated from January 24.

time from the date of the dispatch of the letters of Herod. Now such an answer was certainly received not less than a week (and, perhaps, a little more than that) before the death of Herod; and consequently Herod must have written to him not less than five months before his death. The time of his death, on the latest supposition, was at least a fortnight before April 10; and therefore the time of the arrival of Augustus' answer was at least three weeks earlier than that. It follows, therefore, that on the latest supposition he had not written to Augustus after the middle of October; and had not received his answer before the middle of March.

Now the illness of Herod is so evidently supposed to have begun about the time when he dispatched his second and last letter to Augustus^s; that if any assertion, in the narrative, before or after this event, is to be believed, this must be so; and the attempt upon the eagle, at the instigation of Judas and Matthias, is so clearly placed in the first and earliest stages of the illness, that we cannot hesitate to conclude the attempt was made at no great distance of time after the sickness had begun*. On this principle—and even on the latest possible supposition of the time of the death of Herod subsequently—it seems to me an indisputable point that the attempt on the eagle, and consequently the execution of the Sophists, could not have happened later than the December or the January

* Ant. Jud. xvii. ix. 5. at the close of the speech of Antipater, there recorded, it is said that Herod made his first will, viz. that in favour of Antipas, at a time when his faculties both of mind and body were still vigor-

ous and entire. Now, Ant. Jud. xvii. vi. 1. 2: he made it just after he fell sick, on the one hand, and just before the attempt on the eagle, upon the other. Cf. also, Bell. ii. ii. 5, and i. xxxii. 7: xxxiii. 2.

^s Ant. Jud. xvii. vi. 1. Bell. i. xxxii. 7. xxxiii. 1.

which preceded the death of Herod. It follows therefore that if any eclipse of the moon took place on the night of their execution, the time when we ought to look for it should be in one of these two months; not in March.

With regard to the precise time of the execution of these Sophists, there is only one point which may be assumed as presumptively certain; viz. that it was after the day of atonement, which preceded the death of Herod. The fact which Josephus records of Matthias (the high-priest at the time of the attempt of the Sophists, and deposed in consequence of the attempt itself^t) is a demonstrative proof that he was still the high priest, and, consequently, had not been deposed, at the time of the arrival of the preceding tenth of Tisri. The attempt of the Sophists, then, was made after the tenth of Tisri at least, in the year which preceded the death of Herod; and that any time after the month of October would be later than the tenth of the Jewish Tisri, is sufficiently certain to require no proof.

I can discover nothing in the account of the attempt, which implies that it was made at the time of any feast; or when the people were assembled at Jerusalem in greater numbers than usual; but quite the contrary: so that it must have happened in the interval between two feasts; either the feast of Tabernacles and the Encænia; or the Encænia and the feast of the Passover; the latter of which suppositions is just as possible and as probable as the former. I observe, however, that at the time of the attempt followed by the apprehension of the Sophists, Herod himself was in Jerusalem^u; but the Sophists were sent to Jericho: nor

^t Ant. xvii. vi. 3. 4. Cf. iv. 2. which proves that he had been appointed only just before the same feast of Tabernacles, after which he was now deposed.

^u Ant. xvii. vi. 3. Bell. i. xxxiii. 3. 4.

does it appear that he followed them thither, or that what subsequently passed between himself and the people on the subject of the attempt, did not take place in Jerusalem. The theatre, in which he is said to have addressed them, was built by him in Jerusalem^v. On this principle then, the execution of the Sophists, which took place directly afterwards, took place in Jericho, and while Herod was still at Jerusalem.

Now none of these things could have been the case, if the Sophists were really executed on the night of the 12th of March, U.C. 750: only fifteen days, at the utmost before the supposed date of the death of Herod: for it is morally certain that, more than fifteen days before his own death, Herod was either at Callirrhœ, beyond the Jordan; or at least in Jericho, and not at Jerusalem. Nor does it seem to me possible that, fifteen days before his death, and even though reclining on a couch, he should still have been able to make a speech to the people in public; as he was certainly able at the time of the attempt*.

We observe no mention of any eclipse, along with the account of the death of the Sophists, in the parallel place of the War; though this part of that history in other respects is as circumstantial as the contemporary portion of the Antiquities. And Josephus has been convicted of so many inaccuracies already, that were we to suspect he had fallen into some mistatement

* Besides which, if the Sophists were executed on the night of the 12th of March, the 12th of March must have coincided with the fourteenth or fifteenth of Adar, or Veadar; that is, with one or other of the days kept as the feast of Purim^w. On this

supposition, the execution of the Sophists must have coincided with the time of the feast of Purim; which is a very improbable coincidence; for Herod would scarcely select that time, above all others, for their death.

^v Ant. xv. viii. 1.

^w Esther ix. 21. 27. Cf. 1. 13. 15. 17—19.

here, the suspicion would not be unreasonable. It is an ungrateful task, indeed, to enumerate the σφάλματα of a writer to whom we are otherwise so much indebted; and were it not of paramount importance to the present question that the truth should be plainly stated, I would much rather throw a veil over them. But an authority which has repeatedly been seen to be in error, with respect more particularly to mistakes which might be produced by haste and inattention, and by the neglect of distinguishing between contiguous and associated, but perfectly different, events, is not to be implicitly trusted on every point*.

* What, for example, can be a greater oversight than the allusion to any Mithridates, as king of the Parthians, about the close of the reign of Herod, when there was no such king but Phraates, both at that time, and for some years afterwards? Yet, unless the text be corrupt, this allusion occurs in the Antiquities^x. The same remark is applicable to the statement respecting Thermusa, the concubine of this Phraates; that she was presented to him by Julius, not by Augustus Cæsar^y. Phraates did not come to the throne of Parthia, before U. C. 717; and Julius Cæsar was assassinated U. C. 710, at the very time when he was meditating an expedition against the Parthians; and had he lived four days longer, would actually have set out upon it^z. At this period Orodes was still king; and among the sons of Orodes the next in dignity to

his father, and the heir presumptive to his throne, was Pacorus; who perished, as we have seen, U. C. 716. Until his death, however, no mention occurs of Phraates; and Orodes had thirty children besides Pacorus and him. What motive, then, could Julius Cæsar have for singling out Phraates as the object of any particular distinction? But, in fact, the very idea of an interchange of civilities between the Roman and the Parthian governments, at any time in the lifetime of Julius Cæsar, between U. C. 706. (so soon after the destruction of Crassus) and U. C. 710, is ridiculous and absurd. Nor would I have mentioned this circumstance except for the sake of illustration, in reference to the present subject; and on account of its connection with what will require to be discussed elsewhere^a.

^x xvi. viii. 4. ^y xviii. ii. 4. ^z Appian, B. C. ii. 111. ^a It is another proof of the inaccuracy of Josephus, that he supposes Phraates to have been reigning U. C. 714. when Hyrcanus was brought from Judæa to Parthia by Barzapharnes and Pacorus: Ant. xv. ii. 1. 2.

It is a singular fact that the death of Herod, if it is rightly assigned to the month of March, U.C. 751, fell out between two years, U.C. 750 and U.C. 752, each of which was distinguished by a peculiar eclipse; the former by this eclipse on the 13th of March, the latter by an eclipse, calculated originally by Scaliger, and exhibited in the Tables of Pingré^b upon January 20. Both these eclipses would be visible at Jerusalem; and had the latter fallen out U.C. 751, instead of U.C. 752, it would be as appropriate in all respects to the context of Josephus' narrative, both before and after the execution of the Sophists, as the eclipse on March 13, U.C. 750, is incongruous to it. In particular it would accord with the fact that the friends or relations of the sufferers, whose complaints at the time of their execution had been stifled by the fear of Herod; and who had not dared to render even the customary honours to their memory; as soon as the tyrant was dead, began to be loud and vehement in their outcries; and were among the chief instigators of the disturbances which afterwards ensued. The death of the Sophists must, consequently, have been comparatively a recent event. On this account, therefore, Scaliger was induced to contend that this was the eclipse which Josephus meant; and to argue from thence that the death of Herod was to be placed U.C. 752. I cannot assent to this conclusion; which errs as much on the side of excess, as the other on the side of defect. The true period of the death of Herod, as it seems to me to be fixed by a multitude of concurrent circumstances, and as it will be further established in a future Dissertation, was the middle of March, U.C. 751: seven or eight weeks after the 20th of January, and

^b Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tome xlii. 150.

probably about as long also after the execution of the Sophists. Now, if this execution happened at the same time before the death of Herod, U.C. 751, as the eclipse, January 20, did before the middle of March U.C. 752; it is not impossible that Josephus might confound the two things together; and describe them as happening in conjunction, though they really happened a year asunder. It should be remembered that he composed his Antiquities at Rome, in the thirteenth year of Domitian; almost an entire century after the period to which this part of them relates. Nor is it at all unlikely that many of the authentic records of the reign of Herod, which might have survived up to the twelfth of Nero, the beginning of the Jewish war, were lost or obliterated afterwards. It is possible even that, when Josephus made this observation in respect to the eclipse, he did not exactly recollect that Herod actually died U.C. 751, and not U.C. 752: in which case he would naturally fall into the mistake of assigning to U.C. 751. an event which really belonged to U.C. 752*.

* There was another eclipse, U.C. 750, besides that on the 13th of March; which may be traced forward in the Tables to the time of the battle of Cremona, fought A.D. 69, U.C. 822, between the armies of Vespasian and of Vitellius; at which time its recurrence is attested by contemporary history^c. But as Pingré's calculations exhibit this eclipse (for the meridian of Paris) on September 5, exactly at twelve at noon, it is manifest that, at Jerusalem, the eclipse would be over before the moon could

have risen and become visible. The mean time, however, of the next full moon, would be October 5, early in the morning: to which day *inclusive*, from April 11. *exclusive*, there is exactly one hundred and seventy seven days' interval. On both these accounts, if the 15. Nisan had previously fallen on April 11. the 15. Tisri would subsequently fall on October 5. The tenth of Tisri, therefore, would coincide with September 30. Vide supra page 310.

^c Dio, lxxv. 11.

DISSERTATION VII.

Computation of Jewish passovers, or other feasts.

I HAVE already had occasion, in two or three instances, to consider the time of certain Jewish passovers, and I shall frequently have occasion to consider the same thing hereafter : I have judged it advisable, therefore, to premise, at this period of the work, a Table exhibiting the times of the passover, or of other feasts, in such years as concern my general argument ; beginning with U. C. 714, B. C. 40, the year when Herod was appointed king of Judæa in place of Antigonus, and extending at intervals to U. C. 823, A. D. 70, the year of the destruction of Jerusalem.

In order to this computation, we must begin with taking it for granted that the rule, which the Jews observed in celebrating the passover, was something invariable : and that the invariableness of the rule consisted in fixing its celebration uniformly to the same *time* of the *year*, and to the same *time* of the *month*. If these two things therefore can be determined, the computation of passovers will be matter of course. Each of them will, consequently, require to be considered ; but, as the latter is much the more difficult to be settled, if not the more important of the two, I shall begin with it first.

I need not remind the reader that, according to the original appointment of the Law, the passover was commanded to be sacrificed on the fourteenth day of the first month in the sacred year—which was Abib, Nisan, or Xanthicus—between noon and sunset ; and to be eaten on the following evening, between sunset and midnight, or at least before the morning. Next

to the testimony of the Law itself, there is no more ancient, or more unexceptionable source of information upon any point which concerns the ritual observances of the Jews, especially in the time of our Saviour or before it, than the testimony of Philo Judæus, or of Josephus ; together with some valuable fragments of earlier Jewish writers, which have come down to us. These testimonies I shall produce in their order.

I. Τῷ δὴ μηνὶ τούτῳ (*Nisan*), περὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην ἡμέραν, μέλλοντος τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου γίνεσθαι πλησιφαοῦς, ἄγεται τὰ διαβατήρια, δημοφανὴς ἑορτή. Philo Jud. De Mose, lib. iii. Operum ii. 169. line 16.

It is plain that this testimony, by fixing the celebration of the passover to the fourteenth of Nisan, is in unison with the appointment of the Law : but it also implies that the fourteenth of Nisan preceded the full of the moon ; and therefore, that the passover was celebrated before the full of the moon. And this conclusion is confirmed by the following passage ; which ascertains the first day of the ἄζυμα, or the seven days' feast of unleavened bread. This feast was appointed by the Law to begin on the fifteenth day of the month, directly after the passover : τῆς δ' ἑορτῆς διχόμενος ἄρχει (leg. ἄρχεται) ἡ πεντεκαίδεκάτη, καθ' ἣν σελήνη πλησιφαῆς γίνεται^a. This statement also is in unison with the appointment of the Law ; but this likewise implies that the fifteenth of Nisan coincided with the full of the moon ; and, consequently, as before, that the fourteenth of Nisan preceded it. The reason which is assigned for this coincidence is to the same effect : προνοία τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι σκότος κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν^b, or as it is more fully expressed shortly after, with regard to the first day of the feast of Tabernacles, the fifteenth of Tisri, a case in point : ἵνα

^a Operum ii. 293. l. 19. De Septenario et Festis Diebus.

^b Ibid. l. 21.

μὴ μεθ' ἡμέραν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ, πλήρης ὁ κόσμος ἦ τοῦ παγκάλου φωτὸς, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀλλήλοισ ἐπανατελλόντων αὐγαῖς ἀδιαστίκτοις, αἷς μεθόριον οὐ διακρίνει σκότος ^c. At the full of the moon, and the equinoctial points of the year in particular, when the sun is setting the moon is rising; and when the moon is setting the sun is rising; so that there is literally no interval of darkness between day and night. The passage implies that such an effect was necessary upon the fifteenth of Nisan, the first day of the feast of unleavened bread; and if so, that the moon must come to the full on, not before nor after, the fifteenth of Nisan, the first day of the feast of unleavened bread. In this case, as before, the fourteenth of Nisan, the day of the sacrifice of the passover, preceded the full of the moon.

II. Τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῷ Ξανθικῷ, ὃς Νισὰν παρ' ἡμῖν καλεῖται, καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἐστὶν ἀρχή, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην καὶ τὴν θυσίαν . . . Πάσχα λεγομένην, δι' ἔτους ἐκάστου θύειν ἐνόμισε. Ant. Jud. iii. x. 5. Cf. Socrates, E. H. v. xxii. 284. D.

The phrase τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην opposes the fourteenth according to the moon, to the fourteenth according to any other mode of reckoning: just as, in classical writers, νομηνία κατὰ σελήνην ^d, to mark the precise day of an eclipse of the sun, opposes the first day according to the moon, to the first day according to any other purely civil mode of reckoning. If so, the fourteenth according to the moon is necessarily the fourteenth, dated from the change; and the fourteenth dated from the change is before the full of the moon; for the full of the moon is always on the fifteenth dated from the change. The passover, then, as be-

^c Ibid. 297. l. 44.

^d Thucyd. ii. 28.

fore, if celebrated on the fourteenth according to the moon, was celebrated before the full.

III. In an extract from the Paschal Canons of Anatolius, bishop of Laodicea, and contemporary with Eusebius, the former is seen to have cited the testimony of the two Agathobuli, surnamed the Masters, and of Aristobulus *; which last is *verbatim* to this effect :

Δοθείσης τε τῆς τῶν διαβατηρίων ἡμέρας τῇ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς μεθ' ἐσπέραν, ἐστήξεται μὲν σελήνη τὴν ἐναντίαν καὶ (leg. κατὰ) διάμετρον τῷ ἡλίῳ στάσιν· ὥσπερ οὖν ἔξεστιν ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις ὁρᾶν· ἔσονται δὲ, ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἑαρινὸν ἰσημερινὸν ὁ ἥλιος τμήμα, ἡ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης κατὰ τὸ φθινοπωρινὸν ἰσημερινὸν ἡ σελήνη. Ecc. Hist. vii. xxxii. 287. C.

In order to justify this description, it is absolutely necessary to suppose that when the passover was celebrated—μεθ' ἐσπέραν—on the fourteenth day of the month, the moon was *at*, or on the point of being *at*, the full : it could not otherwise be diametrically oppo-

* Anatolius, as here quoted, calls this Aristobulus, one of the translators of the Septuagint, E. H. vii. xxxii. 287. A, which is a remarkable oversight ; inasmuch as the same person himself, being quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, Operum i. 410. l. 25. Strom. i. xxii. and by Eusebius, after Clemens, Præparatio Evang. ix. vi. 410. D. tells us there had been versions of the Law of Moses, older than the time of Demetrius Phalereus ; that is, than the Septuagint itself. The truth is, he flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor ; to whom he dedicated a work of his, called by Eusebius, τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων ἐρμηνείαν, that is, an Interpretation, not a Transla-

tion, as the extract from it shews. Præp. vii. xiii. xiv. 323, 324. Cf. E. H. vii. xxxii. 287. A.

Clemens Alexandrinus considers him to be the person alluded to 2 Macc. i. 10, under the title of the *Master* ; though he has made a mistake in calling the Ptolemy in question, Ptolemy Philadelphus. Vide Operum ii. 705. 20. Strom. v. xiv. Perhaps this might give occasion to the mistatement of Anatolius. Aristobulus is again referred to, Operum i. 360. 12. Strom. i. xv. and ii. 755. 32. vi. iii. Origen, Contra Celsum, iv. 51. Operum i. 543. A. ranks him merely among writers more ancient than Philo.

site, in the region of the autumnal equinox, to the sun, in the quarter of the vernal. This testimony, it is true, is not so explicit as that of Philo or of Josephus ; but this also will imply that on the evening immediately after the day of the passover, that is, on the fifteenth of Nisan at least ; the moon would be at the full.

Reasoning, then, from the plain import of all these testimonies, which evidently speak the same language, and are as consistent with the original appointment of the Law, as with each other, I do not see that we can come to any other conclusion than this ; The days of the moon, as well as of a Jewish month, being both expressed by *νυχθήμερα*, or periods of one revolution of the earth round its axis—the day of the paschal sacrifice, the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan, must always have preceded the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of the moon : or what is the same thing, on the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan, at the time of the paschal sacrifice, the moon must not have arrived at the full, but only be on the point of arriving ; and on the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan, the first day of the feast of unleavened bread, she must have arrived at the full. If so, either the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan must always have begun and proceeded with the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of the moon ; and consequently, the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan with the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of the moon ; or the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan never must have begun and proceeded more than eighteen hours later than the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of the moon ; nor consequently the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan more than eighteen hours later than the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of the moon. The moon arrives at the full almost in eighteen hours exactly after her fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* is begun ; so that in either of these cases the full of the

moon would coincide with the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of the month: in the first case eighteen hours after that fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* was begun; in the other, at the beginning of the *νυχθήμερον* itself; but in no other case whatever.

It follows also, that the first *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan always coincided with the first *νυχθήμερον* of the moon; or at the utmost did not begin more than eighteen hours later than it. Now the first *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan was the neomenia of Nisan; and if we are right in our own conclusions, the decision of the question whether the neomenia of Nisan was determined by the physical conjunction of the sun and the moon, or by the visible appearance of the new moon, is deducible by way of corollary. It could not be regulated exclusively by either; and therefore was probably regulated conjointly by both. The conjunction of the sun and the moon might take place at any period of time during the four and twenty hours; but a Jewish *νυχθήμερον* always began and ended with sunset. How then could the neomenia of the first month be invariably dated from the physical conjunction of the sun and the moon? The same thing is true of the phasis; so that no neomenia could necessarily be always dated from that. Besides which, the phasis of the moon would be liable to obstruction from accidental circumstances. It could not, under any circumstances, be discernible within less than such and such a time from the change; but it is no necessary consequence that it must become visible even then. The neomenia of a month, if fixed by so precarious a standard, must always be varying; and might be many hours and even some days later in one month, than it had been or it might be in another.

We may take it for granted, I think, that no Jewish *νυχθήμερον* could be divided in any proportion between

two months: and consequently that, at whatever period of a given *νυχθήμερον* the change of the moon might happen, the whole of that *νυχθήμερον* must be assigned to one and the same month; and be either the last *νυχθήμερον* of the preceding, or the first *νυχθήμερον* of the succeeding one. Hence it is, that every Jewish month consisted of a number of complete *νυχθήμερα*; but alternately, of twenty-nine at one time and of thirty at another: the former when the month was *cavus*; the latter when it was *plenus*. This distribution of *νυχθήμερα* was made to compensate for the defect of the monthly lunations; which are completed in twenty-nine days and one half of mean time, instead of twenty-nine or thirty days exactly: so that those months, which contained only twenty-nine *νυχθήμερα*, were supposed to begin either with the new moon exactly, or within twelve hours afterwards. Now Nisan was one of those months which (as I think it exceedingly probable) always consisted of twenty-nine days and nights; (especially in the Jewish year at the time of the Christian era;) and certainly frequently did so^d; as for instance, whensoever the year had been intercalated, or Nisan was preceded by Veadar: but Jar, the next month to Nisan, was one which in such cases contained thirty: and between the two were comprised two lunations. Moreover Nisan was the beginning of the year, and at the head of the calendar for the rest of the months: and it is inconsistent, generally speaking, with that relation, that it should have begun with a fraction of lunar time; or in other words, that the neomenia of Nisan, and the first *νυχθήμερον* of the moon of Nisan, should not, generally speaking, have begun and proceeded together.

The solemnity of the new moons, or the necessity of

^d Vide Selden, de Anno Civili Vett. Jud.

keeping holy the beginning of every month, was due to the ritual observances appointed for such times by the law, in the addition of certain sacrifices to the daily sacrifice; and consequently either at morning or evening sacrifice, or at both^e. It is manifest that these must take place in the course of some *νυχθήμερον* or other; and that they could take place so properly in the course of none, as in that of the first *νυχθήμερον* of the month. What could be more foreign to the spirit of the ritual injunction, than that the ceremony prescribed should take place on the last *νυχθήμερον* of the month? the solemnization of the *new* moon, on the last day of the *old*? It is in vain to allege, in extenuation of this anomaly, the *ἔνη καὶ νέα*, the Greek *τριακὰς*, or thirtieth day of a lunar month. What *ἔνη καὶ νέα*, or thirtieth day, could those Jewish months have, which consisted of twenty-nine days? and what *ἔνη καὶ νέα*, or thirtieth *νυχθήμερον* of the moon, could be observed as the Jewish neomenia, and solemnized by additional sacrifices at morning and evening service, unless the thirtieth *νυχθήμερον* of the moon had begun before sunset on one day—the conjunction of the sun and the moon had taken place before sunrise on the next—and the Jewish neomenia had been determined by that conjunction, and begun the evening before? It is in vain also to allege the

. tricesima sabbata: vin' tu

Curtis Judæis oppedere?

of Horace^f: for whatever be meant here by the expression *tricesima sabbata*, it is manifest the allusion is to a sabbath, strictly so called; that is, to some time when the Jews, and such as did not care to offend the Jews, made a point of doing nothing. Now there is no reason to suppose the new moons were observed as sab-

^e Numb. xxviii. 11—15.

^f Sermonum Lib. i. Sat. ix. 69.

baths; there is not a word in the law to that effect. The scholium of Acron, then, *Tricesima sabbatha dici, quando calendis occurrit sabbathum*, may be the true explanation of the passage; but it supposes the day in question to be the first and not the last of the month, or to be equally divided between both.

The definition of the ritual neomenia, according to Philo, is as follows: *ἡ μετὰ σύνοδον, τὴν κατὰ τινα σελήνην νέαν, νεομηνία*^g: which however a little further on, he describes more explicitly first, as *ἀρχὴ μηνός*; secondly, as that day, *καθ' ἣν οὐδὲν ἀφώτιστον ἐν οὐρανῷ*; thirdly, *καθ' ἣν ἄρχεται φωτίζειν αἰσθητῷ φέγγει σελήνην ἥλιος, ἡ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον κάλλος ἀναφαίνει τοῖς ὁρώσι*^h. These criterions seem to place it beyond a question, that the true legal neomenia was not merely some day, *κατὰ σελήνην*, consequent on the conjunction as such—and *ἀρχὴ μηνός*, or beginning of the month—but also, when the moon had begun to be visible. In the pure climate of Judæa the phasis of the moon may take place in eighteen hours after the conjunction*; for even in our climate it has been known to do so: and if this was

* Geminus, vii. *Uranologicon*, 39. B: *ἔταν δὲ παραλλάξῃ ἡ σελήνη πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον περὶ τὴν νουμηνίαν, τότε μηνοειδὴς ἡ σελήνη θεωρεῖται*. Ibid. E: *μηνοειδὴς μὲν οὖν γίνεται περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν μηνῶν*. Ibid. 40. A: *ταχίστη μὲν γὰρ φαίνεται ἡ σελήνη μηνοειδὴς τῇ νουμηνίᾳ, βραδυτάτῃ δὲ τῇ τρίτῃ*.

That the moon usually became visible, in the climate of Judæa, or the neighbouring countries, as for instance Egypt, in less than three days' time from the conjunction—may be inferred from the following passage of the Hieroglyphica of Hora-

pollo—himself an Egyptian; where he is describing the hieroglyphical symbol for the month: *μῆνα δὲ γράφοντες, σελήνης σχῆμα, καθὸ καὶ πρόκειται* (he refers to cap. 10. supra) *ἔχον εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτὼ ἡμέρας ἰσημερινὰς μόνας, ἐξ εἰκοσιτεσσάρων ὥρων τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπαρχούσης, ζωγραφούσι, καθ' ἃς καὶ ἀνατέλλει ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς δύο, ἐν δύσει ἐστί*. Lib. i. cap. 66. By *ἀνατέλλει* here is meant, is visible to the eye; and by *ἐν δύσει ἐστί*, is invisible: and this state of invisibility is reckoned to be two days out of the thirty, not more.

^g Operum ii. 278. l. 19. De Septenario et Festis Diebus. l. 3—10.

^h Ibid. 292.

the case, a phasis of the moon might always be expected within that distance of time from the change. Upon the regularity of this fact was founded a rule in use among the Jews of later, and therefore probably derived from the Jews of earlier times; which was to count backwards from the time of the *phasis* eighteen hours, to bring them to the time of the *change* *. Consequently, if the time of the change could be foreseen, the time of the phasis also could be foreseen; and if the time of the phasis could be foreseen, the neomenia of Nisan (which is what we are here concerned with) might be fixed accordingly.

Now a constant necessity, for nearly two thousand years, of attending to the phenomena of the moon in particular †, must have made any people, however

* In the Liber Enoch, which I shall have frequent occasion to refer to, as the production of a native Hebrew, the sum total of the parts of a day and a night together, that is, of a *νοχθήμερον* as such, is estimated at *eighteen*: of which, it is said, at the equinoxes they have each *nine*, at the summer solstice the day has *twelve*, and the night has *six*; at the winter solstice they have each just the reverse. Vide cap. lxxi.

On this principle, each of these parts contained one hour and twenty minutes of equinoctial time; and the longest day, for the meridian of the writer, would contain sixteen hours in all: a supposition, which if we reckon from twilight to twilight, might agree sufficiently well to the meridian of Jerusalem.

Why, however, should this author have adopted so peculiar a division of the parts of a day and a night collectively, at all

times, except for some such reason as this; viz. that the sun and the moon being in conjunction on the *first* day of the new year, (see lxxiii. 13,) the latter became visible to the eye in Judæa, at the distance of eighteen hours afterwards? That the moon did become visible some time on the *first day* as such, that is, in the second *twelve* hours after the conjunction, is plainly implied in this verse: lxxvii. 14: On the *first day* it is called the *new moon*; for *on that day, light* is received into it: (that is, it first becomes visible.)

† There would be this necessity, whether we suppose the *civil* year of the Jews to have been lunar from the first, or not. The *sacred* year was lunar from the first; and that would be sufficient to oblige the Jews to attend to the motions of the moon from the first.

ignorant of astronomy in general, practically and experimentally at least acquainted with such facts as these, of the mean length of a lunation between one conjunction and another; of the age of the moon at the full; and of the natural and stated time after the conjunction within which she might be expected to become visible. But with this knowledge, assuming the mean length of a lunation to be twenty-nine days and twelve hours, and the interval between the conjunction and the phasis to be eighteen hours; the Jews were manifestly at liberty to fix the neomenia of Nisan by the following rule—which, it appears to me, will accord under all circumstances with the fact already substantiated from Philo, Josephus, and others; viz. that the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan, the day of the paschal sacrifice, was always bound to precede the full of the moon; the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan, the first day of the feast of unleavened bread, was always to happen upon it.

A *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan being divided into four and twenty equinoctial hours, twelve of the evening and twelve of the morning; and those four and twenty into four quarters, containing six hours each; if it could be calculated, and therefore foreseen, that the conjunction of the sun and the moon would take place any time within the first of these quarters, the neomenia of Nisan was fixed to the beginning of the same; if, during any part of the last three quarters, it was deferred until the expiration of them all. In the first case, the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan either coincided with the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of the moon, or preceded it at the utmost by only six equinoctial hours; and the full of the moon still took place on the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan: in the latter case, the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan either coincided for three-fourths

of its duration with the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of the moon, or at the utmost was only eighteen hours later than it; and the full of the moon coincided with the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of the month, as before. It is manifest, that this case would happen three times as often as the former; and it is also manifest that, in either case, but especially in the latter, the phasis of the new moon, under ordinary circumstances, would always coincide with the day which was kept to commemorate it.

I think the rule, thus supposed, is strikingly confirmed by another passage of Philo's. Speaking of the gradual increase and decrease of the moon, as proceeding by periods of sevens, he observes; ὁ δὲ γεννηθεὶς ἀριθμὸς ἀποκαταστατικός ἐστὶ σελήνης, ἀφ' οὗ ἤρξατο σχήματος λαμβάνειν αὐξήσιν αἰσθητῶς, εἰς ἐκείνον κατὰ μείωσιν ἀνακαμπτούσης. αὖξεται μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης μηνοειδοῦς ἐπιλάμψεως, ἄχρι διχοτόμου, ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ· εἴθ' ἑτέραις τοσαύταις πλησιφαῆς γίνεται· καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέφει, διανλοδρομοῦσα τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς πλησιφαοῦς ἐπὶ τὴν διχότομον ἑπτὰ πάλιν ἡμέραις, εἴτ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐπὶ τὴν μηνοειδῆ ταῖς ἴσαις ἐξῆς ὁ λεχθεὶς ἀριθμὸς συμπεπλήρωταιⁱ. This is a very just description; for if the moon begins to be visible eighteen hours after the conjunction, she ceases to be visible eighteen hours before the conjunction; she is invisible, therefore, for thirty-six hours in all, or one *νυχθήμερον* and an half; and she is visible for twenty-eight *νυχθήμερα* exactly: in the first half of which she is proceeding from the crescent to the full, and in the last half she is proceeding back again, from the full to the crescent*. Nor is it at variance with

* The author of the Book of Enoch, before referred to, describes the course of the moon to the same effect: lxxii. lxxiii. The light of the moon, when full, being supposed to amount

ⁱ Operum i. 24. l. 21. De Mundi Opificio.

another passage in the treatise *De Somniis*, Lib. ii. which by implication makes the lunar revolution two days and an half less than thirty days^k. For the context proves that this must be understood of the moon's periodic, not its synodic, revolution; and as the latter is twenty-nine days and one half in length, so the former is two days and some hours less than that.

With respect to the second subject of consideration, the time of the year when the passover was to be celebrated, there can be no question that this time was the vernal equinox. The passages, which I have produced, demonstrate that; and with these we may further compare Philo, *De Mundi Opificio*: ὁ θ' ἡγεμὼν ἡμέρας ἥλιος, δίττας, καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν, ἀποτελῶν ἡμερίας, ἔαρι καὶ μετοπώρῳ· τὴν μὲν ἔαριν ἐν Κριῶ, τὴν δὲ μετοπωρινὴν ἐν Ζυγῶ· ἐναργεστάτην παρέχεται πίστιν τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην θεοπρεποῦς. ἐκατέρα γὰρ τῶν ἡμεριῶν ἐβδόμῳ

to fourteen times as much as it possesses, when it first becomes visible, we are told, lxxii. 8, 9, that "on that *night* when it commences its period, previously to the *day* of the month," (the *first* day as such,) "it sets with the sun, and is dark in its fourteen portions;" that is, in both its quarters (of seven portions each). But "it rises on that *day*" (the first day as such) "with one *seventh* portion precisely;" (which means, in this instance, one seventh of a *quarter*, or one fourteenth of the half). So likewise lxxvii. 5: "When the moon rises" (for the first time) "it appears in heaven, and the *half* of a *seventh* portion of light is all which is in it." One seventh of the *whole* would be two four-

teenths; and the half of that is one fourteenth.

This author, then, supposes, that from the time when the moon becomes visible, she receives equal increments of light for fourteen days; she experiences equal decrements for fourteen more; and, consequently, is more or less visible for twenty-eight days in all. But he supposes a lunar revolution from conjunction to conjunction to be twenty-nine days and an half; or thirty-six hours more than twenty-eight days: which thirty-six hours must be made up of two periods of eighteen hours—just before, and just after the change; at the end of the latter of which the moon first becomes visible, and at the end of the former, first ceases to be so.

^k Operum i. 673. l. 35—43.

γίνεται μηνί, καθ' ἃς καὶ ἐορτάζειν διείρηται νόμῳ τὰς μεγίστας καὶ δημοτελεστάτας ἐορτάς^k.

The time of the vernal equinox, however, must be understood with some latitude. The true date of this equinox, about B. C. 4, was March 22 or 23: but its nominal date, so long after as the time of Pliny the elder, was still a. d. VIII. kal. Aprilis, March 25. It was enough for the Jews, notwithstanding, in order that the equinox might be considered as arrived, if the sun was within such and such limits of the first point of Aries; for the measure of which I refer to Ægidius Bucherius, *De Paschali Judæorum Cyclo**¹. The seventh Paschal Homily ascribed to Chrysostom, which was written after the council of Nice had fixed the vernal equinox to March 21, charges the Jews with still celebrating the passover before the vernal equinox or after it, according as they might have intercalated a month or not, indifferently^m; and the various dates assigned, on the authority of the supposed acts of Pilate, to the day of our Lord's passion, (all which must be conceived to have coincided with the time of the passover, and the fourteenth of the Jewish Nisan,) imply the same thing. For these are, VIII. kal. April. March 25: x. kal. April. March 23: XIII. kal. April. March 20: xv. kal. April. March 18. Of these, the last but one, XIII. kal. April. March 20. is Epiphanius' own dateⁿ.

* The equinoctial and the tropical points were all placed in *octavis partibus* of their respective signs. Vide Geminus, i: Cleomedes, *De Sublimibus*, i. 6: Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, ix. 2: Columella, *De Re Rustica*, ix. 14:

Pliny, *H. N.* ii. 17: xviii. 59. 74: Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, v. 9: *Fragmenta incerti auct. apud Censorinum*, ii: Julianus, *Oratio* iv. 156. A—C: Servius, ad *Georg.* i. 100. 205: *Scholia ad Arati Phænomena*, 499. 510: &c.

^k i. 28. l. 26.

¹ *Doctrina Temporum*, cap. iii. 342—350. ^m *Operum* viii. (*Spuria*) 277. C. cap. 2.

ⁿ *Adv. Hæreses*, i. 420. A. B. Tessares-cædecattæ, i.

The paschal limits, then, as fixed by Bucherius, are March 18, before which the passover could not be anticipated on the one hand, and April 16, after which it could not be celebrated on the other. The passover might be kept on the 18th of March, but not on the 17th; and on the 16th of April, but not on the 17th. The rule consequently, which I propose to follow in computing such passovers as I am concerned with, will be this: first, to ascertain the time, on the principle of the mean lunar motions, when the moon was at the full in any year, between March 18, and April 16; which will determine the paschal full moon: and secondly, to assume that the Jewish $\nu\chi\theta\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, immediately prior to this, was the fourteenth $\nu\chi\theta\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$ of Nisan, and consequently, the day of the passover; but on no account to assume that this day of the passover was the day when the moon was at the full.

The determination of the paschal day will enable us to determine the day of Pentecost, and the beginning of the feast of Tabernacles. The fifty-second day (reckoned from the fourteenth of Nisan, in any year, inclusive) is the day of Pentecost in the same year; and six mean lunations, or 177 days, reckoned from the time when the moon was at the full in the month of Nisan exclusive, will bring us to the time of the nominal full moon again in the month of Tisri. This 177th day will coincide with the 15th of Tisri.

The determination of the paschal full moon may be effected by means of eclipses; of which there is a large and accurate table in the *Art de verifier les Dates*, tome i. p. 53; to which I refer the reader. Where this table, which begins with A. D. 1 only, would be of no service to us, a similar table, calculated by Pingré, and extending for one thousand years back before the Chris-

tian era, abundantly supplies the defect. This table also may be found in the forty-second volume of the *Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. But if in a particular year, as is sometimes the case, these tables exhibit no eclipse, the difference of the length of the lunar and the solar year, abstracted from the time of the mean full moon at the requisite period, in the year before, will shew the time of the mean full moon, at the same period again, in the year after.

The time of each of these eclipses is the time of the true opposition—which must be the precise time of the full moon as such, and not of the mean; the opposition being reckoned on the actual orbit of the moon, not on the plane of the ecliptic. The time is calculated primarily for the meridian of Paris; but if we add to this time two hours and eleven minutes more, it will give the corresponding time for the meridian of Jerusalem. These times I shall express, whenever it is necessary, by the quarters of the Jewish *νυχθήμερον*, upon which they happen to fall; observing only that the first of these quarters begins, and the last ends, with sunset; the time of which, between March 18, and April 16, the paschal terms, may be considered either 6 p. m. according to our reckoning, or about one hour later than that. It is not necessary to take all these circumstances, in every instance, strictly into account. There are but three passovers, those of U. C. 750, B. C. 4; and U. C. 780, A. D. 27; and of U. C. 783, A. D. 30; where it is essentially important that we should be exact to a day: and I think that, with respect to all of these, the conclusion is sufficiently clear and certain; especially with respect to the first, as deducible from the eclipse, March 13, in that year, which

Petavius calculated expressly for the meridian of Jerusalem°. The magnitudes of the eclipses, though these also are determined, it was altogether unnecessary in any instance, to take into account; for the times of the full moons, with which only we are concerned, are not dependent on the quantity of the immersions, but solely on the fact of the eclipses.

Table of certain Jewish passovers, or other feasts, from U. C. 714, B. C. 40, to U. C. 823, A. D. 70.

U. C. 714, B. C. 40. Paschal full moon, March 21, second quarter. Passover, March 20. Pentecost, May 10. Tabernacles, September 14.

U. C. 717, B. C. 37. Paschal full moon, April 15. Tabernacles, October 9. Day of Atonement, October 4.

U. C. 734, B. C. 20. Paschal full moon, April 7, first quarter. Passover, April 7.

U. C. 735, B. C. 19. Paschal full moon, March 28, fourth quarter. Tabernacles, September 21.

U. C. 748, B. C. 6. Paschal full moon, April 4. Tabernacles, September 28.

U. C. 749, B. C. 5. Paschal full moon, March 23. Tabernacles, September 16.

U. C. 750, B. C. 4. Paschal full moon, April 11, fourth quarter. Passover, April 10.

U. C. 751, B. C. 3. Paschal full moon, March 31, first quarter. Passover, March 31. Pentecost, May 21.

U. C. 760, A. D. 7. Paschal full moon, March 22, third quarter. Passover, March 21. Pentecost, May 11. Tabernacles, September 15.

U. C. 761, A. D. 8. Paschal full moon, April 9, second quarter. Passover, April 8.

U. C. 762, A. D. 9. Paschal full moon, March 29, first quarter. Passover, March 29.

U. C. 779, A. D. 26. Paschal full moon, March 21, first quarter. Passover, March 21. Tabernacles, September 15.

U. C. 780, A. D. 27. Paschal full moon, April 9, first quarter. Passover, April 9. Pentecost, May 30. Tabernacles, October 4.

U. C. 781, A. D. 28. Paschal full moon, March 29, first quarter. Passover, March 29. Pentecost, May 19. Tabernacles, September 23.

U. C. 782, A. D. 29. Paschal full moon, April 16, first quarter. Passover, April 16. Pentecost, June 6. Tabernacles, October 11.

U. C. 783, A. D. 30. Paschal full moon, April 6, third quarter. Passover, April 5. Pentecost, May 26.

U. C. 786, A. D. 33. Paschal full moon, April 3, fourth quarter. Passover, April 2.

U. C. 790, A. D. 37. Paschal full moon, March 20, fourth quarter. Passover, March 19. Pentecost, May 9. Tabernacles, September 13.

U. C. 791, A. D. 38. Paschal full moon, April 8, fourth quarter. Passover, April 7.

U. C. 793, A. D. 40. Paschal full moon, April 15, fourth quarter. Tabernacles, October 9.

U. C. 794, A. D. 41. Paschal full moon, April 4, first quarter. Passover, April 4. Pentecost, May 25.

U. C. 796, A. D. 43. Paschal full moon, April 13, second quarter. Passover, April 12. Pentecost, June 2.

U. C. 797, A. D. 44. Paschal full moon, April 1, second quarter. Passover, March 31. Pentecost, May 21.

U. C. 802, A. D. 49. Paschal full moon, April 6, fourth quarter. Passover, April 5. Pentecost, May 26.

U. C. 803, A. D. 50. Paschal full moon, March 27, third quarter. Passover, March 26.

U. C. 804, A. D. 51. Paschal full moon, April 15, second quarter. Passover, April 14.

U. C. 805, A. D. 52. Paschal full moon, April 4, second quarter. Passover, April 3. Pentecost, May 24.

U. C. 809, A. D. 56. Paschal full moon, March 20, third quarter. Passover, March 19. Pentecost, May 9.

U. C. 811, A. D. 58. Paschal full moon, March 28, fourth quarter. Tabernacles, September 21.

U. C. 815, A. D. 62. Paschal full moon, April 12, fourth quarter. Passover, April 11. Tabernacles, October 6.

U. C. 819, A. D. 66. Paschal full moon, March 29, fourth quarter. Passover, March 28. Tabernacles, September 22.

U. C. 823, A. D. 70. Paschal full moon, April 14, third quarter. Passover, April 13. Pentecost, June 3. Tabernacles, October 8.

DISSERTATION VIII.

On the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar.

IF the time of the death of Herod was truly the spring of the year U.C. 751, B.C. 3, the difficulty connected with the literal construction of Luke iii. 1, compared with Luke iii. 23, becomes apparent. To make the most favourable supposition which we can; viz. that John began his ministry, and that our Lord was baptized, in the first half of Tiberius' fifteenth; yet if this fifteenth be dated from the death of Augustus, August 19, U.C. 767, and our Lord was thirty years old at his baptism, he was thirty years old in the latter half of U.C. 781: in which case he must have been born in the latter half of U.C. 751; six months at least after the death of Herod. On the other hand, if he could not have been born less than six months before the death of Herod, he could not have been born later than the last half of U.C. 750; in which case he would be thirty-one years old in the latter half of U.C. 781.

In explanation of this difficulty, which is after all more seeming than real, we must have recourse in the first place to the literal construction of the words of St. Luke; according to which, the fifteenth year of the *ἡγεμονία* of Tiberius Cæsar can never be shewn to denote the fifteenth year of his sole and exclusive supremacy, as bearing date only from the death of his predecessor Augustus—but would be just as applicable to the possession and continuance of an authority which had begun a certain length of time before. It will not be contended that the word *ἡγεμονία* alone must necessarily convey that meaning; and not be as pertinent to the

description of a divided, as of an undivided supremacy of any kind. If it is not impossible for two persons to be at the head of an empire at once, it is not impossible for two persons to be enjoying the same *ἡγεμονία* at once: and the years of this *ἡγεμονία* in either might be dated by an historian accordingly. The difficulties, which have been raised on this question, have arisen principally from not attending to this distinction.

If it can be made out by adequate testimony, that two years before the decease of Augustus, Tiberius was actually associated with him, not *verbo* or *nomine tenus*, but in the *bona fide* administration of the empire; with the same power and privileges which he possessed himself; I know not from what date, but that of this association, an evangelical historian who was duly careful of historical exactness in his statements, could possibly deduce the years of his reign: or why it should be considered an instance of inaccuracy that the thirteenth of Tiberius, as dated from the death of Augustus, should be called his fifteenth, as dated from this association. The matter of fact would still be undeniable, viz. that the *ἡγεμονία*, the *bona fide* and actual sovereignty—but in no sense of the term the sole and undivided sovereignty—of Tiberius Cæsar had lasted so long: that he had been declared emperor at Rome, he had been received and acknowledged in the provinces, and had exercised the functions of government, whether with or without a colleague, for that length of time.

There is no need, then, to defend the assertion of St. Luke on the score of the national prejudices or national recollections whether of Jews or of Asiatic Greeks; though it may be capable of proof that almost at every period of the several Dynasties which successively governed the east; among Assyrians, Egypt-

ians, Persians, Greeks *, the Israelites of old, and the Parthians ^a of that very day; the association of the children of the reigning monarchs in the empire, with their fathers, was no new or unexampled occurrence. I would defend it solely on the ground of that scrupulous regard to truth in the least matters as well as in the greatest, which we should have a right to expect from an inspired historian; and which is the predominant characteristic of St. Luke. Speaking, therefore, of the duration of Tiberius' government, (which by no means implied his *sole* government,) he could not deliberately call that year his *thirteenth*, which he knew to be really his *fifteenth*.

The only question, then, which we have to discuss, is this; whether the fact or the time of such an admission, can be determined with sufficient exactness. The fact, I think, may be considered as clearly ascertained by the authority of two competent witnesses—Velleius Paterculus ^b and Suetonius ^c. The time may require to be a little more minutely considered.

The date of Tiberius' proconsular empire is intimately connected with the date of his triumph; up to which I shall endeavour to conduct the train of events from some known point previously assumed.

I. On the v. kal. of July, in the consular year of Catus and Saturninus, U. C. 757, Tiberius was adopted by Augustus—invested with the Tribunician authority for ten years †—and shortly after dispatched into Germany ^d.

* "Απιθι πρὸς Ἀντίοχον τὸν Σελεύκου, πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Κύρου ἀδελφόν· ἤπελθε πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον· ἐκείνους ζῶντες οἱ πατέρες βασιλεῖς ἀνηγόρευσαν: Plutarch, De Fortuna Alexandri Magni,

Operum vii. 344. Cf. Dio, liii. 17: Appian, De B. C. i. 103.

† Tacitus also, Ann. vi. 51, virtually places the adoption in question in the eleventh year before U. C. 767; that is, in U. C.

^a Dio, xlix. 23. Tacitus, Ann. ii. 3. ^d Vell. Pat. ii. 103. Dio, lv. 13. Cf. 12. 22.

^b ii. 121. ^c Tiberius, 21, 1.

II. When three years of the campaigns in Germany were over and the fourth year was at hand, Pannonia revolted ; and Tiberius was dispatched thither. This war began consequently U. C. 760^e.

III. After this, there is mention in Velleius of one summer, the summer of U. C. 760. (cap. 112.) ; of the winter after that (113.) ; of a second summer, the summer of U. C. 761. (114.) ; of the autumn of the same year (114.) ; of another summer, the summer of U. C. 762, when operations were transferred into Dalmatia (115.) ; and of the close of the war the same year ; consequently, U. C. 762 (117.) *

IV. Within five days' time ^g from the conclusion of this war, the news was received of the disaster which befell Varus in Germany. The precise date of this disaster is mentioned by no ancient historian ; and it is a mistake, on the supposed authority of Florus ^h, who warrants no such conclusion, to place it upon the same day with the battle of Cannæ, which was IV. non. Sextiles ; August 2ndⁱ. The year, however, was unquestionably U. C. 762.†

757. The Amiternine calendar (p. 110.) dates it June 26, one day earlier than Velleius Paternulus.

Dio, lv. 13. lvi. 28: Tiberius was *again* invested with the Tribunitia Potestas, for *ten* years, U. C. 766: which proves that the first investiture, for the same term of years, had been U. C. 757.

* Dio's account of this war in Pannonia and Dalmatia, beginning U. C. 760, (see lv. 29. 30,) and ending U. C. 762, (lv. 33. lvi. 1—16. Cf. 10, 11,) is not incon-

sistent with that of Velleius. Both begin and end alike : and Dio also attests that the disaster of Varus happened immediately after its close. See lvi. 18.

† This date agrees with the account of Tacitus ^k, who shews that it was Sextum post cladis annum — in the seventh year after their destruction — that Germanicus, U. C. 768, about the middle of the year or later^l, paid the last honours to the remains of the Legions. It agrees also with another note of time,

^e Vell. Pat. ii. 104—109. 110—112.

^g Vell. Pat. ii. 117. Suet. Tiberius, 17.

^h Ann. i. 62.

ⁱ Ib. 63. 70.

Dio, lv. 30. 33. Suet. Tiberius, 16.

^k iv. 12, 35.

^l Anulus Gellius,

That the time of the year, likewise, was the close of the summer, may be very probably collected from Dio^p; the two former of which testimonies imply that the autumnal equinox was at hand; the latter, that the Ludi Circenses, in the due course of things, would have fallen out soon after the event which suspended them for the present.

V. The misfortune in Germany delayed for a time the celebration of Tiberius' Triumph, due to his successes in Pannonia. It is shewn by Suetonius^q that he returned to the city the same year in which this event happened, and, consequently, U.C. 762; and that he departed again soon after, to take the command of the frontiers against the Germans. The same thing is implied by Dio also^r; who after mentioning Tiberius' departure to Dalmatia, yet without noticing his return to Rome, shews that he was again there subsequently to the destruction of Varus. But there is no proof, even in Suetonius, that he undertook any expedition into Germany, or renewed hostilities, before the next year; and indeed, it was too late in U.C. 762, when the misfortune was sustained, for this to be the case.

VI. There is mention in Paterculus^s of one cam-

U.C. 811. *exeunte*^m—Quinquaginta annorum obsequio; as referred to the same date. The fiftieth year current from U.C. 762, was U.C. 811. There is another passage to the same effect, which belongs to U.C. 803: *Aucta lætitia, quod quosdam e clade Variana quadragesimum post annum servitio exemerant*ⁿ. *Quadragesimum post annum* means in the *forty-first* year: and forty-one added to

762, brings us to 803. The same thing is implied by the statement respecting the length of the reign of Arminius; which Tacitus makes twelve years from the time of the liberation of Germany by the destruction of Varus, to the time of his death^o. This death is placed apparently, U.C. 772: and probably happened U.C. 773: whence, to U.C. 762, there were twelve years inclusive of both.

^m Ann. xiii. 55.
^q Tiberius, 17. 18.

ⁿ Ibid. xii. 27.
^r lvi. 12. 23.

^o Ibid. ii. 88. ^p lvi. 20. 21. 24.
^s ii. 120.

paign of Tiberius in Germany, and of his return into winter quarters; which is consequently the campaign of U. C. 763, passed over by Dio in silence, with no further mention than that of the dedication of the Temple of Concord by Tiberius, τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει^t: which Suetonius^u on the contrary places U. C. 765*.

After this there was another campaign^x, which was that of U. C. 764, when, according to Dio, Lepidus and Taurus were consuls, and Tiberius remained in Germany, μέχρι τοῦ μετοπώρου, as late even as the ix. kal. of October, September the 23d; the birthday of Augustus^y.

VII. The next circumstance, according to Velleius^z, was the decree of the senate, which conveyed to Tiberius the imperial authority in question: Cum et senatus populusque Romanus, postulante patre ejus, ut æquum ei jus in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset: which decree, as being posterior to the close of this campaign, it would be unreasonable to suppose was past before the latter half of U. C. 764, or rather the beginning of U. C. 765, at the soonest.

VIII. Lastly, there is an account of Tiberius' Triumph, which Suetonius^a, by placing *post biennium*, that is, two full years, (according to his usage in other instances, and the necessary import of the context in this instance,) after the return U. C. 762, proves to have been celebrated U. C. 765; which Velleius himself was witness to, nine years after Tiberius' mission

* The Prænestine Calendar places it January 16, Dolabella et Silano Coss. U. C. 763. It is probable, however, that there is

here an hiatus in Dio. The consulship of Dolabella and Silanus, contrary to his usage, is not so much as mentioned by him^b.

^t lvi. i. 25. ^u Tiberius, 20. ^x Vell. Pat. ii. 121. ^y lvi. 25. 30. ^z ii. 121.
^a Tiberius, 20. ^b lvi. i. 25. Cf. the Fasti Verrii Flacci, page 1. and 105.

into Germany, U. C. 757, inclusive of that year^b; and which the course of events hitherto shews could not have been celebrated earlier.

IX. It is true that Suetonius, even after the mention of this Triumph, has the following statement with respect to Tiberius' proconsular empire^c; *Ac non multo post lege per consules lata, ut provincias cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulque censum ageret, condito lustrum in Illyricum profectus est.* This last census is placed by Eusebius, in *Chronico*, in the fifty-fifth of Augustus, U. C. 765. The Ancyran monument proves it to have been concluded, or the *lustrum conditum esse*, U. C. 767^d; in which case, the census could not well have begun later than U. C. 766 *in-eunte*, or U. C. 765 *exeunte*. It was begun therefore U. C. 765; but it was not completed and the *lustrum conditum*, until U. C. 767; about one hundred days or three or four months, before the death of Augustus^e. This, then, was likewise the time when Tiberius set out for Illyricum; before the conclusion of which journey he was recalled by the news of the sickness of Augustus^f.

There is consequently some difference between Velleius and Suetonius; one of whom seems to place Tiberius' admission to an equality with Augustus before his Triumph, and the other after it. But they both assert the fact of the admission itself: which is what we are chiefly concerned with. The difference between them affects only the circumstance of the time: nor is this difference, as it appears to me, irreconcilable. Both the statements may be consistent with one another. I observe no mention in Velleius of any *law* as such—any particular agency of the consuls in office—or any

^b ii. 104.
Dio, lvi. 29.

^c Tiberius, 21.

^d Tacitus, iv. 840.

^e Suet. Augustus, 97.

^f Tacitus, Ann. i. 5. Suet. Tiberius, 21. Dio, lvi. 31.

allusion to the holding of a census, as well as governing the armies and provinces: nor on the other hand, any mention in Suetonius of a request of Augustus, or decree of the senate. I think therefore that Velleius refers to a prior occasion, and Suetonius to a later; upon the former of which a *senatus decretum* only was past, and upon the latter a regular law. The former then was preliminary to the latter: which being the more solemn and regular measure of the two; the ratification and even enlargement of the other; it is from the date of the latter that Tiberius' proconsular empire must begin and proceed: and this date, as we have seen, was U. C. 765, nearer perhaps to the middle than to the beginning of it. There is no reason to suppose that Tiberius was at Rome when the decree was passed; but he was certainly there when the law was*.

There are two or three allusions in Dio, belonging to the period in question, which seem to imply that some such event as this advancement of Tiberius had recently taken place.

I. During the consulate of Germanicus, Augustus,

* The assertion of Dio that Germanicus, who had previously been with Tiberius in Germany, before his consulship, δι' ὅλου αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔτους οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀξίωσιν . . . ἔσχεε, relates to his conduct in office—*quod civiliter se gesserit*—not to the time for which he held it: and therefore cannot prove that either he or Tiberius was in Rome so early as the first of January, U. C. 765. The latter had not triumphed before the decree, but he had triumphed before the law; and

the most probable supposition is, that the decree was preparatory to his triumph; and passed at the beginning of the consular year, U. C. 765, itself. Perhaps this conclusion is confirmed by the true date of his triumph, which the Prænestine Calendar, as quoted by Eckhel^h, places on the sixteenth of January, U. C. 765. The law, on the other hand, might be passed a few months later: the consuls, by whom it was passed, being Germanicus and Capito.

g lvi. 26. h Doctrina Numm. Vett. vi. 186. Cf. the Fasti Verrii Flacci, p. 1. 105.

on the plea of his own infirmities, excused himself from any longer attendance upon public business; but recommended Germanicus to the senate, and the senate to Tiberiusⁱ.

II. There was this year, while the Tiber was overflowing the Circus, πανήγυρις, ἔξω τῶν νενομισμένων^k. The time of this extraordinary celebrity is determined to the spring, by the mention of τὰ Ἀρεια, or the Ludi Martiales, which ensued about the same period. The old Roman calendar fixes the time of these games to iv. id. Maias, that is, May 12: the place where they were held being the Circus. These were the games of Mars Bisultor, or Twice the Avenger; instituted or revived by Augustus after the recovery of the standards U. C. 734^l. These extra festivities, then, would be about the time of Tiberius' association in the empire; and might commemorate that event itself.

III. At the close of this year—because at the beginning of the consular year of Silius and Plancus, U. C. 766, when Augustus' fourth decennium expired, and his fifth began^m—there is such a mention of Tiberius, as would imply his equality to the emperor himself. Augustus had requested from the senate a privy-council of twenty members, who were to act with him through the year; instead of the council of fifteen, which he was before accustomed to renew every six monthsⁿ. The senate conceded the request; decreeing, over and above, that whatsoever should be ordered by Tiberius, by this council, and the consuls for the time being, the *consules designati*, and any others whom Augustus might choose to consult, in conjunction with himself—should be of the same authority as if sanctioned by all the senate^o.

ⁱ Dio, lvi. 26.

^k Ib. 27.

Cf. the Maffæan Calendar, p. 109.

6. 12.

ⁿ Ib. liii. 21. Suet. Augustus, 35.

^l Ib. liv. 8. Ovid, Fast. v. 595—598.

^m Dio, lvi. 28. Cf. liii. 2. 16. liv. 12. lv.

^o Dio, lvi. 28.

Again, there is a remarkable statement in Suetonius and Pliny, who are confirmed also by Seneca^p; which, being compared with another in Tacitus^q, demonstrates that Tiberius was already *Princeps*, and exercising the functions of royalty, by disposing of offices of patronage and trust, U. C. 765 itself. Lucius Piso, prefect of the city, died U. C. 785; and as the context proves, after 785 *medium*: having held his office previously *viginti per annos*. If so, he was appointed after U. C. 765, *medium*. But his appointment is unanimously attributed by the abovementioned authorities to Tiberius; and to Tiberius already *Princeps*; and by Suetonius in particular, to Tiberius In ipsa publicorum morum correctione; that is, when a census was going on. If so, Tiberius was both *Princeps* and *Censor* U. C. 765. At the same time, according to Suetonius, he either made, or promised to make, Pomponius Flaccus proprætor of Syria: and this promise must some time have been performed; for Pomponius died in office there, U. C. 786^{*r}.

* By referring to Eckhel, De Doctrina Numorum Veterum^s, it will be seen that there is some reason to believe in the existence of two coins of Antioch, which bear date 43 and 44, as referred to the Actian era of U. C. 723; and exhibit the head of Tiberius, with the title of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, or Augustus. Each of these coins must have been struck before the death of Augustus, U. C. 767: the former between the autumn of U. C. 765, and the autumn of U. C. 766; the latter between the autumn of U. C. 766, and the autumn of U. C. 767.

If these coins were genuine, they would be demonstrative upon the question whether Tiberius was associated with Augustus, and recognised in the provinces as emperor, before the first half of U. C. 766, at the latest: and though Eckhel is inclined to doubt of their actual existence, I confess that his reasons appear to me unsatisfactory; and that there is still some ground for believing them real. They are produced on the authority of Andreas Morellius, to whose general accuracy the highest testimony is borne both here and elsewhere, (vol. i. clv.) They

^p Suet. Tiberius, 42. Pliny, H. N. xiv. 28. Sen. Epist. 83. §. 12, 13. ^q Ann. vi. 10, 11. Vide also Vell. Pat. ii. 98. ^r Tacitus, Ann. vi. 27. ^s iii. 276.

The fact, then, of Tiberius' association in the empire with Augustus, seems to be too well attested to admit of being called into question; and the time requires, with great reason, to be placed either U. C. 765, *in-eunte*, or not later than U. C. 765, *medio*. The fifteenth year of his reign, as deduced from either of these beginnings, would necessarily coincide, either wholly or in part, with his thirteenth, as deduced from the month of August, U. C. 767. And this being the case, it would be abundantly sufficient both to explain and to verify the computation of St. Luke.

coincide critically with the period by which there is reason, on other and independent testimony, to presume that Tiberius would be recognised in the provinces as the colleague and equal of Augustus; and consequently as entitled in his own right to the name of Σεβαστὸς, as well as he. Nor is it any insuperable difficulty, that the first coin of Tiberius, after the death of Augustus, exhibits the monogram A; and the third, from the same date, the monogram T^t; though these monograms might be intended to denote the first and third years of his reign, dated from the death of his predecessor, respectively. These characters appear on none other of his coins; and therefore they were speedily laid aside; whence, we may conjecture they were

purposely placed on these two, to mark the beginning of Tiberius' sole reign, and the years which proceeded from that point, in contradistinction to the two which had already been passed with Augustus, and made the two last of the reign of that emperor, as well as the two first of the succeeding one.

Lastly, there must have been calculations of the length of Tiberius' reign, which made it more than twenty-two, or twenty-three years; the utmost length which can be assigned to it, as bearing date from the death of Augustus. Clemens Alexandrinus mentions this latter statement of its duration, and another, which reckoned it at twenty-six years, six months, and nineteen days. Opera, i. 406. l. 1 and 13. Strom. i. 21.

^t Eckhel, iii. 278.

DISSERTATION IX.

On the beginning of the government of Pontius Pilate.

WE are informed by Josephus^a that, for the first twenty-two years of his reign, the emperor Tiberius appointed only two procurators of Judæa; the first of whom was Valerius Gratus^b, and the second was Pontius Pilate. Gratus continued eleven years in office, and Pilate ten^c: both together consequently were in office twenty-one years in all; and the last year of their united administration coincided with the twenty-second of Tiberius. The last year of Pilate therefore was the twenty-second of Tiberius; and consequently his first was the thirteenth. The truth of this conclusion may be more fully evinced as follows.

The predecessor of Gratus was Annius Rufus; appointed indeed under Augustus, but continued in office (for reasons which will appear hereafter) one year after his death. The first year of Gratus then would coincide with the second of Tiberius; and consequently his eleventh with the twelfth. The first year of Pilate, therefore, would coincide with the thirteenth.

There is no instance in contemporary history, of a journey's being undertaken, or of a governor's being dispatched, under ordinary circumstances, into any of the transmarine provinces, except in the spring or the summer of the year; but many instances to the contrary. The Acts of the Apostles supply one example in the case of Festus, and Josephus another, in the case of Albinus, of procurators of Judæa in particular, who arrived in the autumn, and therefore must have set out in the spring. Cicero, U. C. 703, set out to

^a Ant. xviii. vi. 5. ^b xviii. ii. 2. ^c xviii. iv. 2.

his province, which was Cilicia *Aspera*, on the kalends of May; and arrived in it on the last day of July^d. The younger Pliny, in the reign of Trajan, arrived in his province, Bithynia, only xv. kal. Octobres^e; though that was somewhat later than usual. Tacitus also has many cases in point; as, for instance, the mission of Germanicus and Piso^f, U. C. 770 and 771.

The truth is that Tiberius, U. C. 768, issued a general order, that all governors of provinces should repair to their destinations, that is, set out from Italy, before the *first* of June^g: which general order the emperor Claudius, U. C. 795, limited to the first of April^h: and, U. C. 796, finding that that was too early, extended to the middle of Aprilⁱ. We may take it for granted therefore that neither Gratus, nor Pilate, nor any other procurator of Judæa, in the regular course of things would be dispatched to take possession of his government, except in the spring or summer quarter of the year. And this is one reason why Rufus continued in office a year after the death of Augustus; for, as this event had happened on the 19th of August, U. C. 767, no successor could well be dispatched before the spring of U. C. 768; though the military commotions in Pannonia and Germany, by which the rest of the preceding year was occupied, had permitted the emperor to send one. *Negotium magnum est navigare, atque mense Quintili*, says Cicero, writing to Atticus^k: and, according to Philo^l, after the autumnal equinox, except unto such as must venture to sail at all hazards, the sea was as good as shut up.

Upon this principle, the arrival of Gratus would be about the middle of summer, U. C. 768, in Tiberius'

^d Epp. ad Fam. et ad Atticum, passim. ^e Epp. x. 28. ^f Ann. ii. 41. 43.
^g Dio, lvii. 14. ^h lx. 11. 10. ⁱ Ibid. 17. ^k Lib. v. xii.
^l Operum ii. 548. l. 14—19. De Virtutibus.

second year; and the arrival of Pilate, about the same time in U. C. 779, Tiberius' twelfth. After the feast of Tabernacles, then, U. C. 779, or even before it, in the thirteenth of this emperor's reign, when John the Baptist entered on his ministry, Pilate, as St. Luke asserts^s, would actually be already in office. The feast of Tabernacles, U. C. 779, began about September 15, and expired about September 22^t.

When, therefore, it is said in the Antiquities^v, that Pilate, δέκα ἔτεσιν διατρίψας ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας—for ten years having continued in Judæa—was at length dismissed by Vitellius, and sent to Rome, to answer before Tiberius for his conduct towards the Samaritans; in the first place, the words imply that he had been ten full years in Judæa; and, consequently, if he was deposed in the autumn of Tiberius' twenty-second year, that he arrived by the autumn of his twelfth. Secondly, before he arrived at Rome Tiberius was dead; that is, he did not arrive before the 16th of March in Tiberius' twenty-third year; and consequently, he had to travel from Judæa to Italy in the winter season: in which case he would be three or four months at least on the road, as it will be shewn by a number of examples in a future Dissertation; and he might be more.

I am aware, indeed, that Dr. Lardner^w seems to consider it almost a certain fact that Pilate was removed in the twenty-first of Tiberius; whence it is plain that this careful and judicious critic had overlooked the passage referred to above^x; which proves that Pilate's last year of office, and the twenty-second of Tiberius, began and expired together. In other respects also the arguments in favour of his opinion are of little weight.

^s iii. 1. ^t Diss. vii. ^v xviii. iv. 2. ^w Credibility, book ii. chap. 3.
[§] 3. 1. 840—855. ^x Ant. Jud. xviii. vi. 5.

Josephus' account of the transactions in the East between Vitellius and Artabanus, though posterior to the removal of Pilate, is not related as the narrative of a series of events consecutive upon that; for on that principle the death of Philip the tetrarch must be related as consecutive upon the removal of Pilate; and this removal must be placed before the twentieth of Tiberius, or not later than U. C. 786 *exeunte*, at the latest. The account of these transactions in Josephus^y coincides with Tacitus, Ann. vi. 31—44. beginning with the end of U. C. 787, and ending with the summer of U. C. 789; and comprising^z, either wholly or in part, the particulars of two campaigns*. With the time of the final retreat of Tiridates the Antiquities come in^a to complete the account of Tacitus. Tiberius' orders, that Vitellius should make peace with Artabanus, could not have been issued before the termination of the attempt to place Tiridates on the throne of Parthia; that is, before the summer of U. C. 789. at least; and *then*, I apprehend, they were transmitted, and executed accordingly. If so, their execution would coincide with the autumn of U. C. 789; the very time of the removal of Pilate: and it was this coincidence between the two events, which most probably induced Josephus to pass directly from the one to the other.

All the notice which Dio has taken of the same events, lies between the year U. C. 788, and the beginning of the consular year 789; and it ends with Artabanus' recovery of Armenia by the help of the Scythians^b. It is manifest therefore that it leads to the

* Josephus, indeed, gives the first part of the history of Artabanus, Ant. Jud. xviii. ii. 4: the time of which, however, belongs to U. C. 769. Cf. Tacitus, Ann. ii. 1—4. 58. 68.

^y Ant. xviii. iv. 4. 5.

^z Ann. vi. 38.

^a xviii. iv. 5.

^b lviii. 25. 26.

same conclusion ; viz. that the orders of Tiberius could not have been transmitted before U. C. 789. *ineuntem*. There are other circumstances, however, related by him, in which he is confirmed by Suetonius^c, which manifestly belong to some year ensuing, in the reign of Caius, but while Vitellius was still governor of Syria: which therefore could not be later than U. C. 792 ; and, as I shall shew hereafter, was most probably U. C. 790.

The argument of Lardner from the Antiquities, xv. xi. 4, is perhaps the least conclusive of all. For Josephus has there committed a mistake in another instance, which is sufficient to discredit his testimony as to any thing else there stated : viz. in supposing the rescript of Claudius concerning the custody of the pontifical robes to have been directed to Vitellius ; as if Vitellius was then still president of Syria. Vitellius was never president later than the third of Caius, when he was superseded by Petronius : and the presidents after Petronius, until past this period in the reign of Claudius, were Marsus, Longinus, and Quadratus. The rescript in question was transmitted to one of these last^d ; and as I believe, to Longinus.

If the account, however, is to be trusted in one respect, it is to be trusted in another : and it states expressly that, if Vitellius wrote to Tiberius at all, he wrote from Jerusalem ; and consequently on one of the two occasions, when he is seen to have been present there ; viz. either at the passover^e next upon the removal of Pilate, or else at the ensuing feast^f ; which the very time of the year, as the season chosen for military operations, and the fact of the death of Tiberius, which happened in March (not quite two months be-

^c Dio, lix. 27. Suet. Caius, 14. Vitellius, 2. ^d Ant. Jud. xx. i. 1. 2. ^e xviii. iv. 3. ^f xviii. v. 3.

fore it), would prove to be a Pentecost; and in this instance the Pentecost of U. C. 790, the first of Caius. The death of Tiberius happened March 16 in that year, and the Jewish passover was celebrated March 19^g. It was impossible therefore that the news of his death could have been received in Judæa by the feast of the passover, only three days after it happened. But it might have been received by the Pentecost next ensuing; which would be May 9; fifty-four days later.

If Vitellius wrote from Jerusalem on the first of those occasions, he would write to Tiberius as still alive; but his letter would find him dead; and if any answer was returned to it, it would be returned by his successor. It is possible then that the letter, which communicated the petition of the Jews, might be written to Tiberius; but that the permission about which they wrote was conceded by Caius; in whose court Herod Agrippa was present and high in favour at the time. The rescript of Claudius^h, however, supposes the permission to have been given exclusively by Vitellius: and this I believe to have been the case; for the presidents of Syria possessed sufficient authority to grant or to withhold the privilege in question, at their own discretion.

Between U. C. 760 and U. C. 767, there were three procurators of Judæa; Coponius, Ambivius, and Rufus; all in the lifetime of Augustusⁱ. Now none of these could have been in office less than a single year: in which case, some one or some two of them must have been in office much longer. I shall make it appear hereafter that Augustus was accustomed to continue such governors as these, upon an average, three years in office. In this case, Rufus would come into office

^g Diss. vii.^h Ant. xx. i. 2.ⁱ Ant. xviii. ii. 2.

U.C. 766; and he could not have been more than a year in office when Augustus died: so that his being continued in office another year, before he was superseded by Gratus, was nothing unreasonable. It has a parallel case in the continuation of Silanus, who was governor of Syria, at the time of the death of Augustus, for three years after that event^k; and of Æmilius Rectus, the procurator of Egypt, for one year posterior to it at least^l. The first year of Gratus would thus bear date from U.C. 768 *ab æstate*, and the first of Pilate from U.C. 779 *ab æstate*: and this is the year to which Eusebius, in *Chronico*, accordingly assigns it^m.

With regard to the length of his administration afterwards, I am persuaded that the statement of Josephus is rather under than above the truth: that he passed at least ten full years in his province, and was removed some time in his eleventh year. The Samaritan deputies found Vitellius at Antioch when they brought their complaints against Pilate; from Antioch soon after he went to Jerusalem, when it was about the time of the passover; and from Jerusalem he returned to Antioch againⁿ. Now, until he had met with Artabanus at the Euphrates and concluded peace with him^o, he could not have been found at Antioch: nor had this peace been concluded before U. C. 789 *medium*, at the earliest. At the time of the return to Antioch after the passover; which would thus be in the spring, U. C. 790; he might receive the orders of Tiberius to make war upon Aretas; and he would naturally be upon his march at the Pentecost next ensuing, to execute these orders, when he was stopped by the news of the emperor's death.

^k Tacitus, Ann. ii. 43.
i. ix. x.

ⁿ xviii. iv. 2, 3.

^l Diss. xiii. infra. Cf. Dio, lvii. 10.

^o Ibid. 5.

^m Cf. E. H.

If then Pilate had been in office ten years and two or three months, Josephus, according to his practice in many other instances, might drop the two or three months : and the interval of time between his removal and the death of Tiberius, which would not exceed three or four more, might easily be accounted for by the duration of a voyage, in the winter season, from Syria to Rome. But as to supposing that though removed at least eighteen months before the death of Tiberius, and ordered instantly away to Rome, he did not arrive there until the emperor was dead ; this is an assumption which exceeds the bounds of credibility. Nor is there any reason whatever to suspect Josephus of a mistake, as to the time of the arrival of Pilate at Rome, or to the close of his history in general ; while he is considered entitled to belief as to the preceding part of it. I have said enough to prove that, in the whole of this account, Josephus is consistent with himself ; and so far from being chargeable with mistakes, that he shews he was perfectly acquainted with his subject, and asserts nothing which is not both a possible and a probable statement.

DISSERTATION X.

On the united, and the separate, duration of the ministry of John the Baptist, and of Jesus Christ.

IN whatever point of view we may regard the mission of John the Baptist, it must still be considered something subordinate to the mission of Jesus Christ: in which case, the beginning of the ministry of the latter would be, either actually or virtually, the close of the ministry of the former. The nature of the office of John—the very character which he supported in relation to Christ—rendered it a necessary consequence that, as soon as our Lord himself began to preach, the purpose of John's mission was accomplished; the character which he had supported, and the part which he had discharged, until then, could no longer be supported and discharged as before.

If John was merely the herald or harbinger of Jesus Christ; no herald or harbinger could continue with propriety to announce the approaching advent of a certain person, when that person was actually come: if he was his fellow-labourer in a certain common work, as well as his predecessor in it—differing from him in the order, but not in the nature of his part—no predecessor *as such* could continue to serve in his vocation when his successor was engaged upon the same. The character of the inferior, under such circumstances, must be eclipsed by that of the superior; and the part sustained until then by the secondary agent, must be merged in the part which would thenceforward be sustained by the principal.

It is well observed by Theophylact in reference to

the death of John ^a, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν Ἰωάννου διὰ τοῦτο συγχωρηθῆναι ταχίστην γενέσθαι, ὥστε πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ πλήθους διάθεσιν ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν μετελθεῖν, καὶ μηκέτι ταῖς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων, Ἰωάννου καὶ Χριστοῦ, σχίζεσθαι γνώμας: and the principle of the remark is applicable to the termination of his ministry also. It was not possible, if the one was in any sense the predecessor and the other the successor, that our Lord and the Baptist could enter on their personal ministry, respectively, at once: and if it was not impossible, it was yet on many accounts inexpedient, that when the personal ministry of each had been begun, they should have gone on long together. It was therefore wisely ordained by Providence, that when the ministry of Christ had formally begun, the ministry of the Baptist should speedily cease.

Into the nature and purposes of the mission of John I shall inquire more at large hereafter: and all that I shall do at present, will be to lay before the reader the most prominent of the arguments, which may contribute to the proof of this position; if indeed such a position requires any proof; viz. that the true date of the commencement of the personal ministry of our Saviour is the true date of the termination of the personal ministry of John the Baptist.

The matter of the fact; viz. that one actual commencement of the ministry of Christ; the ministry in Galilee; was actually posterior to the imprisonment, and therefore to the close of the ministry of John.

The course of the Gospel narrative; which beginning with the personal ministry of John, and for a time confining itself to that, passes to the personal ministry of Christ; and ever after confines itself to the personal ministry of Christ.

^a Operum i. 547. C. Comm. in Joh. iii. Cf. Chrys. Operum viii. 165. B. in Joh. iii. 22. Homilia xxix. where the remark first occurs.

The declarations of Scripture ; which assign the Baptist a specific office in reference to Christ ; an office, to be discharged only before the personal appearance of Christ ; and which speak of the individual ministry of Christ as not merely following upon that of the Baptist, but following in a direct order of time ; taking it up just as it had ceased, and continuing it thenceforward ; and so, by the precise period of its own commencement, determining the exact time when the other had ceased.

Καὶ αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει Ἡλίου. Luke i. 17.

Καὶ σὺ, παιδίον, προφήτης ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ· προπορεύσῃ γὰρ πρὸ προσώπου Κυρίου, ἐτοιμάσαι ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ. Luke i. 76.

Προκηρύξαντος Ἰωάννου πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ βάπτισμα μετανόιας παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. Acts xiii. 24.

Δεῖ οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ, ἐν ᾧ εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν, μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι σὺν ἡμῖν ἕνα τούτων. Acts i. 21, 22.

Τὸν λόγον ὃν ἀπέστειλε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ.....ὕμεῖς οἶδατε τὸ γενόμενον ῥῆμα καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐκήρυξεν Ἰωάννης. Acts x. 36, 37.

In the third of these passages, the entrance of Christ on his office is called τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ : and in the fourth and the fifth, by the *baptism* of John in particular is meant the *complex of his ministry* in general. Τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου πόθεν ἦν ;—Τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἦν, ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ;—Τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἦν, ἢ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ;—Ἐπιστάμενος μόνον τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου—Εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα ^b—in

^b Matt. xxi. 25. Mark xi. 30. Luke xx. 4. Acts xviii. 25. xix. 3.

all which texts the word βάπτισμα is to be understood of the mission and ministry of John, generally.

To sum up, therefore, these testimonies. The general purpose of the mission of John was to go before Christ, as his predecessor in some capacity or other: the entrance of Christ on his own office was the termination of the office of John: the public discharge of our Saviour's ministry, the period of time for which he went out and came in to his disciples, was comprehended between the cessation of the ministry of John on the one hand, and the day of the ascension on the other: the word which, beginning from Galilee, had been preached throughout all Judæa, was begun when the baptism or ministry of John was over, and immediately after it was over; but not before. The proof of our position then is now sufficiently complete.

With respect, however, to the date in question, our Lord's ministry had one commencement in Judæa, and another in Galilee; which neither were, nor could be, coincident. The beginning of *his* ministry, therefore, and so far the close of the ministry of *John*, admits of a double date; between one of which and the other the only difference will be this; viz. that what was actually the case at the one was virtually the case at the other. The commencement of the ministry in Galilee was later than the commencement of the ministry in Judæa; yet not so far later than it, but that the commencement of the ministry in Galilee was still the prosecution of what had been begun in Judæa. The character of our Lord's agency in Galilee was not essentially, but specifically, affected by the time of its commencement. He began, and thenceforward continued to do on an enlarged scale—in a new field of exertion—in a more public, and formal, and systematic manner, what he had begun to do, and been employed in doing, though some-

what more partially, and in a more reserved manner, before. The commencement of the ministry in Judæa is specified by St. John alone; the beginning of the ministry in Galilee by the rest of the evangelists: and as the latter is made to consist in that return to Galilee, which was after the imprisonment of John, so the former is to be placed in the visit to Jerusalem, at the passover belonging to the thirteenth of Tiberius; when it is certain John was yet at large.

For what are the criterions of the proper commencement, or of the discharge of the proper functions, of our Saviour's ministry—in every respect but that one specific feature, by which it was designed to be assimilated to John's; and the absence of which feature, at this time, is clearly resolvable into the fact that John was still at liberty, and still engaged in that one department himself—if they are not to be discovered in what took place at this visit? At this first passover, by the remarkable act of cleansing the temple, Jesus assumed and exercised an authority, which he never assumed or exercised again, until the same occasion before the last; whereby he may justly be considered to have stamped this first passover with an importance, in the order of his ministry, scarcely inferior to that of the last. He predicted, at this early period, his death and resurrection, with a degree of significancy which he did not employ in alluding to them again until the last year of his ministry itself; and the words which he uttered now were remembered and produced against him, three years afterwards. He wrought miracles *now* in the sight of all who attended the feast, both Jews and Galilæans; though a little before, he had declined to work a miracle in private at Cana in Galilee. That *hour* therefore, which was not come *then*, must have been arrived *now*; and that evidence of his glory, with its effects in making

him disciples, which had before been confined to his immediate friends, was now published to all the world. He held a discourse with Nicodemus on some of the most abstruse points of Christian doctrine. When he left Jerusalem, he began to baptize somewhere in Judæa; by the hands, at least, of his disciples; and to make converts in such numbers as to eclipse the fame of John, and to divert the eyes of the Pharisees from John towards himself. And finally, when he returned into Galilee, he declared himself more openly to the woman of Sychar than he ever declared himself afterwards, on any occasion but the last, when he stood before the sanhedrim, or Pilate.

It seems impossible, therefore, to deny that the open assumption of the character of the Messias, and the beginning to act thenceforward in that character; which are in one sense the formal commencement of our Lord's ministry; must be dated from the passover, John ii. 13. If this be the case, however, the commencement of the ministry in Galilee was no absolute *first* beginning of what had never been attempted already, but only the continuance of a former, combined with the assumption of a new office and character, the nature of which will more fully appear hereafter. And as it cannot be questioned that John's ministry was actually over at the date of the latter event, which was the return of our Lord into Galilee posterior to John's imprisonment; so it is as little to be questioned that it was virtually over at the date of the former, which was the passover, John ii. 13. The discourse in the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, between the Baptist and his disciples, came after the one, but before the other; and it must be evident that John speaks there officially, as it were, for the last time: he describes his own ministry as more than antiquated, and

as almost superseded. His own joy was now fulfilled; his proper part and province in a common work had been discharged, and were therefore to cease: Christ was to increase, and to go on increasing, while he was to decrease, and to dwindle, in comparison of him, to nothing. And his predictions, as we shall see hereafter, were speedily fulfilled by the event.

The substance, then, of our present argument amounts to this. The first and proper date of the beginning of the ministry of Jesus Christ was also the first and proper date of the end of the ministry of John: but the first and proper date of the commencement of the ministry of Jesus Christ was the passover, John ii. 13: therefore the first and proper date of the end of the ministry of John was the passover, John ii. 13. This passover we have proved to be the passover belonging to the thirteenth of Tiberius Cæsar; and that it was the passover next after our Saviour's baptism, was too obvious to require any proof. St. Luke's testimony also has shewn that the ministry of John began some time in the fifteenth of Tiberius Cæsar; which rightly understood was meant of his thirteenth, and being taken in conjunction with what was also asserted, that the same ministry began when Pilate was procurator of Judæa, implied that it began soon after the commencement of the thirteenth, rather than just before the end or nearer to the middle of the twelfth. The date of Tiberius' sole reign coincided with the nineteenth of August; and the date of the Jewish feast of Tabernacles, in his thirteenth year, coincided with the fifteenth of September^c. This feast, then, would fall that year something less than a month after the beginning of the corresponding year of Tiberius: the ministry of John, therefore, which could not have begun later than

^c Supra, p. 332. Diss. vii.

the very end of the twelfth, or the very beginning of the thirteenth of Tiberius, could not have begun much earlier, or much later, than the time of the feast of Tabernacles.

But this is not all. If we had arrived merely at the conclusion that the ministry of John began somewhere in a certain year between the feast of Tabernacles and the feast of the Passover in particular; the analogy of times and purposes—the character of John—the nature of his ministry itself in one most important respect, which will appear more fully hereafter—all would conspire to suggest the inference, that it must have begun nearer to the former feast than to the latter. But if we had further arrived at the conclusion that the ministry of John, whensoever it began, was only of six months' duration; the inference, which before was presumptively probable, would now become almost demonstratively certain. For we could not allow less—though the necessity of the case might not permit us to allow more—to the personal, prior, and single ministry of the Baptist, before it was superseded by the ministry of Christ, than this interval of time at least. Hence, if the commencement of the latter were to be dated from the passover ensuing, the commencement of the former must be dated from the feast of Tabernacles preceding.

Contrasted with inveterate prepossessions, this result of our reasonings, with respect to the duration of the ministry of John the Baptist, may naturally appear surprising. But it is the genuine conclusion from the premises previously established; and those premises, I trust, are too well grounded on chronological and historical testimonies to be lightly shaken. Between the fact that Pilate was already in office when John entered upon his commission, on the one hand, and the fact

that the temple had been forty-six years in building, on the other—the inference becomes irresistible, that John could not have entered on his ministry earlier than the last half of the *twelfth*, nor later than the first half of the *thirteenth* of the reigning emperor. Before the one, Pilate would not have been in office : and after the other, the building of the temple would have been going on forty-seven years or more.

It is this last fact which we may justly consider the corner stone of our argument ; for every supposition, which agrees the more completely with the other, differs only the more from this. If we placed the commencement of the ministry of John in the last half of the thirteenth, and much more, if in any part of the fourteenth of Tiberius ; however certain it might be that Pilate must then have been in office, it would be only the more certain that the temple could not have been merely forty-six years in building.

Nor is this conclusion so destitute of support from independent, collateral arguments, as not to be more probable than any other.

For first ; those who should maintain that the ministry of John lasted three years—and much more, they who should contend that it lasted three years and an half—would be bound to consider how they exalted the dignity and importance of the character and the agency of John, to the prejudice of those of Christ. John was but the servant and harbinger of Christ ; and as we observed before, the design of his personal ministry in particular, whether more or less analogous to that of the mission of Christ, was still subordinate to it. It is inconsistent with this subordination that the ministry of the one should be supposed to have lasted as long as the ministry of the other. If Christ himself was personally employed on *his* office only three years, could John

have been employed on *his* three years and an half? Was the authority of John at any time as great as the authority of Christ, that even in the promotion of a common work, the same prominence should be assigned to his agency, or the same success to his labours, as to those of Christ? The period of six months may not be too little for the ministry of the servant, if the period of three years only is to be allotted to that of the Master; though I would not maintain it is too much.

Again; it is morally impossible that the ministry of John, which even on the supposition of a six months' duration, was still prematurely terminated by a violent imprisonment and an equally violent death, could have gone on with safety and undisturbed, for three years and an half before its close. The hostility of the Scribes and Pharisees, which was so early excited against our Saviour, had been as speedily directed against his predecessor; and they had long made up their minds to reject the testimony of John, before they determined to reject the testimony of Christ.

Again; the deputation sent to him, as recorded by St. John, was a formal act of authority on the part of the Jewish sanhedrim; and whether justly exerted or not, it was expressly designed to inquire into the character and pretensions of John: and it is manifestly almost the last memorable event in his public history. It is not credible then that this character, and these pretensions, should have been three years or more before the eyes of men, and the sanhedrim should not have begun to inquire about them until *now*; that he should have been three years or more engaged in baptizing and making converts, and they should have thought of asking him, by what right he was doing so, only *now*. On the contrary, the general expectation of the Messiah—the novelty of the appearance of John—the singularity

of his habits and demeanour—his undoubted assumption of the name and the authority of a divinely-commissioned teacher—all would conduce to draw their attention towards him from the first, and to render such an interrogation as this one of the earliest circumstances in his history.

Again; the details of the ministry of John are so few and scanty, that to suppose them, in any sense, the particulars of a number of years, appears to me the height of absurdity. They cannot be the particulars (at least in a continuous order) of even a few months. The scene of his ministry also seems to have been, from first to last, one and the same—the Aulon, or Perichorus of Jordan—Bethabara, Ænon, and Salem: which might be possible in a ministry of six months', but would be very unlikely in one of several years' duration.

Again; the history of our Lord, up to the period of the commencement of his ministry, runs parallel to that of the Baptist; with this distance of time between them. The conception of Christ is announced six months after that of the Baptist—the birth of Christ takes place six months after the birth of the Baptist. There is equal reason to conclude that they would each enter upon their respective ministries at the same age; but the one six months after the other.

Again; in addition to the passover John ii. 13, two more—and as I hope to make it appear a third—are distinctly to be recognised in the course of the Gospel history: during all of which our Lord's personal ministry was going on as usual. Now four consecutive passovers include exactly three years: all which, on this principle, must have been taken up by the personal ministry of Christ. It was necessary however to the fulfilment of prophecy—more especially of the

famous chronological prophecy of Daniel—that by the personal ministry of John, succeeded and perpetuated in a common work by the personal ministry of Christ, should be occupied in all the half of a week of years—or the period of three years and six months. The proof of this position, I trust, will be fully made out hereafter^d. Deduct from this sum the three years of the ministry of Christ; and there will remain six months for the ministry of John.

The same thing is implied by the parable of the barren fig-tree^e: for in that parable, three years of the trial of the tree, which trial began with the ministry of John, are supposed to be past; and a fourth, which coincide with the last year of our Saviour, and with the last six months of that year, to be still going on. Deduct as before the three years of the ministry of Christ, and there remain, as before, six months for the ministry of John.

Again; there is a singular tradition of the Jews, in allusion to the ten migrations of the Shechinah, which is in unison with the same conclusion^f:—*Shecinam, (R. Jonathan loquitur,) tres annos et dimidium habitasse in monte olivifero, ut videret an non converterentur Judæi ad Deum: et clamasse, Redite ad me filii, redibo ad vos: et quum nihilo minus Judæi alieni essent a Deo, ivisse Shecinam ab hoc monte ad locum suum.* This tradition is applicable to the length of time for which our Lord, and his precursor the Baptist, were personally labouring to produce the conversion of the Jews: and when he himself was personally removed from the earth, it was, as the tradition supposes, from the mount of Olives that he ascended.

The period in question is in fact a stated period—

^d Dissertation xv.
vol. iii. 336—400.

^e Luke xiii. 6—9. Vide the Exposition of the Parables,
^f Reland, Pal. i. cap. lii. 337.

more especially for the economy of events connected with the personal history of Christ, and with the scheme of human redemption. There is none which occurs more repeatedly in the prophetical parts of Scripture, or with a clearer reference to the purposes in question, than this ; either as a time, times, and an half ; or as forty and two months ; or as twelve hundred and sixty days ; or as three days and an half ^g ; all which in the language of prophecy are equivalent expressions, and stand or may be supposed to stand for the same length of time of three years and an half.

Those also who delight in the discovery of typical analogies, may perceive in the length of the united periods of the two ministries of the Baptist and of Christ respectively, as conspiring to a common result, the spiritual antitype of those three years and an half of judicial barrenness, which afflicted the land of Israel in the days of Elijah ^h : and in the gracious dew of doctrine and manna, which was daily distilling during the one, the spiritual counterpart of that natural drought and dearth, which prevailed during the other. They may perceive, too, in the *three days* of interval and preparation, after the Israelites in the time of Joshua had been apprized that they were to cross the Jordan, but before they crossed it ⁱ, something analogous to the three years of the personal and separate ministry of Christ, before he suffered for our redemption at last ^{*}.

Lastly ; when the precise relation of the ministry of

* Cf. also Lev. xix. 23, 24 : a precept of the Law, which, *typically* or *anagogically* understood, may point to the consecration of the *first fruits* of the *humanity*, by the reception of Jesus Christ into heaven, in the *fourth* year of his ministry.

^g Dan. vii. 25. xii. 7. Rev. xi. 2. 3. 9. 11. xii. 6. 14. xiii. 5. ^h Luke iv. 25. James v. 17. 1 Kings xviii. 1. ⁱ Josh. i. 11. ii. 16. 22. iii. 2. 5. iv. 19.

John to that of Christ comes to be hereafter considered, the shortness of the term for which the former lasted, though no more than six months, will cease to appear surprising: for the functions and purposes even of the ministry of John, it will be seen, were still carried on and doubtless were still promoted by the personal ministry of Jesus Christ.

DISSERTATION XI.

On the age of our Lord at his baptism.

ΚΑΙ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὥσεί ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος.
Luke iii. 23.

These words were intended to notify the age of our Lord at his baptism; the time of which was necessarily posterior to the commencement of the ministry of John, on the one hand, and to the passover John ii. 13. on the other; and consequently was somewhere between the beginning and the middle of the thirteenth of Tiberius in general. Upon the right construction of this text depends the further question both of the age of John at the commencement of his ministry, and of the time of the year when our Saviour was born.

The genius and syntax of the original language, as well as the reason of the thing, will agree in my opinion to no arrangement of the terms, nor to any interpretation of the words so arranged, but this :

Καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς ἦν ὥσεί ἀρχόμενος ἐτῶν τριάκοντα :
that is, And Jesus himself was as it were beginning to be thirty years of age.

The received translation with a slight correction ; And Jesus himself was about beginning to be thirty years of age ; approximates to the same sense ; and I shall shew elsewhere in its proper place that the Greek Fathers, who must have understood their own language best, never took these words to mean any thing else.

Now, by as it were beginning to be thirty years of age, no more can possibly be intended, than that Jesus, at the time of his baptism, was either a little over or a little under the exact age of thirty ; but in either case

with so slight an excess or a defect, that he might be considered neither more nor less than thirty. The time of the year, when he was baptized, remains in each case the same; but the time of the year when he was born is differently affected by one of these suppositions in contradistinction to the other. If he was somewhat less than thirty, he was baptized before his birthday: if he was somewhat more, he was baptized after it. In order then to decide between these two suppositions we must reason as follows.

To say that a certain person was, as it were, *beginning* to be thirty, who had actually reached or passed beyond his thirtieth year, is almost a contradiction in terms; and an highly unnatural mode of speaking. It is not conceivable how any one could be merely *beginning* to do what, upon this supposition, must have been some time *done* already. The case is different with the idea of beginning as it were to do already, what would actually be done in a short time afterwards. A man might truly be said to be almost *beginning* to be thirty, who was much more than twenty-nine; though not exactly thirty.

This use of the particle *ὥσεί* occurs so frequently in the Gospel of St. Luke, as to constitute one of its idioms. But it is in a majority of instances, as we are able to demonstrate, and probably might be shewn to be in all, if we had more express data to argue from—in the same qualifying sense of a little *under*, and not a little *above* a certain limit*.

* First, i. 56: Mary abode with Elizabeth *ὥσεί μῆνας τρεῖς*; which, as she went to her six months after the conception of John and yet returned before his birth, denotes something less, and not something more than three entire months.

Again, ix. 28: Now there ensued, after these words, *ὥσεί ἡμέραι ὀκτώ*, about an eight days' time. St. Matthew and St. Mark make the same interval six, or at the utmost seven days: which alone must prove that St. Luke intended by it something less than

With regard then to the measure of the defect in the present instance; St. Luke's extreme accuracy and scrupulous adherence (even in the minutest particulars) to strict historical truth—of which this very idiom is a proof—are, in my opinion, convincing reasons that in specifying the age of any person, which required to be calculated by parts of years, as well as by years, had there been six, or even four months difference between the real and the assumed date; he would not have said *he* was beginning in any sense to be thirty, *who* wanted still an half or a third part of an entire year, before he would be of that age complete. But if the difference were less than the fourth part of a whole year at the utmost, every one will allow that something of this kind might both truly and properly be said of him.

It will follow, then, that the age of our Lord at his baptism, as being thus described, was not more than *three*, though it might be more than *two* months less than the full age of thirty: that he was at least

eight, though more perhaps than *seven* full days.

Again, xxii. 41: Jesus withdrew from them, *ὥσεί λίθον βολήν*: which being understood of a stone's cast from a sling, the necessity of the case requires it to mean a little less, and not a little more than this exact distance †.

Again, xxii. 59: *καὶ διαστάσης ὥσεί ὥρας μίᾱς*—which being compared with Mark xiv. 70. *καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν πάλιν*—and with Matthew xxvi. 73. *μετὰ μικρὸν δέ*—it will be concluded, must define something less, not something more than one hour.

Again, xxiii. 44: *ἦν δὲ ὥσεί ὥρα ἕκτη*: which, as the crucifixion took place at the third hour ^a, is more probably something before, than something after that hour.

Again, viii. 42: *ὡς ἐτῶν δώδεκα*: which being the age of the daughter of Jairus, whom the very term *κοράσιον* applied to her, Matt. ix. 24, 25, Mark v. 41, 42, shews to have been yet a girl, and not arrived at the age of puberty—that is, at what in females among the Jews would be the age of twelve complete—implies that she was something more than eleven, but less than twelve.

† Illuc cursus erat: nec longius abfuit inde
Quam quantum novies mittere funda potest.

Ovid, Fast. iii. 583.

^a Mark xv. 25.

twenty-nine years and nine months old, though he might not be twenty-nine years and ten *. The time of his baptism, in general, we have seen was somewhere in the first half of Tiberius' thirteenth; and if it is reasonable to suppose that he would be baptized nearer to a feast of the passover—when his own ministry was to commence—than to a feast of Tabernacles, when the ministry of John had begun—it will follow that he was baptized between two and three months before the feast of the passover belonging to Tiberius' thirteenth; the feast of the passover, John ii. 13. It has happened accordingly, either from the transmission of a well authenticated tradition to that effect; or from the palpable evidence of the Gospel narrative, which was too clear to admit of any other construction; that the date of the baptism of Christ, from the earliest times, has been placed in the winter season; about two or three months before the Jewish passover. *Πρὸ ὀλίγων ἄρα ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἐβαπτίσατο*^b—*Διὰ δὲ τοῦ εἰπεῖν ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς ὅτι ἦν ἐγγὺς τὸ πάσχα, δείκνυσιν ὅτι οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ πάσχα ἐβαπτίσατο*^c †.

* Reliquiæ Sacræ, iii. 460 : Concilii Neocæsariensis Canones, Canon xi : *πρεσβύτερος πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μὴ χειροτονείσθω . . . ὁ γὰρ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἐν τῷ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐφωτίσθη, καὶ ἤρξατο διδάσκειν*. So likewise the Canons of the sixth General Council A.D. 680. Ibid. 473. i. Canon xiv. They understood, therefore, St. Luke's phrase, *ἦν ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος*, to mean, that our Lord was more than twenty-nine, but less than thirty, complete.

Tertullian, iv. 78. De Patientia, 3 : *Nasci se deus in utero patitur matris, et exspectat, na-*

tus adolescere sustinet, et adultus non gestit agnosci, sed contumeliosus insuper sibi est, et a servo suo tingitur. The proper sense of *adolescere* and *adultus*, implies the age of thirty : as appears from a variety of passages which might be cited. To the same effect Lactantius, Divinarum Institt. iv. 15. 354 : *Cum primum cœpit adolescere, tinctus est a Joanne propheta in Jordane flumine*.

† Origen, Operum iii. 357. D : in Ezech. Hom. i. 4. *Novus annus imminet jam Judæis, et primus mensis apud eos a novi anni*

^b Chrysostom, Operum viii. 133. A. in Joannem Hom. xxiii. 1. ^c Theophylact, Operum i. 536. A. Comm. in Joh. ii. Vide also Origen, Operum iv. 162. in Joannem, tom. x. 2.

And if St. John's Gospel, as I shall shew hereafter, from the day of the baptism, (or at least the close of the temptation, directly consequent upon it,) takes up the narrative of the former three, and brings it down to the passover next ensuing; a computation of little more than two months is the utmost required for the transaction of every thing between.

If, therefore, it should be objected that our Lord's baptism, on this supposition, would happen in the *depth* of winter; I answer it would happen in the depth of our winter, but not in the depth of the Jewish. If the objection has any force, it applies to the ministry of John in the complex; of which the principal and proper duration was cast in the winter half

numeratur exordio . . ab hoc anno numera mihi quartum mensem; et intellige baptisatum Jesum in quarto mense novi anni. eo enim mense qui apud Romanos Januarius nuncupatur, baptismum Domini factum esse cognoscimus, qui est mensis quartus ab anno novo juxta supputationem Hebræorum.

Hieronymus, Operum iii. 699. *ad calc.* in Ezech. i. 1: Illud quoque intelligendum, quod in tricesimo ætatis suæ anno Dominus ad baptismum venerit: in quarto mense, qui apud nos vocatur Januarius, et est in anni primus exordio, præter Nisan mensem novorum, in quo Pascha celebratur. apud Orientales enim populos, post collectionem frugum, et torcularia, quando decimæ deferebantur in Templum, October erat primus mensis, et Januarius quartus. quintam autem diem mensis adjungit, ut significet baptismum, in quo aperti sunt Christo cœli, et Epiphaniarum dies huc usque venera-

bilis est: non ut quidam putant natalis in carne: tunc enim absconditus est, et non apparuit.

In the time of Clemens Alexandrinus, A. D. 194, the followers of Basilides still celebrated some the eleventh and others the fifteenth of Tybi (January 6 or 10.) as the date of the Baptism: Operum i. 407. l. 21—408. l. 5. Strom. i. 21. The great antiquity of Basilides intitles his opinions concerning *facts* to respect; particularly as he is said to have been a disciple of Glaucias, whom Clemens calls τὸν Πέτρον ἐρμηνέα: ii. 898. l. 12. Strom. vii. 17. Be this as it may, Basilides is uniformly made contemporary with the reign of Hadrian; and the close of the second Jewish war. Vide Clemens Alex. *loc. cit.*: Irenæus, i. xxii. xxiii. Eusebius, E. H. iv. vii. 120. A. Epiphanius, i. 62, B. 68. A. C. Basilidiani. i. Jerome, de SS. Eccles. xxi. Operum iv. Pars ii^a. 109. Theodorit, iv. 289—293. Hæreticarum Fabb. i. capp. ii—iv.

of the year: and what, as so applied, might be urged as an objection, is in fact a proof of the wisdom and even the necessity of such a dispensation. From the time of the cessation, to the time of the recurrence, of the annual rains, called the first and the latter rain respectively—which was a period of nearly six months—Judæa was destitute of rain; and excepting the largest streams, such as the Jordan, and the supplies laid up during the rainy season in reservoirs dug into the earth; or hewn out of the rock; or formed on the tops of the houses; it was entirely destitute of water. And if the want of water was ever the greatest, it was so after the drought of a whole summer; just before the recurrence of the autumnal rains; which did not commonly, if ever, set in until *after* the feast of Tabernacles. With reason then was the period assigned by the Divine providence to the ministry of John, (a ministry κατ' ἑξοχήν of immersion or baptism,) the winter half of the year; during any part of which abundance of water might be found; and with equal reason, on the same principle, would his ministry begin after the feast of Tabernacles, rather than before it.

The necessity of bodily ablutions, which the Law might impose at any period of the year; the daily system of such ablutions, to which the priests were subject in the temple service; the sect of the Hemero-baptists, with whom it was a point of conscience to practise dipping every day, ἐν ἑαρί τε καὶ μετοπώρῳ, χειμῶνι τε καὶ θέρει^d, alike; the example of Banus the Eremite, in the time of Josephus^e; are all demonstrative that in Judæa the winter season would be no impediment to the reception of baptism. The truth is, that the months of January and February, in that country, were as mild and warm as the months of April or

^d Epiphanius, Adversus Hær. i. 37. A. See also i. 53. D.

^e Vita, 21

May with us. The productions of nature were proportionably then more in advance; the barley harvest wanted but a month or two of its maturity; and every description of fruit-trees was not merely bursting into bloom, but preparing to ripen its fruits. The proper time for taking the tithe of such trees, for the year to come, was *Sebat*; which began with the end of our January: and along with the fresh barley, at the feast of the passover, the first fruits of certain trees were required to be presented also^f. *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of the sycamine as bearing fruit all the year round in Egypt; and *Josephus*, of the fig and the vine, on the western region of the Lake of *Gennesaret*, as supplying fruit for ten months out of the twelve; which ten extended from March to December^{* g}.

* *Mr. Harmer*, *Obs.* vol. i. 18. chap. i. *Obs.* v. cites from the journal of *Dr. Russell* at *Aleppo*, several particulars relating to the weather and the seasons there, which are not less true of *Judæa*. For example,

That the severity of winter begins about Dec. 12, and lasts forty days, viz. until Jan. 20: that even then when the sun is shining, and the air is still, it is warm, nay even hot, out of doors: that ice is seldom seen strong enough to support a man, or snow to last more than a day: that narcissuses flower all this time, hyacinths and violets before its close: (*Cf.* vol. iv. chap. vii. *Obs.* cxxiii. 14, 15.): that before the end of February the country is all covered with verdure, grain, and flowers: that

trees in general are all in leaf; the almond, the apricot, and peach, are in blossom before the same time. Compare *Obs.* viii. 30.

The productions of the spring are at least two months forwarder in *Judæa*, than with us; as is proved by the fact that the rose and jessamine flower in *Jerusalem* in March or April: not to mention the ripeness of barley in some years at the passover. See *Harmer*, vol. iii. p. 35. 37. *Obs.* x.

There is, also, an interval of a determinate length, between the close of the severity of winter, in *Judæa*, and the recurrence of the spring rains as such; during which the weather is dry and serene. This would begin ordinarily speaking about the last half of January. I should think our

^f *Maimonides*, *De Ratione Intercalandi*, iv. §. 2. 3. *Bell. Jud.* iii. x. 8.

^g *Diodorus Sic.* i. 34.

If our Lord at the time of his baptism, two or three months before a passover, wanted two or three months of the age of thirty; at the time of the passover he would be full thirty: and consequently John, who was six months older than he, would be thirty at the feast of Tabernacles before it. Hence if *he* began his ministry at this feast, he began his ministry at thirty: and if our Lord entered upon *his* at the ensuing passover, *he* also entered upon his at thirty.

Now neither the age of John, nor the period of the year when he entered upon his ministry, was of his own appointment. The word of God which came to him in the wilderness determined both: and this alone suffices to prove that each was chosen with the strictest regard to propriety. I have no doubt that the age of John, as well as the time of the year in question, were forecast accordingly, in reference solely to the ministry of Christ. As our Lord's ministry was to begin at the passover next ensuing, John's was to begin at the feast of Tabernacles immediately preceding: as our Lord was to be thirty when he entered upon *his*, John was to be thirty when he entered upon *his*; and therefore was to enter upon it six months before our Lord entered on his.

Those who maintain the longer duration of the ministry of John are too apt to regard him as a simple Levite; than which there cannot be a more gross mistake. The son of Zacharias was a priest, and the son of a priest; by each of his parents he was lineally descended from the founder of the priesthood; and he

Saviour's baptism happened at that time.

The rain which falls in Judæa during the rainy season commonly falls at night. This circumstance removes an objec-

tion which might otherwise be brought against the supposition that John the Baptist's ministry was confined exclusively to this period of the year. The rain would not interfere with it.

was capable to have represented the Levitical high priest himself^h. It can hardly be necessary to observe that the *sacerdotal* order, among the Jews, was entirely distinct from the *Levitical*: their origin was different; their duties and privileges were altogether of a superior rank; and, what is more, were incommunicable to others: so that to degrade a priest to the level of a Levite would be as great a presumption as to raise a Levite to the degree of a priest. The priests were the lineal progeny of Aaron: the twenty-four courses, which embodied them all, were entirely derived from Eleazar and from Ithamar; the only two sons of Aaron who survived after the death of Nadab and Abihuⁱ. The Levites were descended from the rest of the family of Levi; Merari, Gershon, and (excepting only the particular family of Aaron) Kohath. The strictness of the law, for the preservation of the line of the priesthood, is well described by Josephus^k. No Jew would have thought of confounding such distinct classes of men as the priests and the Levites^l.

But though John had been a simple Levite; yet if he came to discharge what could be considered a Levitical office; (and the administration of baptism was always regarded as such;) the age of office prescribed for the Levites in particular was thirty: and though the age of twenty-five is also mentioned^m, yet according to Maimonidesⁿ, *this* was no appointment contrary to *that*; but consistent with it. From twenty-five years old the Levites were to be occupied in learning the duties of their office: on which they were not actually to enter before thirty. Besides which, if the particular

^h Philo Jud. ii. 229. l. 30. De Monarchia, lib. ii. ⁱ Exod. xxviii. 1. Numb. iii. 2—4. 10. xvi. xvii. xviii. 1—7. xxvi. 60. 61. 1 Chron. vi. 4—15. xxiv. 3—19. 1 Macc. vii. 14. ^k Contra Apionem, i. 7. ii. 8. Vide also 2 Chron. xxxi. 16—19. Ezra ii. 62. ^l Philo Jud. ii. 161. l. 26—37. De Mose, lib. iii: Ibid. 236. l. 28—30. De Præmiis Sacerdotum: Ibid. 420. l. 23 et sqq. De Præmiis et Pœnis. ^m Numb. viii. 24. ⁿ De Apparatu Templi, iii. 7.

service assigned even to the first order of the Levites, the order of the families of Kohath^o; but not before the age of thirty; was the service of carrying the Tabernacle; and if the Tabernacle, as both our Lord and St. John and St. Paul^p have clearly intimated, was only a type of the body of Christ; then the very administration of baptism, by the hands of John, on the person of Christ, would strictly require the fulfilment of the legal condition, before this ceremony could properly take place between them.

If the age of office, requisite for the priesthood, is not specified in the Law, as distinctly as that for the Levites; the reason may be because, in the apposite language of Philo, τῶν περὶ τὸν νεῶν λειτουργιῶν δύο τάξεις εἰσὶν· ἡ μὲν κρείσσων ἱερέων, ἡ δὲ ἐλάττων νεωκόρων· ἦσαν δὲ, κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, τρεῖς μὲν ἱερεῖς, νεωκόρων δὲ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες^q. The lesser number therefore was so far merged in the greater; and what had been made binding even on the Levites, could not be destitute of force on the posterity of Aaron: that is, if thirty was not too early an age for the *inferior*, much less could it be so for the *superior* order.

I am aware that, according to Maimonides, the chief priest might enter on his office as soon as he had arrived at man's estate^r; and Josephus supplies an instance, in the time of Herod, of an high priest only seventeen years old^s. Yet even there, Herod vindicates the previous appointment of Ananelus, on account of the youth of Aristobulus^t; and the same reason is assigned elsewhere why Jesus, the brother of Onias, succeeded the latter in the high priesthood; instead of his son^u. Great liberties had been taken

^o Numb. iii. 27—31. iv. 3. 34. 35.

viii. 2. ix. 11. x. 20.

^p John ii. 19—21. i. 14. Heb.

Apparatu Templi, v. 15.

^q Operum ii. 177. l. 37. De Mose, lib. iii.

^r De

^s Ant. Jud. xv. iii. 3.

^t xv. ii. 7.

^u xii. v. 1.

before this time with the Law, and with the original usages of the Jews; especially where nothing had been specified ῥητῶς. But it is next to impossible that at first, while the priesthood descended from father to son, and when a numerous offspring and length of days were the peculiar privilege of a virtuous priesthood, any such anomalies could have happened. Jerome was well versed in Jewish antiquities; and yet he writes thus: Unde et in Numerorum volumine juxta Hebræos, non ut in LXX. continetur, a vicesimo quinto ætatis anno, sed a tricesimo, incipiunt Sacerdotes in Tabernaculo ministrare. in quod signum præcessit et Joseph, quando in Ægypto esurienti populo frumenta largitus est; et Johannes Baptista venit ad fluenta Jordanis, prædicavitque baptismum poenitentiae.^v

Ἀκμάζει δὲ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐτῶν μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα^{x*}—Primo gradu usque ad annum xv. pueros . . . secundo, ad xxx. annum adolescentes . . . in tertio gradu, . . . usque xlv. annos, juvenes . . . in quarto, . . . adusque lx. annum seniores . . . inde usque finem vitæ . . . senes^y.

Τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πᾶς τις ἐν ἑβδομάδ' ἐστὶν ἄριστος
ἰσχύι, οἳ τ' ἄνδρες σήματ' ἔχουσ' ἀρετῆς^z.

Quinta (hebdomas) omne virium, quantæ inesse unicuique possunt, complet augmentum: nulloque modo

* Hippocrates, as quoted by Pollux, Onomasticon, Lib. ii. cap. 1. divided human life into seven ages of seven years each, ἡ μὲν πρώτη, παιδίον, ἡ δευτέρα παῖς, ἡ τρίτη μειράκιον, ἡ τετάρτη νεανίσκος, ἡ πέμπτη ἀνὴρ, ἡ ἕκτη γέρων, ἡ ἑβδόμη πρεσβύτης. The

subject was παιδίον till seven years old, παῖς until fourteen, μειράκιον until twenty-one, νεανίσκος until twenty-eight, ἀνὴρ until thirty-five, γέρων until forty-two, πρεσβύτης from forty-two to forty-nine, or rather to the end of his life.

^v Operum iii. 669. *ad princip.* In Ezech. i. 1. Cf. Origen, Operum ii. 65. B. C. in Genesim Homilia ii. 5: iii. 357. D. in Ezech. Homilia i. 4: 406. E. F. in Ezech. Selecta, i: 895. F. Comm. in Matt. 78: 966. A. B. in Lucam Homilia xxviii. ^x Aristotle, Rhet. ii. 14. §. 4. ^y Varro, apud Censorinum de Die Natali, 14. ^z Poetæ Minores Græci, i. 336. Solonis Frag. xiv.

jam potest quisquam se fortior fieri^a—Dominus atque Salvator, qui triginta annos natus venit ad baptismum, quæ in homine perfecta ætas est^b—Primo, quia jam et Dominus triginta annorum erat: numquid juvenis, si jam triginta annorum sit, adhuc crescit^c?—Quia autem triginta annorum ætas prima indolis est juvenis omnis quilibet confitebitur^d—Τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ὦν βαπτίζεται, ἐπεὶ αὕτη ἡ ἡλικία δέχεται πάντα τὰ ἀμαρτήματα. *Dein*, ἀνέμεινεν οὖν ταύτην τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἵνα διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἡλικιῶν πληρώσῃ τὸν νόμον, καὶ ἀγιάσῃ ἡμᾶς^e *.

* Aristotle, *Politica*, vii. xiv. 6: διὸ τὰς μὲν ἀρμόττει περὶ τὴν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἡλικίαν συζευγνύναι, τοὺς δ' ἐπτά καὶ τριάκοντα, ἡ μικρόν. He is speaking of the fittest age for marriage in males and females respectively. Hæc bona non primæ tribuit natura juventæ, | Quæ cito post septem lustra venire solent. Ovid, de *Arte Amandi*, ii. 693. Galen, *Opera* ix: τῶν νεανίσκων ἡλικία κατὰ τὴν πέμπτην ἐβδομάδα περιγράφεται . . . ἡ γὰρ ἐχομένη τῶν νεανίσκων ἡλικία ταῖς ἐφεξῆς ἐβδομάσι δύο παρεκτείνεται—Philo Judæus, *De Mundi Opificio*, i. 25. l. 3: δίχα δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐναργέστατα παριστᾶσι τὴν τελεσφόρον δύναμιν ἐβδομάδος καὶ αἱ ἐκ βρέφους ἄχρι γήρως ἀνθρώπων ἡλικίαι, μετρούμεναι ταύτη . . . page 26. l. 14. Cf. ii. 59. l. 38–42. De Josepho. Also, Basilii *Opera*, i. 311. D—312. B. in Ps. cxiv: ἐν τρισὶ γὰρ ἐβδομάσιν ἐτῶν . . . παρὰ τοὺς προτέρους—Servius, ad *Æneid.* v. 295: Ætates omnes Varro sic dividit: Infantiam, pueritiam, adolescentiam,

juventam, senectam. hæc tamen, sicut etiam de temporibus supra iii. 8. diximus, singulæ trifariam dividuntur, ut sit *prima, viridis, præceps*.

Plutarch, vii. 636. De *Oraculorum Defectu*: ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἡβῶντος ἀναγινώσκοντες, ἔτη τριάκοντα ποιούσι τὴν γενεὰν καθ' Ἡράκλειτον ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ γεννῶντα παρέχει τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον ὁ γεννήσας—Censorinus, De *Die Natali*, xvii: Quare qui annos triginta sæculum putarunt, multum videntur errasse. hoc enim tempus γενεὰν vocari Heraclitus auctor est, quia orbis ætatis in eo fit spatio: orbem autem vocant ætatis, dum natura humana a sementi ad sementem revertitur. Cf. Servius, ad *Æneid.* viii. 508: Pliny, H. N. xvi. 95: Laurentius, De *Mensibus*, iii. 10. p. 109.

Hieronymus, iii. 118. *ad calc.* in Isai. xv: Sicut enim tricesimus annus in hominibus, ita in pecudibus ac jumentis tertius robustissimus est. Ibid. 986. *ad med.* in Ezech. xl.: Vel certe

^a Macrobius, *Somnium Scip.* i. 6. p. 39.

^b Hieronymus, *Opera* iii. 669. *loc. cit.* ^c Augustin, iii. pars ii^a. 401. E. in *Johan. Tract.* xiv. 4. ^d Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* ii. 39. 161. l. 16. ^e Theophylact, *Opera* i. 19. A. in *Matt.* iii. Cf. Ibid. 296. D. E. In *Lucam* iii: 524. D. in *Johann.* i. Vide also Chrysostom, *Opera* vii. 139. E. 140. A. in *Matt. Homilia* x.

Among the Jews in particular the same opinion is distinctly expressed. *Filius triginta annorum ad robur Filius sexaginta annorum ad senectutem*^f. The age of thirty was considered by them so essential to the integrity of the faculties both of mind and body, that Jerome in his preface to Ezekiel writes as follows^g: *Nam nisi quis apud eos ætatem Sacerdotalis ministerii, id est, tricesimum annum impleverit, nec principia Geneseos, nec Canticum Canticorum, nec hujus voluminis exordium et finem legere permittitur: ut ad perfectam scientiam, et mysticos intellectus, plenum humanæ naturæ tempus accedat* *.

The ministry of our Lord, as well as the ministry of John, if it began when he was thirty years of age, would fall exactly within the period which the observation of antiquity, and the matter of the fact, then as much as now, assigned to the *acme*, or manhood, of human nature: and if the same coincidence was requisite to the fulfilment of legal righteousness also, there needs no other reason to prepare us, *a priori*, for the event. It is consequently with equal truth and propriety, that St. Luke describes his age at his baptism accordingly. For if his baptism at the hands of John was a necessary preliminary to entering on his own ministry, it must take place some time between the commencement of the ministry of John, and the beginning of his

thalami . . . ostendunt sponsi adventui cubacula præparata, quæ fuere triginta numero ut perfectam ætatem habitantium demonstrarent. Idem, ii. 740. *ad calc*: Comm. in Ecclesiasten: *Hebræus meus, cujus sæpe facio mentionem, quum Ecclesiasten mecum legeret, hæc Baracibam, quem unum vel maxime admi-*

rantur, super præsentī loco tradidisse testatus est: Melior est interior homo, qui post quartum decimum pubertatis annum (that is, at 29.) in nobis exoritur, exteriore homine qui de matris alvo natus est.

* Cf. Origen, Operum iii. 26. C — E: in Canticum Canticorum Prologus.

^f Mishna, iv. 482. 21.

^g Operum iii. 698.

own; nearer to the one than to the other. The public baptism of Christ, followed by the testimony of John, and still more by the voice from heaven, was an act not far short of the public assumption of his character as the Messiah: only that our Lord himself was rather passive than active throughout it. There might then be a proper age for the one as well as for the other; or rather, the proper age for the one must determine the proper age for the other: and if *that* was to be full thirty, *this* would require to be (what St. Luke has shewn that it was) a little less than thirty.

DISSERTATION XII.

On the time of the year when our Lord was born.

IF our Lord at the time of his baptism, two or three months before the passover, was two or three months less than the age of thirty, it follows that at the passover he would be full thirty; and consequently that he must have been born about the vernal equinox; and neither in the month of December, at the commonly reputed time of the nativity, nor about the autumnal equinox, which many would substitute in its stead.

In the age of Chrysostom, the vulgar opinion respecting the date of the nativity was only of ten years' standing, at least in the Greek or Eastern Church*; and he urges its reception among them at so late a period as one of the arguments of its truth. The grounds of the opinion are detailed in his Homily upon the nativity^a: and if these grounds were sufficiently certain, the inference to which they lead would become irresistible. They may be comprised in three propositions; first that Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, was the high priest for the time being: secondly that the vision of the angel, announcing the

* The common or vulgar date of the nativity was introduced into the Greek or Eastern church, from the west; where Chrysostom supposes it had always been known, because of the *records* of the *census* at which Christ was born, there preserved, and at all times to be seen.

Still even in Chrysostom's time, there were persons at An-

tioch, who professed to doubt of the truth of a discovery made so late in the history of their church. What day was observed in the eastern church, as the supposed date of the nativity, before the adoption of the 25th of December from the Latin church, does not appear from Chrysostom's homily: though we know from other quarters it was most probably January 6.

^a Operum ii. 354—366. It is the opinion of Chrysostom's editors that this homily was delivered A. D. 386.

future birth of John, took place on the tenth of Tisri; thirdly that the conception of John followed immediately on the return of Zacharias home.

With respect to the first of these positions, it is quite enough to observe, first, that the high priest, as such, belonged to no particular course; secondly, that the high priest, as such, was bound to reside in Jerusalem, or wherever the ark was situate^b; thirdly, that the high priest, as such, was never assigned his part in the service (especially in the service of the great day of atonement) by lot. According to Josephus^c, he took no part in the service at any time, except on the sabbaths, new moons, and during the feasts. Fourthly, that from a point of time, which as we have shewn answers to U. C. 733, to a point of time, which we shall see hereafter answers to U. C. 750, Simon, the son of Boëthus and father of the second Mariamne, was the acting high priest^d; and after him, in the course of the latter year also, Matthias the son of Theophilus^e; and then Joazar the brother-in-law of Matthias^f; *both* before the death of Herod. And Joazar continued in office at least until after the accession of Archelaus^g.

With regard to the second and the third positions; the vision of the angel, and the return of Zacharias to his own house, might both have taken place in the month of Tisri; and yet the conception of John might not ensue until some time afterwards. This is clearly compatible with St. Luke's assertion: *μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας συνέλαβεν Ἑλισάβετ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ*^h. The conception of John was altogether out of the course of nature; and both that, and the time of his birth, were

^b Lev. xxi. 12. ¹ Kings ii. 26, 27.

xv. ix. 3. xvii. iv. 2.

xiii. 1.

^h Ch. i. 24.

^c Bell. Jud. v. v. 7.

^e Ib. xvii. iv. 2.

^f Ib. xvii. vi. 4.

^d Ant. Jud.

^g Ib. xvii.

determined beforehand with reference to the conception and the birth of Christ. For if Christ was to be born about the vernal equinox, six months after John, John was to be born about the autumnal, six months before Christ.

I apprehend, therefore, it will not endanger the drift of our present line of argument, if it can be made to appear, (as far as such a conclusion can be made to appear,) that, in the year before the birth of John, which I shall assume to be U.C. 748, B.C. 6; between the sixth and the thirteenth of Tisri, the course of Abia including Zacharias was actually in office. It will thus be seen that, even for the most erroneous traditions respecting the facts of the Gospel history, there may yet have been some foundation in truth.

For the account of the twenty-four courses of priests, both before and after the captivity, I refer in general to the places in the marginⁱ. Joarib was always the first of them, and Abia the eighth*: and every course served from one sabbath to another^j; coming in at noon, and going out at noon. In 168 days therefore every course would have been once in rotation: and on the 169th Joarib would be again in office. Now, according to the tradition of the Jews^k, on the ninth of the Jewish Ab, U.C. 823, when the temple was destroyed by Titus, the week was the week of Joarib. Between the ninth of Ab, U.C. 748, and the ninth of Ab, U.C. 823, there are 75 Julian years: or if we calculate by days, 27,393 days, and a fraction of one

* The course of Abijah is actually mentioned by name, Nehemiah xii. 17.

ⁱ 1 Chron. ix. 22—34. xxiv. 1—19. 2 Chron. xxix. 25. Neh. xii. 1—26. Ant. Jud. vii. xiv. 7. xii. vi. 1. Jos. Vita, i. 38. Bell. iv. iii. 8. Contra Apionem, i. 7. ii. 8. 23. 1 Macc. ii. 1. 1 Chron. ix. 25. 2 Chron. xxiii. 8. Mai-monides, De Apparatu Templi, iii. 9. iv. 3. 4. 11, &c. ^j 1 Chron. ix. 25. 32. 2 Kings xi. 5. 7. 9. 2 Chron. xxiii. 8. ^k Mishna, iii. 298. 3. Annot.

more ; which number is divisible by 168, with a remainder of 9*.

If then, we may assume that the twenty-fourth course of the priesthood was actually in office on or about the ninth of Ab, U. C. 748, it would come again into office on or about the first of Ab, U. C. 823 ; and go out of office on or about the eighth : so that Joarib, according to the above tradition, might be actually in office on or about the ninth, when the temple was taken. On the strength of this coincidence, therefore, we may reason as follows :

U. C. 748. B. C. 6. Ab, a month of †thirty days¹.

Course XXIV. was in office about the 9.

I. Joarib	16.
II	23.
III	30.

* It is a remarkable circumstance, and very important to the result of the calculation about to be proposed, that for the seventy-five or seventy-six years in question, reckoned whether backwards or forwards, such was the general tranquillity of the times, there is not the least reason to suppose the order, rotation, or succession of the courses could once have been interrupted, by a war, by a siege of Jerusalem, or any like occurrence. Not so, for the period included between the commencement of the Maccabæan dynasty, B. C. 163, and U. C. 748, B. C. 6. During this interval, there were *four* sieges of Jerusalem, the dates whereof respectively can easily be ascertained—and each of some months' duration. While these lasted, it was scarcely possible that one order or course of officiating ministers could regu-

larly relieve another. The sieges in question were by Antiochus Eupator, B. C. 162 : by Antiochus Sidetes, B. C. 134 : by Pompey, B. C. 63 : by Herod and Sosius, B. C. 37.

Should it be objected that the ninth of Ab, A. D. 70, the date from which our computation proceeds, was late in the course of the siege of Titus—I answer, the siege began at the passover, previously: the army of Titus found the Jews *all* assembled at Jerusalem, to celebrate that feast—the sacerdotal order among the rest—and shut them all up in the city, as in a trap. The succession of courses, then, would go on even during the siege—within the city, up to the last day of the existence of the temple—as much as in a time of profound peace.

† It is indifferent to the result of the present calculation

¹ Maimonides, De Ratione Intercalandi, viii. 5.

U. C. 748. B. C. 6. Elul, a month of twenty-nine days.

Course IV. was in office about the 7.

V14.

VI21.

VII28.

The next course then ; which would be the course of Abia or Abijah ; would come into office about the sixth of Tisri, and go out about the thirteenth. As all the courses, however, were obliged to attend at the great solemnities, and (without interfering in the regular rotation, which went on as before) to minister in common ; it may be assumed as certain that Zacharias would not return home at least before the twenty-third of Tisri, the day after the close of the feast of Tabernacles ; which answered in that year to about the sixth of our October^m. The conception of John then even in this case, however soon it might follow on his return, could not take place before the middle or the end of October in this year ; nor his birth before the same time in July in the next.

There are other difficulties to which the received opinion is liable : of which the fact that shepherds, at the time of the nativity, were tending their flocks by night, and in the open air, would not be the least. It is certain, indeed, that Bethlehem lay upon the confines of the great desertⁿ ; where, when the season permitted and pasture was to be had, flocks were

what number of days, whether thirty or twenty-nine, we suppose the month Ab to have contained. The calculation here given is not proposed as strictly exact ; and I shall have an opportunity of exhibiting a more

correct one hereafter. I wish this to be received as an approximation merely to the truth. I will assume, therefore, according to the general notion, that Ab contained thirty days, and Elul twenty-nine.

^m Supra, p. 331. Diss. vii.
1369. 1370. Præfatio in Amos.

ⁿ 1 Sam. xvii. 28. Hieronymus, Operum iii.

accustomed to be fed in great numbers. It is probable also that the nativity took place either in the night-time, or on the evening of some day. It is morally certain, however, that in the month of December, neither men nor cattle would be out all night in the open air.

Yet notwithstanding these objections, the vulgar date of the nativity is perhaps not so wide of the truth, as that of the autumnal equinox. With respect to this period in particular, as contrasted with the period of the vernal equinox, and as both are referred to the facts of our Saviour's history in general; the argument from analogy is altogether in favour of the latter, and against the former. All the cardinal points, in the transaction of our Lord's own part in the Christian scheme, are determined to the vernal, not to the autumnal quarter of the year; or what is the same thing, to the passover and not to the feast of Tabernacles. No special distinction was conferred during his life-time on any feast but the passover; nor after his resurrection on any but the feast of Pentecost. The feast of Tabernacles, in particular, has nothing to render it memorable before or after the resurrection. Our Lord began his ministry at one passover and he ended it at another: and if he ever visited Jerusalem at stated times, it was at the passovers between. It is just as probable that he would be born at one passover, as that he would suffer at another: and if the paschal lamb was the most expressive type, furnished by the symbolical sacrifices of the Law, of the great Christian sacrifice; it was not less agreeable to the analogy of this type, that the true Paschal Victim should be born at one passover, than that he should suffer at another.

The presumed congruity between the ceremonies of the great day of atonement, and the purpose for

which Christ came into the world, is the only plausible argument *a priori*, in favour of the contrary opinion. But the fact of the same congruity is equally perceptible of the ceremonial of the passover. The blood of every sacrifice under the Law possessed its proper atoning virtue: nor is this more true of the sacrifice of the tenth of Tisri, than of the sacrifice of the fourteenth of Nisan. Besides, the supposed analogy between the former sacrifice and the death of Christ fails in a very important point; which failure is fatal to the analogy itself. The one was fixed to the seventh, the other came to pass in the first month of the sacred year: the former was restricted to the tenth of Tisri—the latter was accomplished on the fourteenth of Nisan.

But the blood of the sacrifice of this day possessed, it may be said, that general efficacy which we attribute in like manner to the sacrifice of the death of Christ. This must be admitted; but only as under the Law, and for the expiation of legal guilt; and what was its most proper use and purpose, in behalf of offences committed in ignorance; which consequently neither had, nor could have been already expiated by their own *piaculum*°. The appointment of a kid indeed seems under all circumstances to have been intended for a similar purpose: ἔριφον δὲ, ἐπὶ παραιτήσεσιν ἁμαρτάδων, εἴ τι κατὰ λήθην γένοιτο^p. But the blood of the paschal victim was already possessed of its efficacy, prior to the Law itself; and therefore had a power of atoning, from the first, for some other guilt than that which could be considered in any sense the *legal*.

There were two ceremonies, each of them an integral part of the Jewish ritual, yet each of them in being before any part of the Law; which consequently though the Law might adopt or reinforce, it cannot be

° Lev. xvi. 5—end.

^p Ant. Jud. iii. x. 1.

said to have instituted. The first was the ceremony of circumcision; which our Lord himself tells us^q was not of Moses, but of the Fathers: the second was the ordinance of the passover—regulated, prescribed, and observed at least fifty-two days before the arrival at Sinai; and almost an entire year before the erection of the tabernacle, and the commencement of the Levitical service. These two ceremonies then are justly to be regarded as something *sui generis*; and must not be lightly confounded with the ritual observances of the Law in general. They were the sacraments, κατ' ἑξοχὴν, of the Jewish church; and having been retained in the Christian, the one as baptism, the other as the supper of the Lord, with no other change than the typical nature of either made indispensable, they have shewn that as they had a being before the Law, so they have survived the Law. While every other ritual observance (excepting, perhaps, that of the sabbath) was perishable and transitory, these only were immutable and permanent.

The two sacrifices under the Law; the daily sacrifice of morning and evening, and the sacrifice of the fourteenth of Nisan; which were unquestionably the liveliest emblems of the sacrifice of Christ—the one of its *perpetual*, the other of its *universal* efficacy—were both required to be made with a lamb, or at least in the case of the passover, with a kid instead of a lamb. Concerning this requisition Maimonides observes: Ubi-cunque a Lege agnus agnaque dicitur, aut in multitudine agni, annuos esse oportebat^r: and the Mishna, still more to the purpose: Agni sunt anniculi, arietes biennes; omnes vero de die in diem: (that is, from a certain day in one year to the same day in another.)

^q John vii. 22.

^r De Ratione Sacrificiorum, i. 14.

Tredecim menses natus, inidoneus est, sive sit aries, sive agnus: as not old enough for the former, and too old for the latter^s. This requisition was not peculiar to other sacrifices, numerous as they were: nor would it be easy to assign a reason why it should have been peculiar to the two most evangelical of the legal ordinances, except by supposing that Christ, as soon as in the integrity of our nature and substance he came into the world, was virtually the true ἐνδελεχῆς θυσία of morning and evening prayer, and the true spiritual antitype designed by the paschal victim. And Christ when he came into the world came as a child: and though he suffered as a man, yet in all those qualities, which rendered his sacrifice of himself acceptable to God, and which especially were adumbrated by the properties of the typical victim—in meekness, simplicity, and innocence—he continued ever a child.

At the original institution of the passover, it was commanded that the lamb which was to be offered on the *fourteenth*, should be taken up and set apart for that purpose on the *tenth* of the same month; four days before its sacrifice. The reason of this provision does not appear: but if we were to conjecture that, in the fulness of time, the birth of our Saviour was to happen on the tenth of Nisan, as it is certain that his death was to do so on the fourteenth, we should assign a reason which would explain it at once, and be entirely in unison with what has been proved respecting the period of the nativity in general. In the transaction of such a business as the scheme of Human Redemption,

^s Vol. vi. 270. 3. It appears indeed from Suidas, voce ἀμνόν, that this word, so regularly applied to our Saviour, (especially John i. 29. 36.) properly denotes, τὸν ἐνιαύσιον ἄρνα: for which he quotes, Ἰστρος ἐν ταῖς Ἀπτικαῖς (sc. Λέξεσιν)· ἄρνα, εἶτα ἀμνόν, εἶτα ἀρνειόν, εἶτα λιπογνώμονα, &c. Eustathius, ad Odyss. i'. as cited by Kuster, repeats the statement. Cf. also Suidas, ad ἀμνοὶ τοὺς τρόπους.

by the voluntary Incarnation, Nativity, and Passion of the Son of God, whatever there might be elsewhere, there can be no room for the supposition of accidental or fortuitous causes ; and he who should doubt whether the day of our Lord's birth ; the precise duration of his ministry on earth ; the time, the place, the mode of his sufferings ; the day of his Resurrection ; and the day of his return to the Father ; were foreknown and forecast from eternity ; would not deserve to be argued with as a sane person.

I advance it therefore as a conjecture which to pious minds may not appear improbable ; (though it must still be received as a conjecture ;) that the true day of our Saviour's birth, and consequently the true date of the nativity, was the tenth of the Jewish Nisan. The Paschal Chronicon assigns this date to the fact of the Annunciation^t ; and tradition in this instance as well as in others, may so far have blended error with truth, as to have confounded the day of the birth with the day of the supposed conception of Christ. It will follow that the Baptist, who was born six months before Christ, might be born on the tenth of Tisri, or about the feast of Tabernacles ; which however must be received as even a more conjectural date than the former. Yet there would be occasion, from that coincidence also, to admire the economy of the Divine Providence, in ordaining that one, who was designed by his office not merely to be the precursor of the Messias, but a preacher of repentance and righteousness—one who by coming and acting, ἐν ᾧ δὲ δικαιοσύνης^u, was not only to preach, but also to practise the lessons of his preaching—should be born at that season of the year in general, if not on that day in particular.

^t Vol. i. 375. l. 8—20.

^u Matt. xxi. 32.

There is no fact in the subsequent history of our Saviour, whether earlier or later in its occurrence, which is not altogether consistent with our assumption of this first and cardinal point in the whole; viz. that he was born about the vernal equinox. I have proved this of the time of the commencement and of the time of the close of his ministry; and of his age at the first of those periods, and of the duration of his ministry previously at the other. I shall endeavour to prove it at present of the particulars connected with his birth itself; or with his infancy and his early history afterwards.

First; from the pastoral habits of Judæa, it was to be expected that in the spring season of the year, shepherds would be every where tending their flocks in the open air, both by day and by night*. In the depth of summer, and also in the middle of winter, though the weather had allowed of the turning out of flocks or herds, the country would have been too bare of pasturage to admit of the grazing of cattle. In consequence however of the vernal rains, and until after the passover was past, there was abundance of grass to be had; but from that time until after the autumnal equinox at least, there was none. With the beginning of the autumnal rains, the flocks and herds were brought home.

Again; I shall shew elsewhere that the visit of the Magi took place some time in the *fifth* month after the

* Accordingly, Mr. Harmer mentions from Doubdan, the fact of his falling in with Arab shepherds, on the road from Jaffa (Joppa) to Rama, who were watching their flocks by night (though with fires) on March 28, N. S. Nabal's sheep were so tended in the spring, in the time of David. 1 Sam. xxv. 4.

7. 15, 16. Harmer's Obs. vol. iii. p. 31. Obs. ix.

Οἱ φιλόπονοι τῶν ποιμένων (says Chrysostom) ἐπειδὴν διὰ μακροῦ χειμῶνος ἴδωσι λαμπρὰν ἀκτῖνα, καὶ θερμότεραν γενομένην ἡμέραν, τῆς μάνδρας ἐξαγαγόντες τὰ πρόβατα, πρὸς τὰς συνήθεις ἄγουσι νομάς. Operum ii. 688. A. De Sancta Droside 1.

birth of Christ; and consequently that the flight into Egypt, which followed upon it, happened in the mildest season of the year, when both the facilities of travel, and the means of subsistence in a strange land, were likely to be the greatest. Nor is this incompatible with the expectation of that special Providence, which it may justly be supposed would watch over the infancy of the Christ.

Again; the residence in Egypt, posterior to this flight and prior to the ensuing passover, when Herod died and Joseph was admonished to return; would be a residence of about seven months in duration, like that of the ark among the Philistines in the days of Samuel^x: and this is a much more probable interval of time than a residence either of less than six months on the one hand, or of more than a year on the other.

Again; St. Matthew by applying to this residence the text of Hosea, Out of Egypt have I called my son^y; has shewn that the sojourning of the children of Israel there was in some respect or other typical of this of Christ. Now the Israelites came up from Egypt at the passover; and so it is manifest did the Holy family, if they returned shortly after the death of Herod. The descent of the Holy family into Egypt took place about the close of the summer; and so, I think, it may be proved, did the descent of the Israelites also*.

* For first; that present of the fruits of the land, which accompanied the second visit of Joseph's brethren, was most probably a present of the fruits of that very season^z. The discovery of Joseph which followed on the second mission of his

brethren; was made in the second year of the famine^a: but that mission did not take place until after the corn brought from Egypt on the first was consumed^b; whence, whether both missions took place in the second year, or one in the first and the

^x 1 Sam. vi. 1.

^y Matt. ii. 15. Hos. xi. 1.

^z Gen. xliii. 11.

^a xlv. 6.

^b xliii. 2.

Again ; Moses, the greatest prototype of Christ in the Old Testament, was certainly born in the spring.

other in the second, yet the last in particular must have been after the usual time of harvest in the second year. Accordingly, at the time of his discovery to them, Joseph says to his brethren, There shall neither be *earing* nor *harvest*^c; implying that harvest time was over, and earing time at hand. His brethren also say to Pharaoh soon after, Thy servants have no pasture for their flocks^d; which would be said in the summer time only.

It is probable at least, from Gen. xii. 4—10. that the call of Abraham into Canaan took place in the spring, and his first visit to Egypt in the autumn of the same year. Joseph himself was certainly sold into Egypt at this time of the year; for the pit into which he was let down, was empty of water; and the company of Ishmaelites were carrying at the time spicery, balm, and myrrh^e; all, it is probable, the productions of that same season.

Now the sojourning of the Israelites, after this descent, is to be reckoned at 215 years^f; and if a day be put for a year, as at Numbers xiv. 34. and Ezek. iv. 6, the residence of the Holy family might be of the same duration. Hierosolymis per Ascalonem diebus octo, aut etiam eo citius itur ad Ægyptum^g—Igitur inde digressus Bethlehem oppidum petii, quod ab Hierosolymis sex millibus disparatur; ab Alexandria autem sedecim

mansionibus abest^h. If the Holy family then resided in Alexandria; (which is most probable;) it would take them a fortnight to arrive there. If they set out to Egypt, therefore, at the beginning of the Jewish Elul, and set out thence again about the fourteenth of the Jewish Nisan; the actual length of their residence, calculated by Jewish months of alternately twenty-nine and thirty days each, might be as nearly as possible 215 days.

For if the birth of our Lord took place at the beginning of April U. C. 750; then it may be rendered extremely probable that the Magi arrived in Jerusalem at the beginning of the following August: and consequently we may presume that the flight into Egypt could not be delayed much beyond the middle of the same month. The passover was celebrated the next year on March 31, (vide the Table in Dissertation vii.) about a fortnight after the death of Herod; and that Herod was dead before the Holy family was instructed to return home again, is indisputably clear from Matt. ii. 20. But this is not all.

It is a singular fact that in the year after his birth, when Christ the true passover was absent in Egypt; there was strictly speaking no passover celebrated as usual in Judæa: a circumstance almost unexampled in the previous history of the Jews. The

^c Gen. xlv. 6. ^d xlvii. 4. ^e xxxvii. 24, 25. ^f Exod. xii. 40. ^g Maimonides, De Ratione Intercalandi, v. 10. Vide also Jos. Bell. Jud. iv. xi. 5.
^h Sulpicius Severus, Dialogus i. cap. 4.

For he was three months old when he was exposedⁱ; and he was exposed before the river had begun to rise; that is, he was exposed before the summer solstice*; and consequently had been born at the vernal equinox. And as he was born about this time, so he died about this time. Josephus places his death on the first of Adar; when he was, as the Scripture shews, 120 years old^o.

cause of this unusual occurrence was the disturbances which ensued upon the death of Herod; and which, by the time of the arrival of the paschal day, had attained to such an height, that Archelaus was obliged to disperse the people by force of arms, in the very midst of the sacrifices themselves. Whether this violence, under the circumstances of the case, was a justifiable act or not, I do not inquire; but there can be no question that such an outrage upon the religious prejudices of the nation, and especially at the beginning of the new reign, would render its author exceedingly unpopular; and gain him the reputation of tyrannical and cruel.

Now we may collect, I think, from Matt. ii. 22, 23, that it was not long after this occurrence; and consequently when the offensiveness and odium of the late severity were likely to be greatest; that Joseph received the command to return into his own country. No reason is so likely as this, to have produced his hesitation about taking up his abode again at Bethlehem, in the immediate neighbourhood of Archelaus; which seems to have been his first intention, before he was admonished to retire to Na-

zareth. We may infer then, that the return from Egypt, U. C. 751, was not earlier than March 31. in that year at least; to which time *inclusive*, from the end of August *exclusive*, there are seven months; or two hundred and twelve days.

For the same reasons in general also, we may infer that it was not later than May 21, the day of the ensuing Pentecost; at which time the disturbances, begun at the passover, were renewed with greater violence than ever. Nor were they finally suppressed, except by force of arms on the part of the president of Syria, Varus; and with the loss of some thousand lives to the Jews themselves.

* Cf. Callisthenes, apud Athenæum, ii. 89: Diodorus Sic. i. 36: Strabo, xvii. 1. §. 4, 5. 480—493. Philo Jud. ii. 98. l. 35—39. De Mose, i: Pliny, H.N. xviii. 47: Solini Polyh. xxxii. 12: Lucan, Phars. x. 225: Plutarch, De Iside et Osiride, vii. 444, 445: Aristides, ii. 437. seqq. Oratio xlvi: Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii. 15. 334, 335: Achilles Tatius, De Clitoph. et Leuc. Amoribus, iv. 12: Heliodorus, Æthiopica, ix. 22. Claudian, Eidyllia, iv. Nilus, 27, et sqq: Herodotus, ii. 19.

ⁱ Exod. ii. 2. ^o Ant. iv. viii. 49. Dent. xxxi. 2. i. 3. xxxiv. 7. 8. Josh. iv. 19.

The same thing appears to me to be true of Samuel also ; the first of the prophets as such, and next to Moses, so far the most eminent type of Christ. The yearly sacrifice, mentioned 1 Sam. i. 3. 7. 21, can be understood of nothing but the sacrifice of the passover ; for no sacrifice, which every individual Jew was required to offer, could be called the yearly sacrifice, but that. Now it is clear from 1 Sam. i. 19—21, that Samuel was conceived just after one of these yearly visits, and was born just before another. If so, he was born about the passover*.

* To the above we may add the following remarkable coincidences also.

I. If Isaac was conceived after the appearance of God to Abraham, Gen. xviii. 1, he was conceived in the summer, and born in the spring : for Abraham was then sitting at the door of his tent, during, as it is said, the heat of the day ; which is probably a description of summer. The same thing is implied in the account of the destruction of Sodom^p. It follows then, that the set time spoken of xvii. 21. xviii. 14, and xxi. 2, was the time of spring ; and that Abraham also, if he was then just ninety-nine years old^q, was born in the spring. Moreover, if the weaning of Isaac took place about his birthday ; it is clear from the account of the dismissal of Hagar and Ishmael, that they were sent away in the summer^r.

II. Pharez was conceived about midsummer^s ; and consequently was born in the spring.

As Ruth also was married to Boaz about the time of barley harvest^t ; that is, soon after the passover ; Obed was probably born in the spring.

III. The deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt was begun about midsummer, that is, after wheat harvest, in one year^v ; and completed at the time of the passover in the next^w.

IV. The material tabernacle, which was the type of the *body* of Christ ; began to be prepared within one hundred and ten days from the tenth of Nisan in *one* year, and was set up on the first of Nisan in the *next*^x. Josephus indeed says, *ὁ δὲ πᾶς χρόνος εἰς τὸ ἔργον διήλθε μηνῶν ἑπτὰ* : which he makes to expire with the month Xanthicus, as before, in the second year. But this computation is dated from the expiration of the second forty days and nights^z, which were spent by Moses on the mount ; to which expiration there were from the Exodus 50 *plus* 80, or

^p Ch. xix. 1. 2. 14. 15. 23. 27. 30. 13—24.
^t Ruth, i. 22. iii. 15.
Numb. xxxiii. 3. ^x Exod. xix. 1. 11. iii. viii. 4.
^z Exod. xxxiv. 28.

^q xvii. 24. ^r xxi. 8—19. ^s xxxviii.
^v Exod. iii. 1. v. 12. ^w Exod. xii.
^y Ant. Jud.

But to revert from this digression. Our Lord was taken up at the feast of the passover, Luke ii. 42, when he was twelve years old; and clearly for the first time either to that or to any other feast. Nor does it appear that he was taken up *then* to attend the feast; for a paschal company could not be composed among others of *pueri impuberes*^f: and the age of puberty in males was not earlier than fourteen^g; or at least than thirteen years and a day. As neither was it in fe-

130 days, at least; that is, four months and ten days' interval; in other words, five current months.

V. The first king of Israel, Saul; if Josephus is to be believed; was appointed about the passover: for his second inauguration, which 1 Sam. xii. 17, proves to have been about the feast of Pentecost, is placed by Josephus something more than one month after his first^a.

VI. David, another great type of Christ, died at seventy^b. And he had reigned previously forty years^c. He had been made king therefore at thirty. The length of his reign, however, as may be collected from 2 Sam. v. 4, 5. 1 Chron. iii. 4: Jos. Ant. Jud. vii. xv. 2. and 1 Kings ii. 11. was in reality forty years and six months; seven years and six months in Hebron, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem. Now Saul certainly died in the summer^d; therefore David's reign began in the summer: and if it lasted forty years and six months afterwards, it must have expired, and Solomon's also have begun, in the spring.

VII. From 2 Sam. xi. 1—5. 27. xii. 15. 24. 26, it may be inferred that Solomon was probably conceived in the summer, and born in the spring; and if at 1 Chron. xxix. 20. 21, the morrow there mentioned was the morrow after the passover, that too would be a proof that *he* began to reign and that David died in the spring. Moreover, if David was an even number of years old at his death, *he* also must have been born in the spring.

VIII. From Ezra iii. 1. 6, compared with iii. 8, and confirmed by Josephus^e, we may infer that the return of the Jews from captivity took place before the second month in the sacred year; and seven months before the feast of Tabernacles. The second month in the sacred year, when they began to rebuild the temple, was some month also in their second year, after they had left Babylon. They must have left it, therefore, before or in the second month of the sacred year; and very possibly they left it in the first, about the time of the feast of the passover.

^a Ant. vi. v. 1—6. xxviii.—2 Sam. i.

^b Ant. vii. xv. 2. ^c Ant. xi. iv. 1, 2.

^d 1 Chron. xxix. 27.

^e 1 Sam.

^f Maimonides, De Sacrificio Paschali, ii. 4. Mishna, ii. 166. 7.

^g Cf. Jos. Ant. Jud. xii. iv. 6.

males than twelve years* and a day: at which times too, but not before, respectively both males and females became subject to the other Jewish ordinances; as the obligation of the *νηστεία*, or fast of the tenth of Tisri^h. Had this then been the object of our Saviour's going, it would have implied that he was arrived at the legal age of puberty; in which case St. Luke must have described him as thirteen, and not merely as twelve years old.

Maimonides however tells us that *Omnis puer impubes, cum primum poterat, parentis apprehensa manu, gradi usque ab urbe Hierosolymæ ad montem ædis, in templum apparendi causa erat a patre adducendus qui sacris initiaretur*ⁱ: agreeably to the divine mandate at Exod. xxiii. 14. 17. xxxiv. 23. This age, in children who lived in the remotest part of Galilee, could not be earlier than the age of twelve—the age immediately bordering on puberty: at which time also, according to the Mishna^k, a male child, and at the age of eleven complete, a female became capable *vota nuncupandi*. It is an instance to the point that the numbers, who returned from captivity, are reckoned by Josephus^l from twelve years old and upwards.

That this was the purpose, for which our Lord was now taken up; viz. not to celebrate the passover, but to appear, as one of the male Israelites, at a stated time of such appearing before the Lord; to be made in short a disciple of the Law, and to undergo a ceremony something like to our confirmation: is presump-

* Tertullian, iii. 24. De Virginitate Velandis, 11: Tempus etiam ethnici observant, ut ex lege naturæ jura sua ætatibus reddant. nam feminas quidem a

duodecim annis, masculum vero a duobus amplius ad negocia mittunt, pubertatem in annis, non sponsalibus aut nuptiis discernentes.

^h Mishna, ii. 254. 4. Commentarius. Mishna, ii. 413. 1.

^k i. 201. 3.

ⁱ De Sacris Solemnibus, ii. 3. Cf. 1 Ant. xi. iii. 10. Cf. 1 Esdras v. 41.

tively to be collected even from what is recorded of his mode of employment in the temple; when he was found sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions; and astonishing those who heard him by his understanding and answers. I think that Josephus had his eye upon this ceremony, and on the age of the party when it was usually undergone, where he tells us that Samuel, an eminent type of Christ, began to prophesy—πεπληρωκὼς ἔτος ἡδὴ δωδέκατον^m. He cannot mean the age of puberty, for that would have required ἔτος ἡδὴ τρισκαίδέκατον; and though it is certain from 1 Sam. iii. 1. 19, that Samuel was comparatively still young when the word of the Lord was first revealed to him, we are not told he was only twelve years old.

It follows then, and this is what we are bound chiefly to attend to, that our Saviour was twelve at the *passover*; or that the passover was the first feast, after he became twelve years old, to which he could be taken up. If Maimonides is to be relied on, it must be demonstratively certain that, had he been of the same age at the feast of Tabernacles, he would have been taken up first to that in particular, above any otherⁿ. No feast was, otherwise, better calculated for such a ceremony and such a purpose, than the feast of Tabernacles. It appears to me a certain inference that Jesus was not twelve at the feast of Tabernacles, *before* he was taken up; and was twelve at the feast of the passover, *when* he was taken up: and if so, that he was born *after* a feast of Tabernacles, and *before* a feast of the Passover, at least*.

* If our Lord was born some- time U. C. 762. In that year
time U. C. 750, the twelfth year the passover was celebrated on
of his age complete was the same March 29: the fourteenth of

^m Ant. v. x. 4. ⁿ De Sacris Solemnibus, iii. Vide also Ant. Jud. iv. viii. 12.

The knowledge of the actual day, on which the nativity took place, may be ranked among the mysteries

Nisan, therefore, coincided with March 29: and if our Lord was born on any day *prior* to the fourteenth of Nisan according to the Jewish reckoning, though *posterior* to the 29th of March according to the Julian; it might still be said with truth, according to the Jewish mode of reckoning, that he was already twelve years old by the 29th of March.

According, however, to the same mode of reckoning, a person would be said to be twelve years old, who had just completed his eleventh year, and was barely entered on his twelfth. It is not improbable that this is what St. Luke means here; and, consequently, that the passover of U. C. 761. is the passover in question, not that of U. C. 762. This passover was celebrated on April 8: the superior advantages of which date will appear more fully by and by.

I have sometimes thought that a probable argument in favour of the year of our Saviour's birth might be derived from what is related, Luke ii. 36, 37, of the history of Anna, the daughter of Phanuel; that she was *about* 84 years old—which I understand to mean *in* her 84th year—at the time when our Lord was presented in the temple; that she had lived *seven* years with an husband, from her virginity; and had been a widow ever since.

If she was *in* her eighty-fourth year, at our assumed date of the nativity, B. C. 4, she was born B. C. 87. If we knew at what age she was afterwards married, we should know at what age she

lost her husband. It is capable of proof, however, that females were commonly married from *fourteen* to *seventeen* years of age. Ὁραῖος δὲ γυναῖκα τεὸν ποτὶ οἶκον ἄγεσθαι, | μήτε τριηκόντων ἐτέων μάλα πολλὰ ἀπολείπων, | μήτ' ἐπιθεῖς μάλα πολλὰ γάμος δέ τοι ὄριος οὗτος. | ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέτορ' ἡβώοι, πέμπτῳ δὲ γαμοίτο. Hesiodi Opera et Dies, 693. Which means at fifteen or sixteen.

Aristotle, Politica, vii. xiv. 6, as we have seen, considered eighteen the fittest age of marriage for women, and thirty-seven for men.

Epicteti Manuale, xl: αἱ γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν κύριαι καλοῦνται.

Xenophon, Œconomica, vii. 5: καὶ τί ἂν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπισταμένην αὐτὴν παρέλαβον, ἥ ἔτη μὲν οὐπω πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονυῖα ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμέ; κ', τ. λ.

Demosthenes, Oratio xxix. §. 51. xxvii. §. 4, reckons his sister of a marriageable age, at fifteen. So also some other female, xl. §. 4. 21.

Dionysius Hal. Ant. Rom. xi. 30. line 12: ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνοις οὐκ ἐλαττόνων, ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα, διελλυθότων ἐτῶν: which is spoken of the age of Virginia, at the time when she was betrothed to Icilius.

Quintilian, Institt. Orat. vi. Præf. 4: Erepta mihi prius eorum matre, quæ nondum expleto ætatis undevicesimo anno duos enixa filios, quamvis acerbissimis rapta fatis, felix decessit.

Anthologia, i. 173: Leonidæ Tarentini lxxi. Τίς, τίνος

or secrets which are known, for certain, to God alone. Nevertheless I have advanced a conjecture that it

οὔσα, γύναι, Παρίην ὑπὸ κίονα κεί-
σαι; | Πρήξω Καλλιτέλους. Καὶ
ποδαπή; Σαμὴ. | Τίς δέ σε καὶ κτε-
ρεΐξε; Θεόκριτος, ᾧ με γονῆς | ἐξ-
έδοσαν. Θνήσκεις δ' ἐκ τίνος; Ἐκ
τοκετοῦ. | Εὔσα πόσων ἐτέων; Δύο
κέκοσιν. Ἥ ρά γ' ἄτεκνος; | Οὐκ'
ἀλλὰ τριετὴ Καλλιτέλην ἔλιπον. κ',
τ. λ.

Cf. Ibid. ii. 30. Antipatri Si-
donii lxxxv. lxxxvi.

Ibid. i. 253. Dioscoridis xxxii.
'Ἀρχελέω με δάμαρτα Πολυξείην,
Θεοδέκτου | παῖδα καὶ αἰνοπαθοῦς
ἐννεπε Δημαρέτης, | ὅσσον ἐπ' ὠδι-
σιν καὶ μητέρα' παῖδα δὲ δαίμων |
ἔφθασεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν εἴκοσιν ἡελίων. |
ὀκτωκαιδεκέτις δ' αὐτὴ θάνον, ἄρτι
τεκοῦσα, | ἄρτι δὲ καὶ νύμφη, παντο-
λιγοχρόνιος.

Ibid. ii. 5. Persis vi. "Ωλεο δὴ
πρὸ γάμοιο, Φιλαίνιον, οὐδέ σε μά-
τηρ | Πυθιάς ὠραίους ἤγαγεν εἰς θα-
λάμους | νυμφίον' ἀλλ' ἐλεεινὰ κα-
ταδρῦσασα παρειὰς | τεσσαρακαίδε-
κῆτιν τῷδ' ἐκάλυνε τάφῳ.

Cf. also iii. 207. Juliani Æ-
gyptii lvi. and lvii. both, epi-
taphs to the memory of a young
woman, who died at sixteen, the
year after her marriage: and iv.
38. Agathiæ xciv. an epitaph to
a young woman, who died at
fourteen, on the eve of her mar-
riage. Ibid. 273. 'Αδέσποτα,
DCCXVI^b. an epitaph to a young
married woman, who died at
nineteen; 278. DCCXXIX. an-
other, to a female of the same
description, who died at twenty.
Cf. also, Procopii Historia Ar-
cana, cap. v. 16, C.

Galenī et Hipp. Opera, ix.
252. D. 253. Α. γυναῖκα . . . τε-
κοῦσάν γε τὸ πρῶτον . . . ἡλικίῃ περὶ
ἑτεα ιζ'.

Phalaridis Epp. xix. §. 85. Κλε-
αρίστην . . ἀδελφιδὴν οὐ γεγράφα-
μεν καὶ γυναῖκα, ἑκκαίδεκα συνεζη-
κυῖαν ἔτη, τριακοστὸν δὲ ζήσασαν.

Chrysostom, Operum i. 340.
A. B; Ad viduam juniorem 2:
Chrysostom's mother lost her
husband at twenty: at which
time he himself was some years
old. Vide Ibid. 363. De Sacer-
dotio, lib. i. 5.

I think it, then, no impro-
bable supposition that Anna
might be married at seventeen,
that is, B. C. 70: in which case,
she would lose her husband, *se-*
ven years afterwards, B. C. 63.

Now it is worthy of remark
of this year, that it was one of
great trouble and confusion in
Judæa; being the very year in
which Pompey, first by his ge-
neral Scaurus, and afterwards
by himself, reduced Judæa, but
not without violent opposition
on the part of the Jews, and a
long siege of Jerusalem. It
would be nothing extraordinary,
if by one of the many accidents
of war, the husband of Anna
had met at this time with a pre-
mature death. The circum-
stance that he survived their
marriage so short a time, is a
presumptive argument of some-
thing of that kind—unless, what
we do not know to have been
the case, there was originally so
great a difference in the age of
the parties respectively, as to
make it nothing extraordinary
that the one should die in seven
years' time, and the other should
survive so long afterwards. Be-
sides which, their place of resi-
dence seems to have been Jeru-

might possibly be the tenth of the Jewish Nisan; and I have somewhat still to say in support of this conjecture, which I have purposely reserved for the last.

The tenth day of any month in a lunar year, as referred to a solar, is necessarily liable to vary; and can never fall out in two successive years alike. Between the corresponding day to this in one solar year, and the corresponding day to it in another, there never can be less than eleven days' interval; and in the case of the tenth of Nisan, there might be considerably more. The tenth of Nisan in a Jewish year, immediately before an intercalation, would be twenty days earlier than the same day in a year immediately after one. It is manifest, then, that the tenth of Nisan in the year when our Saviour was born; if he was born on that day; might express for that year the actual day of his birth; but the tenth of Nisan in any other year, and for any year when the tenth of Nisan might fall on the same day again, would be only his nominal birthday: his true birthday, ever after the year of his birth, would be that day in a solar or a Julian year, which coincided with the tenth of Nisan in the year of his birth. If this day can be determined, then, on the supposition that he was born on the tenth of Nisan, the date of his birth, which will express it ever after, will be so far determined likewise.

Now the year of our Saviour's birth I assume to be U. C. 750, B. C. 4; and it has been proved elsewhere^o that the passover was celebrated in that year on April

salem: and it is very likely that the husband of Anna was one either of the priests or of the Levites; (so at least we may infer from the fact of his wi-

dow's being always night and day in the temple;) which adds to the probability that her husband met with his death there, B. C. 63.

^o Supra p. 331. Diss. vii. Cf. also p. 303. Diss. vi.

10: that is to say, the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan, on which the passover was always slain, coincided with the interval between sunset April 9, and sunset April 10. If so, the tenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan, which began and expired four days before the fourteenth, began at sunset April 5, and expired at sunset April 6. The tenth of Nisan, then, U. C. 750, coincided partly with April 5, and partly with April 6. April 5, therefore, or April 6, must express the day of our Saviour's birth; the former, if he was born on the evening of the tenth of Nisan; the latter, if he was born on the morning.

Now from the narrative of St. Luke, who only of the Evangelists has given any account of the circumstances of our Saviour's birth; especially from ii. 8, 9, 11, though the fact is not expressly asserted, yet I think it is plainly to be inferred, that the Nativity took place on the evening of some Jewish day; either in the night-time as such, or after sunset at least*. Sunset, on April 5 or 6, U.C. 750, thirteen or fourteen days later than the vernal equinox, would not take place earlier than 6. 30. in the evening; and the tenth of Nisan, which began with sunset, would begin with 6. 30. in the evening. If our Saviour then was born in the evening of a Jewish day, and born on the tenth of Nisan; he was born on the night of April 5, or the morning of April 6: if he had been born in the evening and born on the sixth of April, he would have been

* Tertullian, i. 411. Contra Marcionem, v. 9: Nos edimus Evangelia, de quorum fide aliquid, utique jam in tanto opere, istos confirmasse debemus, nocturna nativitate declarantia dominum, ut hoc sit ante luciferum, et ex stella Magis intellecta, et ex testimonio angeli,

qui nocte pastoribus annuntiavit, natum esse cum maxime Christum: et ex loco partus: in diversorium enim ad noctem convenitur. fortasse an et mystice factum sit, ut nocte Christus nasceretur, lux veritatis futurus ignorantiae tenebris.

born on the *eleventh* of the Jewish Nisan. It may be difficult to decide between these two dates; each of which apparently possesses an equal right to be pronounced the true birthday of Christ: for the evening of the same Jewish day coincided in part with both. I assume however for the present that the date of our Saviour's birth, if it was Nisan the tenth in a lunar Jewish year, answering to U. C. 750, was April 5 in the solar or Julian, answering to the same year; on which the tenth of Nisan at that time began. For subsequent years, therefore, the tenth of Nisan will express the nominal, and the fifth of April the actual birthday of Christ; but the tenth of Nisan will never express the actual date of the Nativity, unless it coincides with the fifth of April also.

Let us now consider on what days in subsequent years; more especially in the *three* years of our Lord's personal ministry; this tenth of Nisan would fall. These days may be immediately obtained from the Table of passovers referred to above^p.

I. U. C. 780, A. D. 27, the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan began at sunset April 8, and expired at sunset April 9; and consequently the tenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan began at sunset April 4, and expired at sunset April 5.

II. U. C. 781, A. D. 28, the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan began at sunset March 28, and expired at sunset March 29: and consequently the tenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan began at sunset March 24, and expired at sunset March 25.

III. U. C. 782, A. D. 29, the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan began at sunset April 15, and expired at sunset April 16: and consequently the tenth *νυχθήμερον* of

^p Supra p. 332. Diss. vii.

Nisan began at sunset April 11, and expired at sunset April 12.

IV. U. C. 783, A. D. 30, the fourteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan began at sunset April 4, and expired at sunset April 5; and consequently the tenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan began at sunset March 31, and expired at sunset April 1.

It appears, then, that U. C. 780, the year when our Lord began his ministry, the tenth of Nisan and the fifth of April, that is, his nominal and his real birthday, coincided together; as they had done in the year of his birth: but in no other year of his ministry besides.

It appears also, that U. C. 783, the year when he concluded his ministry, the fourteenth of Nisan, the day on which our Saviour suffered, coincided with April 5, the day upon which he was born: that is to say, it was so ordered by Providence that the day when the purpose, for which he had originally come into the world, was consummated thirty-three years *after*, was the very day on which he had been born, with a view to that purpose, thirty-three years *before*. I shall make no comment on this coincidence; which, if I am right in the principles upon which it is founded, exceeds any comment that I could make upon it: but I shall leave the pious reader, who cannot fail to perceive in it the clearest proof of the wisdom and providence of God, to meditate upon it for himself.

Nor is this all. If the day of the month, on which our Saviour suffered, was the fourteenth of Nisan, and the day of the week was Friday; (both which facts, I think, admit of no question;) then in the year when he suffered, the fifth of April coincided with Friday in Passion-week: and if so, the first of April coincided

with Monday. But the first of April was the morning of the tenth of Nisan: and consequently the morning of the tenth of Nisan coincided with Monday in Passion-week. Now in its proper place hereafter I shall prove, I think, demonstratively, that on the afternoon of Monday in Passion-week; and not as it is commonly supposed of Sunday; our Saviour went in procession from Bethany to the temple; there to present himself before God in quality of the paschal sacrifice, now ready to be offered up; and four days (as the Law had originally appointed concerning the taking up of the lamb for the passover) before in that capacity he actually suffered: that is, as our Saviour suffered on his actual birthday, the fifth of April, *four days after* this procession to the temple, so did he present himself, as ready to suffer, on his nominal birthday, the tenth of Nisan, *four days before* he suffered. The coincidence is even more critical than this; for as he actually expired at the ninth hour on the Friday, so is there every reason to suppose he did enter the temple about the same time on the Monday.

Again; if the fifth of April, U. C. 783, fell on the Friday, the ninth of April, U. C. 783, fell on the Tuesday; whence, if we reckon backwards and allow for the intermediate leap-year, U. C. 781, it follows as a necessary consequence that the ninth of April, U. C. 780, fell on a Friday also: and therefore that the fifth fell on a Monday. The ninth of April that year was the morning of the fourteenth of Nisan; and the fifth of April was the morning of the tenth. Our Lord began his ministry the same year; and by the same act of cleansing the temple that year, which he repeated in his third and last: whence, if we may assume only one particular, viz. that he began his ministry in the first year by cleansing the temple, at the

same distance of time from the first passover, at which he presented himself in the temple before the last; it will follow that he began his ministry on a day when his nominal and his actual birthday coincided together: the tenth of Nisan, in his first year, fell on the same day of the week as the tenth of Nisan, in his last; and the passover, in his first year, on the same day of the week as the passover in his last; and between this, and the day of his commencing his ministry in his first year, and the day of his presenting himself in the temple before its conclusion in his last, there was the same interval of time respectively; three days exclusive of each extreme in both cases.

Again; if the fourteenth of Nisan, U. C. 780, when our Lord commenced his ministry, fell on the Friday, the sixteenth fell on the Sunday; and consequently the fiftieth day after the sixteenth inclusive, the day of the feast of Pentecost, fell on the Sunday likewise. The same fact held good of the day of Pentecost, U. C. 783. At the feast of Pentecost, U. C. 783, the Apostles began their ministry; that is, the Dispensation of formal Christianity was first commenced: and at the feast of Pentecost, U. C. 780, I shall prove hereafter that our Saviour began his ministry also, by succeeding to the place of John: which he had not done before. I shall endeavour to prove also, that between the ministry of our Saviour, thus begun in U. C. 780, and that of the Apostles, begun in U. C. 783, there was this connection of ends and purposes, that the former began at the one to notify as *future*, what the latter began at the other to announce as *come*.

Again; if the fifth of April, U. C. 780, fell on a Monday, the fifth of April, U. C. 782, fell on a Thursday; and the sixteenth fell on a Monday. The sixteenth of April, U. C. 782, was the day of the Jewish

passover; and consequently the day of that passover, which, according to the Gospel of St. John, vi. 4, must have ensued next upon the first instance of the miraculous feeding. The time of this miracle is marked out by two criterions; one that there was much grass at the time; the other that the passover was near at hand^q: and both these concur to the beginning of the month of Nisan, which in this instance was the beginning of the month of April. I have already had occasion to observe that the period, during which grass was most abundant in Judæa, was from the first of Adar to the middle of Nisan; which being understood of a rectified year would be, as in the present instance, from the beginning of March to the middle of April. At the beginning of April then in any year, it is morally certain that there would be abundance of grass; especially in the places devoted to pasture, such as the desert in the neighbourhood of Bethsaida, where this miracle took place: and yet the passover, as in the present instance, might still be to come. And this coincidence is a strong presumptive argument that the passover of the year in question is rightly to be assigned to the sixteenth of April; and not to any earlier date. To fall on any earlier day, it must have fallen on the seventeenth or eighteenth of March.

If now the sixteenth of April, or the fourteenth of Nisan, fell this year on the Monday, the twelfth of April, or the tenth of Nisan, fell on the Thursday; and we may take it for granted that the miracle, however near to the passover it might have been wrought, could not have been wrought so near to it as the tenth of Nisan. If so, the miracle could not have been wrought on Thursday the twelfth of April. But it might have been wrought a week *before* that; that

^q John vi. 4. 10.

is, on Thursday the fifth of April : and if it was then wrought, it would be wrought on the day of our Saviour's birth. The bread, with which the people were at that time fed, was typical of the spiritual food which his own body and blood was to supply to the souls of mankind ; and if the people were fed this year with the *one*, as the *other* was sacrificed for the whole world in the next, on the *same* day—and that, the day of the *birth* of Christ—the correspondence of the type and the antitype becomes so much the more enhanced.

One thing at least is certain ; viz. that the people were fed on this day in the year U.C. 782, exactly at the same time on which Christ expired in the next ; viz. between the first Jewish evening and the second ; the middle point of which is the ninth hour of the day. It makes in favour of the same conclusion that, as the people were fed at Bethsaida in the evening or afternoon of this day, so they are seen to have rejoined our Saviour in Capernaum on the morning of the day but one after^r. Now when they rejoined him, it was in the synagogue ; whence we may reasonably infer it was also on the sabbath day. If so, they had been fed on the Thursday before ; and consequently either upon Thursday the fifth of April, or Thursday the tenth of Nisan. But it could not be on Thursday the tenth of Nisan ; it must therefore have been on Thursday the fifth of April.

It follows also, on the principle of the solar cycle, which is completed in twenty-eight years exactly, that if April 9, U.C. 780, fell on the Friday, April 9, U.C. 752, fell on a Friday also ; and consequently April 9, U.C. 750, fell on a Wednesday. If so, April 5, U.C. 750, fell on a Saturday ; and therefore in part at least,

on the Jewish sabbath. But the birth of our Saviour took place, as we have seen, in the evening; and consequently if it took place on the evening of April 5, it took place not on the Jewish sabbath, but according to their reckoning on the first day of the week. Here then is another coincidence; for our Saviour would thus be born, as he rose from the dead, on the *first* day of the week; and if his birth, like his resurrection from the dead, was the beginning of a new creation, they would both coincide with the liveliest prototype of each; the beginning of the old creation. Moreover, our Saviour's resurrection from the dead is termed, in one sense, his being begotten or born anew; and if both his birth and his resurrection happened on the same day in the week, the propriety of the metaphor becomes so much the more apparent. If also he was both born and rose again from the dead on the first day of the week, and not on the seventh; the first day of the week might, with so much the stronger reason, take the place of the seventh in sanctity, and religious estimation at least among Christians: that is, our Sunday might be consecrated by each of these coincidences to supersede the Jewish sabbath.

It will follow likewise that if the birth of our Lord took place on the first day of the week, his circumcision would take place, eight days after, on the first day of the week also; which is not only a striking coincidence, if we consider the spiritual import of the rite of circumcision itself, and the connection of this import with the final end of the birth, the death, and the rising again of our Saviour; but saves the further difficulty whether, in administering this necessary rite upon the body of our Lord, it was requisite to dispense with the sabbath.

Moreover, if the day of our Saviour's birth coincided with the first day of the week, the fortieth day, reckoned from the day of his birth, according to the usage of the Jews, *inclusive*, coincided with the fifth, or fell on the Thursday. The forty-first therefore, which was the day *after* the purification of the Virgin Mary was complete^s, and consequently the day of the presentation of our Lord in the temple, when he was manifested to Simeon and to Anna, coincided with the sixth day of the week, or Friday: that is, our Lord's presentation in the temple after his birth at first, coincided with the same day of the week on which he suffered at last.

It follows, also, that if John the Baptist was just six months older than our Saviour, and those six months be reckoned either by calendar months, or by the half of a Julian year; then in either case, if our Lord was born April 5, U. C. 750, John was born October 5, U. C. 749: for from October 5, *exclusive*, U. C. 749, to April 5, *inclusive*, U. C. 750, there are six calendar months, or 182 days, the half of a Julian year, indifferently*. Besides this, the coincidence is still more striking; for if April 5, U. C. 750, was the close of one week according to the Jewish reckoning and the beginning of another; that is, coincided with the first day of the week; October 5, U. C. 749, must have done the same. For from October 5, U. C. 749, *exclusive*, to April 5, U. C. 750, *inclusive*, there are just twenty-six weeks complete.

* Clemens Alex. Operum ii. 810. l. 34—811. l. 5. Strom. vi. 16: φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔμβρυον ἀπαρτίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀκρίβειαν μηνὶ τῷ ἕκτῳ, τούτέστιν, ἑκατὸν ἡμέραις καὶ ὀγδο-

ήκοντα πρὸς ταῖς δύο καὶ ἡμίσει, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος μὲν ὁ ἱατρὸς, ἐν τῷ περὶ ὀκταμήνων, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ περὶ φύσεως, κ', τ. λ.

On the strength of this coincidence we may, perhaps, assume as confidently that October 5, U. C. 749, was the true date of the birth of John, as that April 5, U. C. 750, was the true date of the birth of Christ. The circumstances of the birth of John may be considered to imply that, both at his birth and at the time of his circumcision also, the feast of Tabernacles was either not arrived, or already past; and this is sufficient to prove that *he* could not have been born on the tenth of Tisri, as our Saviour may have been on the tenth of Nisan. Now, U. C. 749, when the fifteenth of Nisan coincided with March 23 or 24^t, the fifteenth of Tisri coincided with September 16 or 17; the feast expired, and Zacharias would be at liberty to return home after September 23 or 24: and if John was born October 5, and circumcised October 12, there can be little question that his father would then be at home, as well as his friends and relations of the male sex; as the Gospel narrative shews that they were. In the year U. C. 779, A. D. 26, when the fifteenth of Nisan fell on March 21 or 22, the fifteenth of Tisri fell upon September 14 or 15, and the feast expired on September 21 or 22: whence, if John entered upon *his* ministry, as our Saviour entered upon *his*, on the day after he completed his thirtieth year, viz. October 5, he entered upon it thirteen or fourteen days after the expiration of the feast of Tabernacles, and about the same length of time before the rainy season would begin. And if April 5, U. C. 780, when our Saviour entered upon his ministry, was Monday, so was October 5, U. C. 779, when John might enter upon his.

Again; if April 5, U. C. 750, fell on the Saturday, it would fall on the Saturday again U. C. 761. The passover was celebrated that year upon April 8, and

^t Pingré's Tables, and Diss. vii. p. 331.

the tenth of Nisan fell upon April 4; and April 4 on the Friday. I observed not long since that this might be the year, and consequently this the feast of the passover, in which and at which our Lord was first taken to Jerusalem, when he is said to have been twelve years old^v. If so, it fell out in this year that the day of the week, on which he completed his eleventh year, was the day on which he afterwards suffered; and the day when he entered on his twelfth was the day on which he had been born. If his parents too came to Jerusalem before or on the tenth of Nisan, rather than after it; the first day on which they could have an opportunity of presenting him in the temple, at a time when he could be considered in any sense as twelve years old, would be either the nominal day of his birth, the Friday, or the real, the Saturday*.

* Besides which, we may observe, that the passover being celebrated on Tuesday, April 8, our Lord's parents would not leave Jerusalem before Wednesday, April 16; the day after the close of the feast: they would find the young Jesus missing on Thursday, April 17: they would return to Jerusalem, after one day's search for him among their kinsfolk and acquaintance, on Friday, April 18: and they would find him, on the *third* day, after he became missing, Saturday, April 19. And as they found him at last in the temple, this alone would be presumptively an argument that they found him there on a sabbath. Cf. Luke ii. 41—50.

There are other coincidences of a truly singular and surprising nature; which I shall proceed to mention.

I. If the fifth of April U. C. 783. fell on the Friday, the fifth of April U. C. 811, exactly 28 years afterwards, fell on the Friday also; and March 28. fell on the Thursday: whence it is easily calculated, that U. C. 819, A. D. 66, in the first year of the Jewish war, March 28. fell on the Sunday, and March 29. on the Monday. Now March 28, U. C. 819, or March 29, was the day of the Jewish passover, and therefore the fourteenth of Nisan^u: upon which point more will be said by and by.

II. If the fifth of April U. C. 783. happened on Friday, the thirteenth happened on Saturday; consequently U. C. 811. April 13. happened again on Saturday; and U. C. 823, A. D. 70, it happened on Sunday. Now U. C. 823. April 13. was the day of the Jewish passover;

v. Supra p. 399.

u Diss. vii.

The greater part of these conclusions, it is true, depend on our original assumption; viz. that April 5, U.C. 783, fell upon Friday; and if the passover is rightly calculated to that day, there can be so far little question but that it did. For the passover, at the time

and therefore was the fourteenth of Xanthicus or Nisan: and on the day of the Jewish passover, the fourteenth of Xanthicus or Nisan, U.C. 823, did Titus invest Jerusalem^v. The siege of the city then began that year on the Sunday.

III. If the fourteenth of Nisan U.C. 823. fell on a Sunday, the seventeenth of Panemus or Thamuz fell on the Sunday also; for from the fourteenth of Nisan, *exclusive*, to the seventeenth of Thamuz, *inclusive*, (the months between Nisan^a and Thamuz being reckoned first at thirty, and then at twenty-nine, days each alternately,) there are 91 days, or 13 weeks, exactly; whence, if the fourteenth of Nisan was a Sunday, the seventeenth of Thamuz was a Sunday also. Now on the seventeenth of Panemus, which answers to Thamuz, the daily sacrifice ceased^w; that is, the daily sacrifice, the prototype of Christ, ceased on the first day of the week; as Christ, the antitype of that, was born, and rose again from the dead, on the first day of the week.

IV. If the seventeenth of Panemus, July 13, was a Sunday,

the twenty-fourth of Panemus, July 20, was a Sunday also: and on the twenty-fourth of Panemus, U.C. 823, consequently on the first day of the week, fire was set to the outermost courts of the temple^x.

V. If the twenty-fourth of Panemus, July 20, was a Sunday, the eighth of Lous or Ab, the next month, August 3, was a Sunday also; and on the eighth of Lous, August 3, consequently on the first day of the week, fire was first set to the innermost court of the temple^y. And on the fifteenth of Lous, August 10, according to the Latin version of Rufinus, (which was also a Sunday,) in the afternoon of that day, the temple was burnt to the ground^z.

VI. If the fifteenth of Lous, August 10, was a Sunday, the twenty-second and the twenty-ninth, August 17. and 24, were Sundays also; the seventh of Gorpiaëus or Elul, the month after Lous, August 31, was therefore a Sunday; and on the seventh of Gorpiaëus, August 31, and in the evening of that day, Jerusalem was set on fire; and the siege the next day, September 1, was brought to an end^a.

^v Jos. Bell. Jud. v. iii. 1. xiii. 7.

fell on April 13, the year was intercalated, and Nisan was consequently *cavus*, or contained only twenty-nine days; (which, indeed, it is probable it always did;) and Jar, the next to Nisan, contained thirty; Sivan twenty-nine; Thamuz thirty; Ab twenty-nine, and so on. This year also, if Nisan 14. answered to April 13. Thamuz or Panemus 17. answered to July 13, and July 13. was Sunday.

^w Jos. Bell. Jud. vi. ii. 1.

^x Ib. vi. ii. 9.

^y Ib. vi. iv. 1. 2.

^z Ib. vi. iv.

4. 5. 6.

^a vi. viii. 4. 5.

^a U.C. 823. A.D. 70. if the passover

when our Saviour suffered, immediately preceded the Jewish sabbath; and therefore if the passover that year fell upon April 5, April 5 immediately preceded the Jewish sabbath. The tables, however, adapted to the solar cycle, according to certain calculations^b, make April 5, U. C. 783, A. D. 30, to fall on the Wednesday; which is two days before the time I suppose. But the accuracy of such calculations is not so implicitly to be trusted, that the fifth of April may not still be supposed to have fallen on the Friday; and Dr. Hales observes upon a case in point^c, (where March 27, A. D. 31, on which day *he* supposes the passover to have been celebrated in his year of the passion, is made by him to have been *Thursday*—but in the calculations of Newton, Ferguson, Lamy, and Bacon is made to be *Tuesday*,) that these calculations of the days of the week vary from each other sometimes by one day, and sometimes by two: so that it would still be possible that March 27, A. D. 31, might be Thursday. On the same principle, April 5, A. D. 30, though exhibited by these schemes as a Wednesday, might still have fallen on a Friday.

Mr. Mann, in his work *De Annis Christi, Natali et Emortuali*^d, has given a table of Jewish passovers, from U. C. 779, A. D. 26, to U. C. 788, A. D. 35, inclusively, with a view to shew (as others indeed had attempted to shew before him) that there were but two years in the course of this period, U. C. 779. and U. C. 786—the twelfth and the nineteenth of Tiberius Cæsar respectively—in which the Jewish passover fell on the sixth day of the week. And this is one great reason why he fixed upon the first as *his* year of the passion; and why others before him had fixed upon the last.

^b Art de vérifier les Dates, vol. i. xxix. and Calendrier Solaire, p. 9.

^c Analysis of Chronology, i. 174.

^d De Anno Emort. xxiv. 239.

Now I will venture to say that it is absolutely impossible, consistently with the Gospel narrative, to place the passion of our Lord either U. C. 779. or U. C. 786: and if this be the case, then either he did not suffer on the Friday in the year when he did suffer, if he suffered on the Jewish passover day; or if he suffered on the Friday in the year when he did suffer, he did not suffer on the Jewish passover day: and each of these suppositions is liable to equal difficulty. If however the calculations of the days of the week, which this table and which similar tables exhibit, labour under an error of defect, and that an error amounting to two days; there are two other years, A. D. 27. and A. D. 30, (in which Mr. Mann also supposes the passover to have fallen on April 9. and April 5. respectively,) when the day of the passover coincided with the sixth day of the week; that is, fell upon Friday in each case.

The truth is, that if any one will consult the table appended to Dissertation the seventh, he will see that U. C. 779, or A. D. 26, the passover fell on March 21, which, according to the tables, would be on the Thursday; and U. C. 786, A. D. 33, it fell on April 2, which also was a Thursday. There can be no doubt, I think, of these facts, if the eclipses, from which I deduced the computation—the one Feb. 20, at seven in the morning, the other April 3, at three in the evening—have been rightly calculated. With respect to the former; the moon would be at the full again after that eclipse, at 7. 44. in the evening of March 21. calculated for the meridian of Paris; and at 9. 56. in the evening calculated for the meridian of Jerusalem: so that it does not admit of a question that the fifteenth *νυχθήμερον* of Nisan could not be dated later than from the sunset of the evening of March 21; in which case, the passover would be sacrificed the afternoon before.

In fact, Mr. Mann himself is obliged to admit this^d. With respect to the second; the full moon on April 3, at three in the evening, must have been the full moon of Nisan itself; which, on the same allowance for the meridian of Jerusalem as before, would take place at 5. 12. in the afternoon, more than an hour before the close of a Jewish day. The fifteenth of Nisan must have coincided with the time of this full moon; and therefore the passover was sacrificed the day before.

It is calculated by Mr. Mann, as well as by myself, that the passover U. C. 823, A. D. 70, fell on the thirteenth of April; but he supposes this thirteenth of April to have been Friday^e. Now if the thirteenth of April coincided this year with the fourteenth of Nisan, and both with a Friday; then the eighth of Lous or the Jewish Ab would coincide with a Friday also; and the ninth would coincide with a Saturday. For from the fourteenth of Nisan *exclusive*, to the eighth of Ab *inclusive*, there are 112 days, or 16 weeks, exactly. Accordingly, it is a tradition of the Talmud, which I have had occasion to mention already, that the temple was destroyed on the ninth of Ab; and that the ninth of Ab was a sabbath: the same tradition added that the week was the week of Joarib. But this tradition is directly at variance with Josephus, whose Greek text distinctly affirms that the temple was burnt on the tenth of Lous or Ab; and whose Latin text affirms that it was burnt on the fifteenth; but neither of them that it was burnt on the ninth. Whichever of these statements be the truth, the destruction of the temple, according to neither of them, happened on the sabbath. If the ninth of Lous was a sabbath, the tenth was a Sunday, and the fifteenth was a Friday.

^d De Anno Emort. xxiv. 241.

^e Ibid. xxii. 229.

Now that which Josephus insists on as most remarkable in the destruction of the temple is this; viz. that it was destroyed by Titus in the same month, and on the same day of the month, on which it had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar^f. The time of this destruction is placed both by the Book of Kings and by Jeremiah in the same month, viz. Ab; but by the former it is placed on the seventh of that month; by the latter, upon the tenth^g. These statements may be consistent with each other; for it is not as plainly affirmed by the one that the temple was destroyed on the seventh, as it is by the other that it was destroyed on the tenth. It is to be collected from both together that the work of destruction could not have begun before the seventh, nor been consummated later than the tenth: and if so, that it was begun and completed between the two. Now how critically does this fact in the destruction of the first temple accord to that which I have just pointed out in the destruction of the second, that the temple was first set on fire on the eighth, and was burnt to the ground on the tenth! Whether the seventh of Ab, in the year of the first destruction, coincided with a sabbath, it may not be possible to determine; but if the ninth of the former month (on the night of which Zedekiah attempted to escape from Jerusalem^h) was a sabbath, the seventh of the ensuing was a sabbath also; and the eighth coincided with Sunday: which would bring the analogy between the two events to a degree of proximity truly wonderful*.

* If the year of the first destruction of the temple was B. C. 588, as the Bible Chronology assumes it to have been, then, in Pingré's Table of Eclipses, I find an eclipse in the

^f Bell. Jud. vi. iv. 5. 8.
xxv. 3. 4. Jer. lii. 6. 7. xxxix. 1. 2.

^g 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jer. lii. 12.

^h 2 Kings

The tradition then of the Jews, that every thing happened in the destruction of the second temple,

year of the Julian period 4126, which corresponds to B. C. 588, on January 19, at four in the morning, for the meridian of Paris; and consequently, at 6. 12. in the morning, for the meridian of Jerusalem. Add three mean lunations, or eighty-eight days, fourteen hours, twelve minutes to this date, and we obtain a mean full moon, April 17, 8. 24. in the evening. I will assume that this date coincided with the fourteenth of Nisan. The question is, on what day of the week, April 17, B. C.

588, may be supposed to have fallen.

Now, according to the Tables, April 17, A. D. 1, is made to have fallen on Sunday; and, according to my own mode of reckoning, it must be made to fall on Tuesday. The number of years between April 17, B. C. 588, *inclusive*, and April 17, A. D. 1, *exclusive*, is exactly 588; and the number of days, calculated not by mean *Julian*, but by mean *solar* or *tropical* years may be determined as follows:

	days	hours	min.
500 solar or tropical years	= 182,621	3	55
80	= 29,219	9	16
8	= 2,921	22	31
588	= 214,762	11	42

Reduced to weeks these = 30,680 weeks, 2 days, 11 hours, 42 minutes; or, if we drop the fraction of a day, 30,680 weeks, and two days over.

Hence if B. C. 588, April 17 had fallen on Sunday, then, A. D. 1, April 15 would fall on Sunday also; and April 16 would fall one day in advance of Sunday, viz. on Monday, and April 17 (as I calculate it did) would fall on Tuesday.

Let it be supposed, then, that B. C. 588, Nisan 14, coincided with April 17, and both with Sunday.

From Nisan 14, *exclusive* to Ab 8 *inclusive*, there are 112 days, or 16 weeks exactly. Hence if Nisan 14 fell upon the Sunday, Ab 8 fell on the Sunday also. And though we were to

allow for the fraction of time above mentioned, and to suppose it equivalent to 12 hours, or a day as such; this would make no further difference than that the 17th of April, B. C. 588, in that case must have fallen on Saturday, in order that the 17th of April, A. D. 1, might fall on Tuesday. On this principle the 8th of Ab would fall on Saturday. And even this, if true, would be a degree of coincidence abundantly sufficient for our purpose. We shall see reason, however, hereafter, to consider the former supposition, or that which drops the superfluous hours, as not the least correct: in which case the coincidence becomes critically exact and complete.

While I am upon this subject,

which had happened in that of the first, may have been founded in fact; but we must go for the proof of the

there is another circumstance to which I shall take the liberty of alluding. The desecration of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, Casleu 25, *Æræ Seleucidarum* 145, which answers to B. C. 168, and the dedication of the altar by Judas Maccabæus, Casleu 25, *Æræ Seleucidarum* 148, B. C. 165, just three years afterwards, are memorable events in Jewish history; to which from their affinity to the subject under discussion some attention may naturally be directed. In the account of either of them, as given by the First of Maccabees, i. 54. 59. iv. 52. 54, I can discover nothing which can justly be considered to identify the 25th of Casleu with a sabbath; but rather every thing to imply the contrary. The 25th of Casleu, B. C. 165, seems to have been purposely chosen for the day of the restitution of the temple service, and the dedication of the altar, because the 25th of Casleu, B. C. 168, had been the day of its desecration. Now the 25th of Casleu, B. C. 168, possesses not the slightest claim to be considered a sabbath; but rather, instead of that, the 15th of Casleu, when the abomination of desolation was

first set up. I should conjecture that the 15th of Casleu was selected as the day of this profanation, because it was either the Jewish sabbath, or the first day of the week.

Now, according to Pingré's Table, there was an eclipse of the moon, B. C. 168, June 21, at 7. 45. in the evening, for the meridian of Paris, or 9. 57. in the evening, for the meridian of Jerusalem. If we reckon backwards from this date three mean lunations, eighty-eight days, fourteen hours, twelve minutes, we obtain a mean full moon, March 25, 7. 45. in the morning. But this *mean* full moon is probably too early for the *true*, which might actually fall March 25, in the evening, or March 26, in the morning. In either of these cases, Nisan 15 would coincide with March 26, and, therefore Tisri 15 with September 19: and Casleu 25 (which is necessarily the sixty-ninth day *inclusive* from Tisri 15 *exclusive*) with November 27.

Now between November 27 B. C. 168, *inclusive*, and November 27, B. C. 10, *exclusive*, there are exactly 158 tropical or solar years, and 57,708 days, 6 hours, or 8,244 weeks.

	days	hours	min.
For 100 solar or tropical years =	36,524	5	35
50	= 18,262	2	47
8	= 2,921	22	31
<hr/> 158	<hr/> = 57,708	<hr/> 6	<hr/> 53

in which number of days, if we drop the odd hours, there is an exact number of weeks, 8,244.

Hence, if B. C. 168, Novem-

ber 27, had fallen on *Wednesday*, B. C. 10, it ought to have fallen on the same day also. Now, B. C. 10, when the year

coincidence to the contemporary authorities—to the writers of the Old Testament for the one, and to Josephus for the other—and not to the Rabbins; who have mixed up in this instance, as in many others which might be mentioned, fable with truth. They tell us that the destruction of the first temple, as well as of the second, took place on the ninth of Ab; which is directly contrary to the sacred history; for the temple was destroyed either on the seventh or on the tenth. There is no mention whatever of the ninth.

The statement also, that Joarib was in course on the ninth of Ab, U. C. 823, if the ninth of Ab was a sabbath, appears to me to carry with it its own refutation; but not if the ninth of Ab was the second day

of the cycle was 28, and the Dominical letter A, the Tables exhibit November 27 on Monday: which, according to my principles, would be on Wednesday. We may conclude, then, that B. C. 168, if Casleu 25 coincided with November 27, it fell on the *Wednesday*; in which case Casleu 15 must necessarily have fallen on the *Sunday*.

Again, there is another eclipse in Pingré's Table, for B. C. 165, on April 21, at o. 30. in the morning, for the meridian of Paris, or at 2. 42. in the morning, for the meridian of Jerusalem. The last mean full moon before this must have fallen March 22, 1. 58. in the afternoon; and this, we may safely conclude, was the actual full moon of Nisan. The 15th of Nisan therefore, B. C. 165, coincided with March 22, and, consequently, the 15th of Tisri with September 15, and the 25th of Casleu with November 23. Deduct from B. C. 165, as be-

fore, 158: the remainder is B. C. 7, when November 23, according to the Tables, fell upon Monday, and as I reckon it fell upon Wednesday. The same then was the case B. C. 165. The coincidence, then, between the time when the temple had been desecrated, B. C. 168, and the time when the temple service was restored, B. C. 165, which the First of Maccabees insists on as something extraordinary, is thus very strikingly demonstrated. For not only the nominal date of either, the 25th of the Jewish Casleu, was the same in each case, but the actual date of the one, the 27th of November, approximates as nearly to a coincidence with the actual date of the other, the 23rd of November, as the same date in the same Jewish month, at the distance of three years asunder, could have approximated; and as to the day of the week, it was actually the same in both cases.

of the week. It is a certain fact that every course came in on a sabbath, and went out on a sabbath; the courses relieving one another at noon, or the middle of the day. It appears also from the account of Josephus that the temple was set on fire at noon, or soon after the fifth hour of the day. Now, under these circumstances, what course could be said to be in office? a course might have just gone out, but none could have just come in: the destruction of the temple took place critically in the interval between the two. If however the temple was destroyed on the tenth, and the tenth was the third day of the week, a course of some denomination or other would have been, or ought to have been, two or three days in office; which course, we have seen elsewhere, might possibly have been Joarib. But, indeed, after the cessation of the daily sacrifice on the seventeenth of Panemus, twenty-three days before, it is superfluous to talk of courses. The succession of courses and the temple service were both at an end, and the priests could have nothing to do.

No more regard is due to the assertion of Dio that Jerusalem was destroyed on the Saturday*ⁱ. The assertions of this writer, with respect to Jewish history, are almost always loose and inaccurate. He asserts the same thing of the day when Jerusalem was taken by Pompey, U. C. 691: which day was the tenth of Tisri, and consequently a sabbath; but not necessarily a Saturday. It may be proved that U. C. 691, B. C. 63, the fifteenth of Nisan fell upon April 3; and

* This assertion occurs also in Frontinus, *Strategematum* ii. cap. i. §. 17. The Pseudo-Hegesippus places the destruction of Jerusalem on Gorpiaeus 8, which is, in

fact, Josephus' date. Suetonius, Titus, 5, tells us Titus took it on his daughter Julia's birthday; but what that birthday was is not known.

therefore the fifteenth of Tisri on September 27. In this case, the day of atonement coincided with September 22: and September 22, U. C. 691, B. C. 63, when the year of the solar cycle was 3, and the Dominical letter was D, according to the tables, fell upon Tuesday; and according to my reckoning, fell upon Thursday; but in neither case did it fall on the Saturday: and yet the latter computation brings it nearer to the Saturday than the former. It is possible indeed, that the fifteenth of Nisan, B. C. 63, might have coincided with April 4, though it could not have fallen earlier than April 3; in which case the tenth of Tisri might coincide with September 23, and could not be earlier than September 22. Neither would this make it fall on the Saturday; yet it would bring it nearer to Saturday, and even account for the mistake of Dio, by making it fall on the Friday.

It is quite enough then to have produced the same mistake in this instance also, if the city was really taken and set on fire the day after the sabbath; which, if the seventh of Gorpiaëus or Elul, August 31, when it was taken and set on fire, was, as I have endeavoured to prove, the first day of the week, must actually have been the case. The silence of Josephus with respect to any such coincidences as these, when he notices so many others (which are not more remarkable than these would have been, if true,) ought to be a strong presumptive argument that they never took place. Had the temple or the city been actually destroyed on the sabbath, either in this instance or in the former, I think he would not have failed to mention it. -

He has given us, however, if I am not mistaken, the means of determining the day of the month on which a certain sabbath fell, U. C. 819, A. D. 66: which will be found to square exactly with the preceding deduc-

tions. This day was the day when Cestius Gallus, U.C. 819, at the outset of the Jewish war, arrived with his army at Gabao, within fifty stades of Jerusalem^k. The Jews attacked him there immediately upon his arrival; and the day when they attacked him is expressly declared to have been a sabbath: ἐξέπῃδων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, μηδὲ τῆς ἀργῆς ἐβδομάδος ἔννοιαν λαβόντες. ἦν γὰρ δὴ τὸ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτοῖς θρησκευόμενον σάββατον^l. The rest of the narrative enables us to demonstrate that it was also the twenty-fifth of Hyperberetæus or Tisri; and this being established, that the twenty-fifth of Hyperberetæus or Tisri, U.C. 819, fell upon the sabbath, if April 5, or Nisan 14, U.C. 783, fell on the Friday, it will be seen, will follow as matter of course.

It is necessary, with this view, to observe that between the date of the arrival of Cestius at Gabao, and the time of his final discomfiture, there is an intermediate period distinctly specified, when the Roman general first made an attack on the city; viz. the τριακὰς or last day of Hyperberetæus^m; up to which the detail of events is conducted previously, and down from which it is conducted subsequently. The notes of time, by which the detail is characterized in each instance, must be understood either as *current* days, or as *complete*; and if they cannot be understood as the latter, they will require to be understood as the former: which, I may remind the reader, is also more agreeable to the usage of Josephus than the contrary would be.

Now, it is impossible that the notes in question for the latter and the longest part of the detail (viz. the period between the first attack on the city and the final discomfiture of Cestius) can be understood of complete days, and not of current, without making Josephus contradict himself at last. For that attack was

^k Bell. ii. xix. 1.

^l Ibid. 2.

^m Ibid. 4.

made on the last day of Hyperberetæus, and this final discomfiture is placed on the eighth of Diusⁿ; between which, inclusive of both, there ought to be only nine days' interval in all: and this, as we shall see by and by, may have been the case. But, beginning with the last day of Hyperberetæus, and every day which is afterwards mentioned being understood of a day complete, the specified notes of time would amount to an eleven or twelve days' interval at least; and terminate with the tenth or eleventh, and not with the eighth or ninth of Dius. Throughout the whole of this account then, it is reasonable and even necessary to conclude that Josephus, where he does not himself affirm the contrary, reckons by *current* days, not by *complete*. On this principle, assuming that the account begins with the twenty-fifth of Hyperberetæus or Tisri, I will shew how easily it is to be conducted downwards to the eighth of Dius; which, I think, will render it as probable that Cestius arrived at Gabao on the twenty-fifth of Tisri, as it is certain that he met with his defeat at last on the eighth of Dius.

Cestius marches from Bethoron to Gabao, Tisri 25, and is attacked by the Jews on his arrival. Bell. ii. xix. 1. 2.

Being arrived, he remains τρισὶν ἡμέραις, (which is now to be understood of the day of his arrival, of the next to that, and of part of a third besides, viz. from Tisri 25 to Tisri 27, inclusively,) before he advances to Scopus. Ibid. 2.

On the *third* day (Tisri 27.) he marches to Scopus, within *seven* stades of the city. Here, also, he remains inactive τρισὶν ἡμέραις more; viz. from the day of his arrival, Tisri 27, to the day before he attacks the city, Tisri 29, inclusive. Ibid. 4.

ⁿ Bell. ii. xix. 9.

On the *fourth* day, which is specified as the last day of Hyperberetæus, that is, Tisri, he attacks the city.

The subsequent contest lasts *five* days in all before Cestius begins his retreat ; the first of which must be understood as the day of the attack, the last day of Hyperberetæus, and the fifth as the fourth, exclusive of that, viz. *Dius 4*. Ibid. 5.

Τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, that is, on the fifth of *Dius*, after renewing the attack on the temple, he suddenly recalls his troops and retreats to Scopus. Τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, consequently on *Dius 6*, he continues his retreat to Gabao, where he is said to have staid *δυσὸς ἡμέρας* ; the first of which it is absolutely necessary to understand of the day of his arrival, *Dius 6* ; and the second will consequently be *Dius 7*. Ibid. 5—7.

Τῇ τρίτῃ, and therefore *Dius 8*, he resumes his retreat, and with difficulty reaches Bethoron before the night. It was now that he experienced his chief loss ; and therefore this was the day of his discomfiture as such. Ibid. 7. 8.

The same night, consequently the night of the eighth of *Dius*, he renews his retreat unobserved by the Jews ; and though pursued by them in the morning (consequently on the ninth of *Dius*) as far as Antipatris, he is not overtaken. Ibid. 9.

It is clear then that the day of his defeat, properly so called, was the day before this pursuit ; the day of the retreat from Gabao to Bethoron, when he lost 5,300 of his infantry and 380 of his cavalry. The date of this loss is specified as the eighth of *Dius* : ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη Δίου μηνὸς ὀγδόῃ, δωδεκάτῃ ἔτει τῆς Νέρωνος ἡγεμονίας. The above detail of particulars confirms the truth of this conclusion, if the eighth of *Dius* be understood of the day of the defeat in question ; but no detail will prove it to be correct if it be understood of the

day when the Jews pursued Cestius, which must have been the ninth of Dios.

It remains, then, still to prove that the twenty-fifth of Hyperberetæus or Tisri fell out this year on the sabbath.

By referring to the table of Jewish feasts in Dissertation vii. it will be seen that U. C. 819. A. D. 66. the paschal full moon fell upon the fourth quarter of March 29; whence it was easy to infer that the mean full moon of Tisri would fall on the fourth quarter of September 22. The same conclusion follows if we reckon forward three mean lunations, or eighty-eight days, fourteen hours, twelve minutes, from June 26. when the moon was eclipsed at half-past one in the morning, for the meridian of Paris, or forty-two minutes after three, for the meridian of Jerusalem. The third full moon after this fell out at fifty-four minutes after five in the afternoon of September 22: and this full moon was necessarily the full moon of Tisri. It is farther confirmed by the coincidence that between March 29. *exclusive*, and September 22. *inclusive*, the number of days is 177; and between Nisan 15. *exclusive*, and Tisri 15. *inclusive*, (whether we reckon the month Nisan itself as *cavus* or *plenus*, and every other intermediate month accordingly,) there is just the same. The fifteenth of Tisri, then, must have coincided with September 22; that is, September 22. was the first day of the feast of Tabernacles, which began on the fifteenth of Tisri: and September 29. or Tisri 22. was the last. This feast was going on when Cestius advanced upon Jerusalem^o; but there is no reason to suppose it was in its midst, and might not even then be just over. It is not, indeed, certain whether he marched from Antipatris to Bethoron in one day's time or two; but the

latter is much the more probable; for the former would have been a forced march; and Cestius was not making forced marches. Bethoron was ten or twelve miles distant from Jerusalem; and Antipatris forty-two or three^p. It is highly probable then, that if Cestius was at Bethoron on the twenty-fifth of Tisri, he was at Antipatris, and by parity of reason at Lydda or Diospolis, ten miles off from Antipatris^q, on the twenty-third or twenty-second; at which time it is morally certain that the male part of the inhabitants of Lydda would still be absent at the feast of Tabernacles in Jerusalem.

Now, if U. C. 783, A. D. 30, April 5 fell upon the Friday, September 22, that same year, would fall on the Sunday; for from April 5 *exclusive* to September 22 *inclusive*, there are one hundred and seventy days, or twenty-four weeks and two days over exactly. The last of the number, then, September 22, would fall two days in advance of Friday; that is, on Sunday. If so, U. C. 811, A. D. 58, after the revolution of one solar cycle, September 22 would fall again on the Sunday; and therefore, U. C. 819, A. D. 66, at the end of the eighth year of a second cycle, it would fall not on the Sunday, but on the Wednesday. The fifteenth of Tisri, U. C. 819, A. D. 66, was consequently a Wednesday; and therefore so was the twenty-second. The twenty-fifth, then, was a Saturday; which was what I undertook to prove.

According to the other mode of reckoning it would have been a Thursday. But had Cestius marched from Bethoron to Gabao on the Thursday, how could the Jews be said to have attacked him on the sabbath? The language of Josephus implies that they attacked

^p Reland, Palæstina, lib. ii. cap. ix. p. 444. 447.
cap. iv. p. 417.

^q Ibid. cap. iii. p. 406.

him on the *ordinary* sabbath; for that only could be called the ἐβδομάς as such. It is therefore of little avail to reply that he arrived and was attacked on the *last* day of the feast of Tabernacles, which was by appointment an *extraordinary* sabbath. That last day fell in this instance on a Wednesday, the *fourth* day and not the *seventh* of the week, as I compute the days of the week; and on a Monday, the *second* day and not the *seventh*, as the other reckoning computes them. Besides which, if Cestius was attacked by the Jews on the last day of the feast of Tabernacles, he was attacked on the twenty-second of Tisri or Hyperberetæus; between which day, though reckoned exclusively, and the day when he himself assaulted the city, reckoned also exclusively, the most liberal construction which we can put on Josephus' notes of time will not make out more than six days' interval. On this principle, if Tisri contained thirty days, he must have assaulted the city on the twenty-ninth, not on the thirtieth.

With regard to my own detail of these transactions, if there is any uncertainty, it affects, I think, only the following point; whether Cestius arrived and was attacked the same day; or arrived on one day and was attacked on the next. Josephus is express that the day of the week when he was attacked was the sabbath; and I think it has been proved that the day of the month when he arrived could not be later than the twenty-fifth. But it might have been as early as the twenty-fourth: and it is indifferent to our argument on which we place it. If Cestius arrived and was attacked on the same day, he arrived and was attacked on the twenty-fifth; if he arrived on one day, and was attacked by the Jews on the next, he arrived on the twenty-fourth, and was attacked by them on

the twenty-fifth. His arrival would thus be on the Friday; but the attack would still fall on the Saturday: and though he had both arrived and been attacked on the Friday, yet if, as is manifestly a probable supposition, he arrived after a day's march, on the evening of that day, the attack of the Jews, posterior to his arrival, could not have been made before the sabbath. Though made in the evening of the Friday, it would still be made on the sabbath.

It is possible also (and this conjecture is much more probable than the former) that U.C.819, the fifteenth of Nisan, coincided actually not with March 29, but with March 30. For three mean lunations between June 26 and March 29 in that year would exceed by some hours the length of the three actual lunations, which must have intervened: and if even three mean lunations, as deduced from June 26, would not make the paschal full moon fall earlier than March 29, fourth quarter, it is manifestly possible that it actually fell somewhat later, viz. March 29, first quarter, or March 30, second quarter. In either of these cases the fifteenth of Nisan would coincide with March 30; and, by parity of consequence, the fifteenth of Tisri with September 23: and September 23 would be Thursday. The twenty-third of Tisri would therefore be Friday; and the twenty-fourth of Tisri would be Saturday.

Now if Cestius advanced upon Gabao on the twenty-fourth of Tisri, he would pass from Antipatris to Lydda on the twenty-second or twenty-third: at which time, it is perfectly certain he would find the inhabitants absent. And if he came to Gabao on the twenty-fourth, then the note of time, *τρισὶν ἡμέραις*, which marks the length of his stay there, before he moved forwards to Scopus, need not be understood inclusively, except at one of the extremes, the day of the arri-

val at Gabao. The day of his march to Scopus would be the *fourth* day from that date inclusive, and Tisri 27, as before: nor will there be any alteration in the rest of the detail subsequently. I confess, this is that account of things in which I would ultimately acquiesce. The fifteenth of Tisri must have coincided with September 22 or 23; that is, with Wednesday or Thursday in the week in question: and whichever of the two suppositions we adopt, that Cestius arrived and was attacked on the sabbath day, either Tisri 25 or Tisri 24, seems to me to be alike incontrovertible*.

There are yet some other notices of time, belonging to the history of the first year of the war, which I think it incumbent upon me to point out; for they will be found to confirm the present argument, and not to invalidate it. For example, Bell. ii. xv. 2, mention is made of the sixteenth and the seventeenth of the month Artemisius or Jar, the next to Nisan; in such a manner as clearly to imply that neither of them was a sabbath. U. C. 819, when the fifteenth of Nisan, if that was March 30, fell on the Tuesday, the sixteenth of Artemisius fell on the Thursday, and the seventeenth

* There is another question too on which, however, I shall not enter at present; and that is, whether the month Tisri or Hyperberetæus should be considered a month of thirty, or a month of twenty-nine days in length. I shall find an opportunity of discussing this point elsewhere; in the mean time I shall observe only that the use of the word *τριάκας*, as applied to the last day of the month, is not decisive upon either side. For whatever this word may denote *primarily*, there is no question that it may be used *se-*

condarily for the *last* day of a month as such, whether that last be the twenty-ninth or the thirtieth. It will not affect the above detail whichever opinion on this subject we may adopt. If the last day of Tisri was truly the twenty-ninth, Cestius arrived at Gabao on the twenty-fourth, and advanced against Jerusalem on the twenty-sixth; if it was really the thirtieth, he might arrive on the twenty-fourth, though we need not suppose he advanced to Scopus before the twenty-seventh.

on the Friday. I think also it is possible to shew that the sabbath alluded to, xiv. 5, was the *eleventh* of Artemisius, which actually fell on a sabbath : for between that day and the day which is mentioned in section 8, as τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ; that is, the day after the arrival of Florus at Jerusalem from Sebaste or Samaria, (which was one day's journey distant;) and which day, cap. xv. 2, implies to have been the sixteenth of Artemisius ; only four days can well be understood ; viz. from the twelfth to the fifteenth of Artemisius ; which would thus be from the Sunday to the Wednesday inclusive. I think also that the day alluded to, xv. 4, 5, when the Jewish priests, and the rest of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, are said to have met the Roman troops, as they were coming up from Cæsarea, was either the nineteenth or the twentieth of Artemisius ; and could not possibly have been the eighteenth. For those troops were probably sent for on the day after the arrival of Florus from Sebaste, Artemisius 16 ; when he found himself in danger from the resistance of the people. The case of St. Paul in the Acts proves that a detachment of soldiers from Jerusalem, even by a forced march, could not reach Cæsarea before the second day after they set out : the troops from Cæsarea therefore might begin their march on the eighteenth, and reach Jerusalem on the nineteenth ; but they could not well arrive sooner. Now the eighteenth of Artemisius would be Saturday ; but the nineteenth would be Sunday.

In like manner, Bell. ii. xvii. 5. there is mention of *seven* days' continued fighting between the faction of Eleazar in one part of the city, and the opposite body in the other. The last of these *seven* days is determined by sections 6. and 7. to the thirteenth of Lous ; the day before the ξυλοφόρια. It is a reasonable conjecture

from the peculiarity of the number of days in question, that the contest lasted an exact week ; beginning after *one* sabbath, and terminating for a time on *another* ; and this would be the case if it began after the sixth, and ended on the thirteenth, of Lous : for both those days were Saturdays.

Again, Bell. ii. xvii. 8, the day, when Manahem with his partisans seized on Jerusalem, is specified as the sixth of Gorpiaëus ; and the day after, when Ananias the high priest was taken and put to death by them, was the seventh. Neither of these days appears to be described as a sabbath : the very reverse seems to have been the case : and accordingly I calculate the sixth to have fallen on Sunday, and the seventh to have coincided with Monday. Between the seventh consequently, and the next sabbath, there would be only five days' interval ; and this coincidence is so far critical that it was on the sabbath, ii. xvii. 10. that the Roman garri-son commanded by Metilius was put to the sword ; and as the context clearly implies, it was on the sabbath next after the death of Manahem ; whose assassination could not have been earlier than the eighth or the ninth of Gorpiaëus ; that is, than the Tuesday or the Wednesday at the earliest*.

* The sixth of Gorpiaëus seems to have been the day on which Philip the son of Joachim, commander of the βασιλικοὶ or forces of Agrippa, was in danger of being put to death by the followers of Manahem (Vita Josephi, 11.) notwithstanding the terms of capitulation allowed to him in particular. On the fifth day after, (Vita, *loc. cit.*) he made his escape : which would thus be on the Thursday, probably the day after the death of Manahem.

His escape is mentioned in the War, ii. xx. 1, as later than the defeat of Cestius ; a statement inconsistent with the account in Vita ; and probably an oversight. Cf. Vita, 11. with Bell. ii. xviii. 6. 1.

There are similar notices in the subsequent books of the War ; which, if my limits would allow of my examining them in detail, would corroborate the above conclusions. Besides, however, the length of time for which I have

These points being presumptively established, we possess perhaps data sufficient to correct an error,

dwelt on this subject, there is another reason why I should proceed with it no further; viz. that the numbers in the text of Josephus are often exceedingly corrupt; and therefore it becomes frequently a difficult question to determine what reliance can be placed on his dates. I shall illustrate this assertion by a case in point; which is the true date of the most memorable event in the course of the war, next to the siege of Jerusalem; viz. the siege of Jotapata.

The siege of Jotapata lasted forty-seven days, and the place was captured on the forty-eighth. Bell. iii. vii. 33. 34. and viii. 9. compared together place this fact beyond a question. This forty-eighth day was also the *νομήνια* or first of Panemus, see cap. vii. 36; and the mention of the twenty-seventh of Dæsius in §. 32, so soon before the allusion to the forty-seventh day of the siege in §. 33; and of the fourth of Panemus, ix. 1. so soon after the capture; confirms this inference. The intermediate time is accounted for by comparing vii. 36. viii. 1. and ix. 1. together. Let us suppose that Dæsius was a month of twenty-nine days; and consequently Artemisius a month of thirty. If the forty-eighth day of the siege synchronised with Panemus 1. the nineteenth synchronised with Dæsius 1; and therefore the first with Artemisius 12 or 13. The printed text of Josephus, however, (vii. 3.) makes it synchronise with Artemisius 21. There can be no question, then, that this is an error of the text; and was due

some time or other to a mistake of the copyists; who must have confounded the numeral notes for twelve or thirteen, ιβ' or ιγ', with those of twenty-one or twenty-two, κα' or κβ'. It is too gross to have come from Josephus himself. The correction of this error is so much the more important, because if the Paschal full moon, U. C. 820, (as I think it may be proved,) fell on March 19; March 19 was a Saturday; and consequently the fifteenth of Nisan coincided with Saturday. In this case, if we allow only twenty-nine days to Nisan, the twenty-first of Artemisius also would fall on the Saturday. Now it was from the day *after* Josephus threw himself into Jotapata, that he dated the beginning of the siege. If therefore he arrived on the twenty-first of Artemisius, he must have travelled from Tiberias to Jotapata (a distance of several miles) on the Saturday: which some perhaps would justly consider a difficulty. But if he did it upon the twelfth, the difficulty is obviated; for the twelfth of Artemisius would be Thursday.

In like manner, the twenty-second of Hyperberetæus, the day before the capture of Gamala, (which was Hyperberetæus 23,) Bell. iv. i. 9, 10. is manifestly described as not a sabbath. The twenty-second of Hyperberetæus I calculate to have coincided with September 19; and both with a Monday. Directly after, cap. ii. 1. 3, when Titus laid siege to Gischala, there is mention made of a sabbath *as such*. This could not be more than a very

which the nature of the case obliged me to admit at the commencement of the present discussion. This error regards the order and succession of the courses of the priests, from the beginning of the Jewish Ab, to the middle of Tisri, U.C. 748; as deducible from the fact that Joarib was in office on the ninth of Ab, U.C. 823. It is now in my power to exhibit that succession more correctly; the effect of which will be to shew that the course of Abia in particular, U.C. 748, the year before the birth of John, did not come into office on the sixth of Tisri, and go out on the thirteenth; but in all probability came in on the seventeenth, and went out on the twenty-fourth: and with the proof of this position I shall conclude.

If the course Joarib was actually in office when the temple was taken and destroyed, U. C. 823; and if the temple was first set on fire on the eighth of Ab or Louis, (which was a Sunday;) and was finally burnt down on the tenth, (which was a Tuesday;) Joarib must have come into office on the seventh of Ab; which was a Saturday. Now in the year of the destruction of Jerusalem, when the fourteenth of Nisan answered to April 13, it has been seen, upon calculation, that the seventh of Ab answered to August 2. It has been seen also that, in that year, if April 13 fell on the Sunday, August 2 fell on the Saturday.

Assuming then this datum, viz. that U.C. 823, Joarib came into office on Saturday, August 2; we may reason, as before, that seventy-five years previously, U. C. 748, it must have been in office on August 12. For between August 12, U. C. 748 *inclusive*, and August

few days after the reduction of Gamala. The twenty-seventh of Hyperberetæus, September 24, was a Saturday. It is implied also, iv. i. 10, that the twenty-fourth of Gorpiaëus, when Gamala revolted, was no sabbath. I calculate it accordingly to have fallen on Monday.

12, U. C. 823 *exclusive*, there are 27,393 days, 18 hours; or 27,394 days: a number divisible by 168, with a remainder of ten. Hence if the first course or any other had come into office, U. C. 748, B. C. 6, on August 12, then, if the succession of courses had gone on uninterruptedly, (and there is no reason to question that fact,) the same course would come again into office ten days before August 12, on the 27,385th day (or, what is the same thing, at the end of the 163d revolution of *all* the courses) afterwards; viz. upon August 2, U. C. 823, A. D. 70. Conversely, therefore, if Joarib or any other course was in office, August 2, U. C. 823, A. D. 70, Joarib or that same course must have been in office, August 12, U. C. 748, B. C. 6. It confirms this inference that both August 2, U. C. 823, and August 12, U. C. 748, according to my distribution of the days of the week, fell on the Jewish sabbath; though the tables exhibit each of them on the Thursday. And that any two days, on which the same course or any two different courses came into office, must necessarily be each of them sabbaths, requires no proof.

The order of the courses then, from August 12, U. C. 748, to the time of the feast of Tabernacles in that year, will stand as follows:

Course I. Joarib, came into office on August 12. a Saturday.

—	II.....	19.	—
—	III.....	26.	—
—	IV.....	September 2.	—
—	V.....	9.	—
—	VI.....	16.	—
—	VII.....	23.	—
—	VIII. Abia,.....	30.	—
—	IX.....	October 7.	—

Now from an eclipse of the moon, U. C. 748, September 27, 11. 30. A. M. as calculated for the meridian

of Paris, and September 27, at 1. 42. P. M. for the meridian of Jerusalem; there can be little danger in concluding that the full moon, when this eclipse happened, was the full moon of Tisri; especially as the Paschal full moon, before this, had fallen on the fourth of April. If the fifteenth of Tisri coincided with the day of this full moon, September 27 answered to Tisri 15; if it was the day after it, September 28 coincided with Tisri 15. And this is the more probable supposition; for from Nisan 15 *exclusive*, to Tisri 15 *inclusive*, there could not be less than one hundred and seventy-seven days' interval; and from April 4 (which answered in that year to Nisan 15) *exclusive*, there is just the same number of days to September 28 *inclusive*. I conclude, then, that U. C. 748, B. C. 6, September 28 answered to Tisri 15. If so, September 30 would answer to Tisri 17, and October 7 to Tisri 24. The time therefore, for which the course of Abia would be in office, was from Tisri 17 to Tisri 24, that is, from September 30 to October 7, both of which fell upon the Jewish sabbath; the latter being only two days later than the close of the feast of Tabernacles, Tisri 22, October 5. Zacharias might return home on the first day of the week, October 8, Tisri 25: and if John was born October 5, U. C. 749, it is clear that all these things must have happened about a year before his birth. Nor if we were to conjecture that even the vision of the angel, (which must have happened while Zacharias was still ministering in the order of his course*,) might possibly have hap-

* The vision of the angel to Zacharias, could not have happened on the *last* day of his course, or it would not be said, Luke i. 22, 23, that even after it, he continued to be dumb, and when the days of his ministering were fulfilled, went home. This surely implies that one or two days, at least, were still requisite, even after the vision, to complete his term of service.

pened on the very day in *this* year, on which John was to be born in the next, viz. October 5, or Tisri 22 itself, would there be any absurdity in the supposition.

I shall conclude this Dissertation by exhibiting in a single table the principal statements, with respect to the days of the week on which particular days of the month have been supposed to fall, which involve any discrepancy between the tables of the solar cycle, and the results to which I myself have come. It will be seen that the difference in every instance amounts to an excess of two days, on the one hand, and to a defect of the same, on the other: with regard to which, whether I am in the right or in the wrong I shall leave the reader to judge for himself: calling, however, the defect (as I think I may now presume to call it) the error, and the excess the correction.

U.C.	B. C.	Cycle	Dom.	Lett.	C.	ERROR.	CORRECTION.
U.C. 748.	B. C. 6.	Cycle 4.	Dom.	Lett.	C.		
	August 12.					Thursday.	Saturday.
U.C. 749.	B. C. 5.	5.			B. A.	Thursday.	Saturday.
	October 5.					Thursday.	Saturday.
U.C. 750.	B. C. 4.	6.			G.	Thursday.	Saturday.
	April 5.					Thursday.	Saturday.
U.C. 751.	B. C. 3.	7.			F.	Sunday.	Tuesday.
	March 31.					Sunday.	Tuesday.
U.C. 761.	A. D. 8.	17.			A. G.	Sunday.	Tuesday.
	April 8.					Sunday.	Tuesday.
U.C. 779.	A. D. 26.	7.			F.	Saturday.	Monday.
	October 5.					Saturday.	Monday.
U.C. 780.	A. D. 27.	8.			E.	Wednesday.	Friday.
	April 9.					Wednesday.	Friday.
U.C. 781.	A. D. 28.	9.			D. C.	Monday.	Wednesday.
	March 29.					Monday.	Wednesday.
U.C. 782.	A. D. 29.	10.			B.	Tuesday.	Thursday.
	April 5.					Tuesday.	Thursday.
U.C. 783.	A. D. 30.	11.			A.	Wednesday.	Friday.
	April 5.					Wednesday.	Friday.
U.C. 786.	A. D. 33.	14.			D.	Thursday.	Saturday.
	April 2.					Thursday.	Saturday.
U.C. 819.	A. D. 66.	19.			E.	Sunday.	Tuesday.
	March 30.					Sunday.	Tuesday.
U.C. 823.	A. D. 70.	23.			G.	Friday.	Sunday.
	April 13.					Friday.	Sunday.

DISSERTATION XIII.

On the opinions of the most ancient Christians upon the preceding topics.

IF any weight is to be allowed, in the discussion of purely historical questions, to the testimony of antiquity; some notice is due to the opinions of the early Christians upon the above points, either all, or at least the most important of them. With respect to these opinions, we may observe first, that as to the time of the year, at which the nativity was to be placed, there seems never to have been more than two suppositions; one, which assigned it to the vernal equinox, and another, which assigned it to the date of the vulgar era: secondly, that with regard to the duration of the ministry of Christ, though there is no hypothesis which, with the evidence of the Gospel accounts before us, we ought to consider more irrational and more indefensible, than that which confines this duration to the period of a single year; still it cannot be denied that such an opinion was seriously entertained in ancient times, any more than that it has been entertained in modern likewise. But to say that it was ever, anciently, the current and undoubted opinion of the church, would be as false as to say that it has been so since; and as great an affront to the understandings of mankind formerly, as to their common sense still. Nor is it to be supposed that the objections to such an opinion were not as discoverable in ancient times as in modern. It is to be remarked, however, that most if not all of those who maintain it, make this one year's duration to have fallen out critically in the fifteenth or the sixteenth of Tiberius; which may perhaps enable us to conjecture the origin of the opinion itself.

The express testimony of St. Luke had apparently fixed the beginning of the ministry of John, which must have been earlier than the commencement of the ministry of Christ, to the fifteenth of Tiberius Cæsar; and uniform historical tradition, either grounded upon or supported by the Acts of Pilate, had fixed the close of our Saviour's to the sixteenth. There was no means of reconciling these things together, except by supposing that Christ was baptized in the fifteenth, and terminated his ministry in the sixteenth of the reign in question. I am persuaded that, during the first two centuries, no Christian doubted of the fact that our Lord suffered in one of those years; and the nearer we ascend to the apostolical times, the clearer and stronger does the evidence of that belief become. It does not however follow that all, who maintained one of those opinions, maintained the other also; that is, though all, who supposed the ministry of Christ to have lasted but a single year, supposed it to have ended in the sixteenth of Tiberius; yet all, who supposed it to have ended then, did not therefore suppose it to have begun in his fifteenth.

I am aware, indeed, that a different account of this opinion may be given; viz. in the alleged fulfilment of prophecy; as if that acceptable year of the Lord ^a, to preach or proclaim which our Saviour declared himself sent, necessarily implied that his ministry would last but one year: and the prophecy is certainly so applied by Clement of Alexandria ^b, one who maintains the opinion in question. But this mode of applying the prophecy does not so much explain the origin of the opinion, as corroborate or attest the fact of it. It

^a Isaiah lxi. 2. Luke iv. 19.
668. l. 20—23. Strom. v. 6.

^b Operum i. 407. l. 7—9. Strom. i. 21 : ii.

being assumed that the ministry of Christ lasted one year, the prophecy was assigned as implicitly fulfilled in this event. There is no mention in the prediction of only a *single* acceptable year; nor would it be less applicable to a ministry of two or of three years' duration, than to a ministry of one year's. Every year in such a ministry might be called the acceptable year alike. Epiphanius, however, with much greater reason *a priori*, applies it to that *one* and the *first* year in the order of the whole, which the fact itself proves to have been employed by our Lord in preaching the gospel, before the Jews had as yet determined on its rejection; or what amounts to the same thing, had begun upon system to go about to kill our Lord *^c.

I am aware also that the existence of the Acts of Pilate is a controverted point. But there never was a question about it except in modern times. In the second and in the third century after Christ, it was taken for granted both by the enemies and by the friends of Christianity. The very attempt, in the time of the Diocletian persecution, to impose on the Christian world by spurious Acts, bearing the same name as the true; (an attempt which emanated from the imperial council itself;) must be decisive as to the supposed existence of real; for no adversary of Christianity would have thought of counterfeiting what until then had never been con-

* Cf. Epiphanius, i. 449. C. Alogi, xxvii: ii. 136. B. Anacephalæosis, cxxiii.

The Valentinians appealed to the prophecy in question, in support of their opinion concerning the length of our Saviour's ministry: to which Irenæus answers; Annus autem Domini

acceptabilis, tempus hoc, in quo vocantur ab eo hi qui credunt ei, et acceptabiles fiunt Deo: hoc est omne ab adventu ejus tempus usque ad consummationem, in quo, ut fructus, eos qui salvantur acquirit: Adversus Hær. ii. xxxviii: Operum 159. line 18: cf. Ibid. 160. line 8.

c Operum i. 48. D. Herodiani, ii: 447. B. Alogi, xxv.

sidered genuine, or of setting forth a fictitious imitation of what was not yet believed to have a real existence : or if he had, no friend of the truth was likely to be deceived by it. Nor is it a little remarkable that these very Acts, as we learn from Eusebius^d, placed the passion in the *seventh* of Tiberius ; that is, before not after his sixteenth. For, in the time of Eusebius, who was contemporary with the attempt, the opinion that our Lord was crucified *after* not *before* this date, was fast coming into vogue ; and this is the opinion which he espoused himself. Let it be supposed that the true date, on the authority of the genuine Acts, was the sixteenth of Tiberius ; and that popular opinion, at the time, was inclined to place it in the eighteenth : where was a forgery, whose object was expressly to injure Christianity, by confounding the authentic records of its most important facts, so likely to place the date of the Passion as before the sixteenth at least * ?

The custom of the Roman empire, by which reports of proceedings in the provinces were regularly transmitted to the proper authorities, is too agreeable to the nature of things, and too well attested to be called into question. To facilitate this communication, Augustus established posts^e. Secretaries, or notaries, who kept a journal of the *Acta* of the prefects, constantly attended upon them^f. Almost the whole of the tenth book of

* In the defence of Lucian the presbyter, who suffered at Nicomedia, under Maximinus, A.D. 312. (Eus. E.H.viii.13.307. D.ix. 6. 351. C.D :) which Rufinus inserts in his version of the ninth book of the history, *loc. cit.* : we meet with an allusion to these *Acta* as recently put forth,

which shews that they represented our Lord to have suffered as a malefactor : Non ut ista, quæ nunc falso conscribuntur, continent *Acta* Pilati, sed innocens, immaculatus, et purus ad hoc solum mortem suscepit, ut eam vinceret resurgendo. Cf. *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, iii. 285. 286. l. 22.

^d E. H. i. 9. 27. C. ix. 5. 350. C. D. 7. 352. A.

^e Suet. Augustus, 49, 7.

^f Philo, *Operum* ii. 536. l. 21. et seqq. *Adversus Flaccum*.

the Epistles of Pliny the younger consists of the correspondence, relating to the affairs of his government, which passed between himself and Trajan; and the example of Festus, in the Acts ^g, previous to the mission of St. Paul to Rome, is a case in point. Παλαιού κεκρατηκότος ἔθους τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄρχουσι, τὰ παρὰ σφίσι καινοτομούμενα τῷ τὴν βασιλειον ἀρχὴν ἐπικρατοῦντι σημαίνειν, ὡς ἂν μηδὲν αὐτὸν ἀποδιδράσκοι τῶν γινομένων^h. Corripuit consulares, exercitibus præpositos, quod non de rebus gestis senatui scriberentⁱ; that is, to the *senate*, and not to *himself*. Τῇ μὲν ταῖς ὑπομνηματικαῖς ἐφημερίσιν, ἃς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διεπέμποντό τινες, προσέχων· ἡδιστον μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγνωσμα τοῦτο αὐτῷ^k—Πάνθ' ὅσα διὰ τῶν ὑπάρχων πέμπεται μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἀννπέρθετον ἔχει τὴν παρ' ὑμῖν διάγνωσιν^l. The commentaries and acts of Tiberius, which must have included the provincial transactions, as well as the urban, were in existence in the time of Domitian^{* m}. Some report or

* Et tamen hæc tangent aliquando Cæsaris aures. [Nil illum toto quod fit in orbe latet. Ovid, De Ponto, iv. ix. 125. The reigning emperor was then Tiberius. Tanquam et diversis partibus orbis | Anxia præcipiti venisset epistola pinna. Juvenal, iv. 148.

Si victoriæ nunciabantur, laurus in epistola figebatur (*ita leg.*) si autem aliquid adversi, pinna figebatur. Scholiastes, *in loc.*

Ἄλλ' εὐμάρεια πολλὴ καθημένη (the Roman emperor) πᾶσαν ἄγειν τὴν οἰκουμένην δι' ἐπιστολῆς. αἱ δὲ μικρὸν φθάνουσι γραφεῖσθαι, καὶ πάρεισιν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ πτηνῶν φερόμεναι. Aristides, Oratio xiv. 336. line 9.

In Eusebius, E.H. vii. 11. 258. A: we have a specimen given, from the letter of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, during the persecution under Valerian, about A. D. 257, of the way in which the Acta Publica, or records of judicial proceedings before the magistrates in the provinces, were kept. Procopius too, Historia Arcana, cap. xxx. 85. B—D. describes the Public Post—or provision made by the emperors, before the time of Justinian, for speedy communication with all parts of the empire. Aurelius Victor, cap. xiii. De Trajano, seems to ascribe the institution of the Post in question to that emperor. The same his-

^g xxv. 20—27. ^h Eus. E. H. ii. 2. 40. C ⁱ Suet. Tiberius, 32. ^k Philo, ii. 570. line 17: De Virtutibus. ^l Idem, ii. 531. line 47. Adversus Flaccum. ^m Suet. Domitianus, 20.

other therefore of the proceedings in Judæa every year, during his administration, would certainly be annually transmitted by Pilate to Tiberius.

Justin Martyr is the earliest Christian writer who affirms the fact in the present instance; unless we should except the Martyrium of Ignatius, where a reference occurs to the Acts of Pilate, as follows: Καὶ ταῦτα (*deest forsan* πρὸς) σταυρὸν ὑπὸ Πιλάτου κατακρίθῃν καὶ θάνατον, ὡς τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ διδάσκουσιν ὑπομνήματαⁿ—yet this Martyrium is later than the age of Irenæus^o. Καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων^p. Ὅτι τε ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων αὐτῷ (*lege* ἄκτων) μαθεῖν δύνασθε^q.

Tertullian's testimony, which is quoted by Eusebius also, is found in his Apologeticus^r. Tiberius ergo, cujus tempore nomen Christianum in seculum introivit, annunciatum sibi ex Syria Palæstina, quod illic veritatem illius divinitatis revelaverat, detulit ad senatum cum prærogativa suffragii sui. senatus, quia non ipse probaverat, respuit*. Cæsar in sententia mansit, com-

torian *loc. cit.* tells us of Trajan, that as one of the consequences of his successes in Parthia, an high road was constructed from the remotest part of the east almost as far into the west; Inter ea iter conditum per feras gentes, quo facile ab usque Pontico mari in Galliam permeatur: a fact not mentioned, I believe, by any other historian of his reign.

* Eusebius, E.H. ii. 2. 40. D. 41. C. appears to have misunderstood this passage of Tertullian. The senate did not reject the motion because its own pleasure

had not been consulted, but because, in fact, the emperor had not commanded it. He had left it to their discretion—intimating merely that if they thought proper to approve of it, he was ready to do so too: for this I consider the meaning of, *cum prærogativa suffragii sui*. Consequently his own favourable opinion of Christianity, or of the divinity of Christ, if he had really conceived any, was not likely to be changed by the event.

Scriptorum Deperditorum Va-

ⁿ Patres Apostolici, 992. D Martyrium Ign. iii. ^o Ibid. 1001. D. cap. xxvi. ^p Apologia Prima, 56. l. 17. ^q Ibid. 71. l. 17. ^r Operum v. 16. Apologeticus, 5.

minatus periculum accusatoribus Christianorum—Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari, tum Tiberio, nunciavit^s. Requirit in annalibus vestris; invenietis temporibus Pilati, Christo patiente, fugato sole interruptum tenebris diem^t. But the testimony of Epiphanius, though somewhat the latest, is not the least express^u. Ἀπὸ τῶν Ῥακτων δῆθεν Πιλάτου ἀρχοῦσι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν εὐρηκεῖναι, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται τῇ πρὸ ὀκτῶ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸν Σωτῆρα πεπονθέναι—ἔτι δὲ εὔρομεν ἀντίγραφα ἐκ τῶν (lege Ῥακτων) Πιλάτου, ἐν οἷς σημαίνει πρὸ δεκάπεντε καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸ πάθος γεγενῆσθαι. τὰληθῇ δὲ, ὡς ἐκ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας ἔγνωμεν, ἐν τῇ πρὸ δεκατριῶν καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων τὸν Σωτῆρα πεπονθέναι κατειλήφμεν^v.

Along with this traditional testimony to the fact of Pilate's report, another is found combined, with reference to the failure of the emperor's motion; viz. that it was mainly the effect of the opposition of Sejanus. Præcipue cum et Sejanus, præfectus Tiberii, suscipiendæ religioni obstinatissime contradiceret^x. Eusebius also virtually affirms the same thing, when, after having given an account of the report and the motion^y,

ticana Coll. ii. 246. Post Dionem Excerpta, cxxix: ὅτι Τιβέριος ἀνῆγγελλεν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον, ὥστε τὸν Χριστὸν τρισκαιδέκατον θεὸν εἶναι· ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος οὐκ ἀπεδέξατο, ὥστε καὶ τινα ἀστειευόμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τρισκαιδέκατον οὐ δέχεσθε, καὶ πρῶτος ἔρχεται.

Rel. Sacræ, i. 111. l. 3; Melitonis Apologia: φυλάσσων τῆς βασιλείας τὴν σύντροφον καὶ συναρξάμενην Ἀυγούστῳ φιλοσοφίαν· ἣν

καὶ οἱ πρόγονοί σου πρὸς ταῖς ἄλλαις θρησκείαις ἐτίμησαν: whence, it has been argued, and, I think, with reason, that some ancestor of Marcus Aurelius, (consequently either Tiberius or Hadrian,) had placed the Christian religion on a footing of equality with the other modes and forms of worship tolerated throughout the empire.

^s Tertullian, v. 59. Apologeticus, 21. l. 6. ^u Adversus Hær. i. 420. A. Tessarescædecatis, 1. ^v Vide also Chrysostom, Operum viii. 277. C. cap. 2. *Spuria*. Cf. the Codex Apocryphus, i. 298. Nicodemi Evangelium, *ad calcem*.

^t Lucianus Mart. Rel. Sacræ, iii. 287.

^x Orosius, Histor. vii. 4. ^y E. H. ii. 2.

he proceeds to subjoin, on the testimony of Philo Judæus, a summary, τῶν ἅμα τε καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν, τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τετολμημένων ἔνεκεν, Ἰουδαίοις συμβεβηκότων^z: the first instance of which was Sejanus' attempt at their entire destruction in Rome; and the second was Pilate's profanation of the temple at Jerusalem.

That Philo does indeed assert the ill-will of Sejanus towards his countrymen, and the fact of some deep-laid designs of his for their destruction, appears from the exordium of his narration *Adversus Flaccum*: δεύτερος μετὰ Σηϊανὸν Φλάκκος Ἀουίλλιος διαδέχεται τὴν κατὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐπιβουλήν· σύμπαν μὲν ἀδικῆσαι τὸ ἔθνος, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὐ δυνηθείς, κ', τ. λ.^a And that he took up this enmity soon after the death of Sejanus appears from what follows: ἐξαετίαν γὰρ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν λαβὼν, πέντε μὲν ἔτη τὰ πρῶτα, ζῶντος Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, τὴν τε εἰρήνην διεφύλαξε κ', τ. λ.^b. Five years before the death of Tiberius, U. C. 790 *ineunte*, would bring us to U. C. 785 *ineunte*, (which is about the middle of the eighteenth of Tiberius,) as the time of the appointment of Flaccus; not six months later than October 18, U. C. 784, in the same year, the date of the downfall of Sejanus *^c. If so, the

* The six years in question require to be understood as six years complete. The recall of Flaccus did not take place before the death of the younger Tiberius (Philo, ii. 518. 48): nor before that of Macro (519. 38): nor before Agrippa's return to Judæa, through Alexandria, by favour of the Etesian winds (520. 46): nor before the death of Caius' sister, Drusilla (525. 35): nor before corn-har-

vest in Egypt was over (526. 34): nor before Caius' birthday (August 31.) was past (529. 6—23): nor lastly, before the recurrence of the Jewish Feast of Tabernacles, and the beginning of winter, or at least the arrival of the autumnal equinox: (534. 13—16: 535. 25.)

These events could not all have happened before the middle of Caius' second year, U. C. 791: and this being the sixth year of

^z E. H. ii. 5. 44. B.
^c Tacitus, Ann. vi. 25.

^a Operum ii. 517. l. 1.

^b Ibid. 518. l. 31.

measures of Sejanus against the Jews, could neither have been conceived, nor executed, later than the seventeenth of Tiberius.

Flaccus *complete*, U. C. 785, the beginning of Tiberius' nineteenth, or end of his eighteenth, must have been his first.

Flaccus Aquilius may be the prefect of Egypt, mentioned by Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. v. 2. in the rescript there quoted, under the name of 'Ακύλας.

According to Dio, the governor of Egypt, before the downfall of Sejanus, was Vetrasius Pollio; whose decease, in office, he places apparently, U. C. 785, and calls his successor, *Ιβηρόν τινα Καισάρειον, lviii. 19. 17. 20. Either this successor, or the immediate predecessor of Flaccus, is called by Philo, (ii. 517. l. 13.) Severus; whence Lipsius, in Senecæ *Consol. ad Helviam*, xvii. 4. 6. proposes to correct the text of Dio, by reading Σέβηρον. It appears from the same passages of Seneca, that Vetrasius Pollio was very probably the person, of whom he speaks as having been sixteen years in office; and whom Lipsius thence concludes to have succeeded Æmilius Rectus, U. C. 768 or 769. But Dio, lvii. 19, speaks of Strabo, the father of Ælius Sejanus, as governor of Egypt sometime after Rectus; which I should suppose to be, U. C. 768 or 769. Tacitus, *Annales*, i. 7. 24. Sejanus and Strabo were both associated at Rome in the command of the Prætorian guard, September or October, U. C. 767: notwithstanding which the latter might be sent to Egypt in a year or

two afterwards, and the former left in command by himself. See Dio, lvii. 19. If Severus actually came between Vetrasius and Flaccus, and Vetrasius was actually sixteen years in office; we cannot suppose the latter to have come into office later than U. C. 770, though his sixteen years be understood of current years, and not of complete.

Seneca, *Consolatio ad Helviam*, ii. 4: Avunculum indulgentissimum, optimum ac fortissimum virum, quum adventum ejus (sc. ab Egypto) expectares, amisisti. Also xvii. 3: Clarissimum virum amiserat, avunculum nostrum, cui virgo nupserat, in ipsa navigatione: whence it appears, that if Vetrasius is the person here spoken of, the husband of Helvia's sister, Seneca's aunt, he did not die in office, but on his passage homewards.

Severus was governor a very short time; so that Flaccus might still be in office, after both him and Vetrasius, by the autumnal quarter of U. C. 785. His death, as asserted by Philo, while he was in office, and also his relation to Tiberius, as one of his freed-men, appear to me to be recognised by Pliny. *Remisit et Tiberius Cæsar Helipolitarum cærimoniis repletam ibi in hæreditate ejus qui præfuerat Ægypto, Obsidianam imaginem Menelais.*

After this account of the succession of the governors of

Without arguing therefore the question whether it is credible, or incredible, in itself, that such a proposal as this of the deification of Christ, should have emanated from Tiberius, or been rejected by the senate; yet thus much we may contend for; They, who connected this tradition with the former relating to the Acts of Pilate, could not suppose those Acts to have been transmitted later than the downfall of Sejanus; which if they placed in its proper year, would not be later than the end of the seventeenth of Tiberius. Nor could the injuries, which Sejanus brought or endeavoured to bring on the Jews, be considered, in any sense, a punishment for the national guilt, unless that guilt was known or supposed to have been contracted before those injuries had been inflicted; that is, before the seventeenth of Tiberius at least. It is accordingly observable, that Eusebius places these designs of Sejanus in the twentieth, because he places the Passion in the eighteenth of Tiberius^h: by doing which, while he avoids one inconsistency, he falls into another much greater; which is, that he contradicts Philo, Josephus, Tacitus, and every other contemporary historian. Orosius is more cautious: *Deinde, anno ejusdem septemdecimo cum Dominus Jesus Christus voluntariæ quidem se tradidit passioni, &c.*

In this part of his Ecclesiastical History, Eusebius professes to follow the authority of Philo, *De Legatione*

Egypt, from the death of Augustus to the death of Tiberius; the two instances of oppressive severity alluded to by Philo in other parts of his works, distinct from the treatise *Adversus Flaccum*, or *De Legatione ad Caium*—the first, *De Specialibus*

Legibus, ii. 325. l. 47—326. l. 30. the second, i. 674. l. 52—676. l. 12. *De Somniis*, lib. ii—must have been exerted either by Rectus or Pollio, Severus or Flaccus; the first, probably by Rectus, and the last equally so by Flaccus.

^h *Chronicon Armeno-Latinum*, p. 267, where Sejanus is supposed to be still alive, Tiberii 21: and Pilate's report to Tiberius to be made, Tib. 22.

ad Caium or De Virtutibus ; a work which in its present state is manifestly incompleteⁱ, but in the time of Eusebius consisted of five books^{*k}. Yet even in this extant work enough is asserted to prove that Sejanus had both conceived and acted upon the designs in question, and that at a time which must have coincided with the acme of his conspiracy against Tiberius ; that is, with Tiberius' sixteenth or seventeenth. Καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου μέντοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, καίτοι τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ παρακινήθენტων, ἡνίκα Σηϊανὸς ἐσκευώρει τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. ἔγνω γὰρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω, μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν, (id est, Tib. xviii.) ὅτι τὰ κατηγορηθέντα τῶν ὠκνηκώτων τὴν Ῥώμην Ἰουδαίων ψευδεῖς ἦσαν διαβολαὶ, πλάσματα Σηϊανοῦ, τὸ ἔθνος ἀναρπάσαι θέλοντος, ὅπερ ἢ μόνον, ἢ μάλιστα, ἥδαι βουλαῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ πράξειςιν ἀντιβησόμενον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρασπονδηθῆναι κινδυνεύσαντος αὐτοκράτορος^l.

I think it is to this fact, and not to some earlier occasion of the same kind that Seneca alludes^m : In Tiberii Cæsaris principatum juventæ tempus inciderat : alienigena tum sacra movebantur ; sed inter argumenta superstitionis ponebatur quorundam animalium abstinentia[†].

Philo proceeds to assert that, after the downfall of

* The work against Flaccus begins abruptly. The substance of it is incorporated also in the work De Legatione. Perhaps Eusebius comprehended both of them in the five books mentioned by himself.

† It is the opinion of Lipsius, De Vita et Scriptis Annæi Senecæ, cap. viii. that he was about sixty-three years old when he was put to death, U. C. 818 *medio* : on which supposition he must have been born about U. C.

755. By his *juventa* he cannot mean a time of his life when he was less than twenty or twenty-five ; and he may mean a time when he was as much as thirty. If he was born U. C. 755, he was twenty U. C. 775, and twenty-five U. C. 780 ; each of which periods is much too late for the first expulsion of the Jews, in the reign of Tiberius, U. C. 772 ; but the last would coincide with the acme of the influence of Sejanus.

ⁱ Vide ii. 600. l. 35.

^k E. H. ii. 5. 43. B.

^l Philo, ii. 569. l. 28. De Virtutibus.

^m Epistolæ, 108. §. 22.

Sejanus, Tiberius sent instructions to the governors of provinces not to molest the Jews, but to protect and encourage them, as a loyal and peaceable people ; a fact which, if true, in point of time, and in regard to the spirit of such instructions, would almost coincide with the memorable rescript, by which he commanded that Christianity (not to be distinguished at this period from Judaism) should no where be obstructed. In the course of the same narrative an allusion occurs to the attempt of Pilate, concerning the dedication of the shields in the *prætorium* at Jerusalemⁿ ; an attempt which must not be confounded with the introduction by him of the military ensigns, bearing the image of Tiberius ; as recorded by Josephus^o. The circumstances of the account demonstrate that this event must have occurred late in his administration. If Philip the tetrarch was one of the four sons of Herod, whose joint intercession on the occasion is mentioned, it must have occurred before the twentieth of Tiberius at least ; and that he was so, may be inferred from the language of Philo : *προστί-
σάμενοι τοὺς τε βασιλέως υἱεῖς τέτταρας, οὐκ ἀποδέοντας τό
τε ἀξίωμα καὶ τὰς τύχας τῶν βασιλέων*^p. This language implies that these four were all the sons of Herod who were then in being ; besides that the rest of his descendants are mentioned, as distinct from them, directly after. The stemma of the family of Herod, if I had time to draw it out, would prove incontestably that, at any period in the administration of Pilate, five sons of Herod the First alone could either be alive, or in the vicinity of Jerusalem : viz. Herod, his son by the second Mariamne ; Herod Antipas, one of his two sons by Malthace ; Herod and Philip, his two sons by Cleopatra of Jerusalem ; and Phasaëlus, his son by Pallas^q. The

ⁿ ii. 589. line 41. et seqq.
l. 5—7. De Virtutibus.

^o Ant. Jud. xviii. iii. 1.
^q Bell. Jud. i. xxviii. 4.

^p Philo, ii. 590.

Ant. xvii. 1. 3.

description of their rank and dignity at the time implies that some of them were kings, or in the next degree to kings; in which case, Antipas the tetrarch of Galilee, and Philip the tetrarch of Trachonitis were necessarily among the number.

Herod Agrippa is the person who addresses Caius in this letter of Philo's; and it is clear, that he himself was not in Jerusalem at the time, though his brother Aristobulus might be: each of which things, as will be shewn more fully elsewhere, would be probable after the sixteenth of Tiberius^r. Nor is the indignation, produced in Tiberius by the act, so likely to have been occasioned by any thing as the violation of his own orders, posterior to the death of Sejanus, if that also was implied in the act; and what is not less probable, if the act itself was not originally designed to flatter the enmity of the favourite against the Jews; and consequently did not take place before his downfall, or before it was known in the provinces.

The celebrated passage in the same chapter of Josephus^s, where mention occurs of our Saviour; and concerning the genuineness of which, indeed, there is sufficient reason to doubt, though even if an interpolation, it must have been one of very great antiquity: places the ministry of Christ between the beginning and the end of the government of Pilate, and directly after the two acts of his, the introduction of the standards and the sequestration of the corban, which Eusebius considered to be judgments on the Jews. In the next section but one, there follows an account of the expulsion of the Jews from Rome; which Tacitus^t places U.C. 772. *Tiberii* vi^o. Now it is the custom of Josephus not to observe the strict order of succession in his accounts; but to bring together events, on the principle

^r See the Appendix.

^s xviii. iii. 3.

^t Ann. ii. 85. Suet. Tiberius, 36.

of some association, the dates of which do not always take up what goes before, or follows after them immediately. The author of the interpolation, if it is one, was aware of this peculiarity; and he knew moreover that the appearance and ministry of Jesus Christ belonged to the *middle* of the reign of Tiberius, and to the *first* half, not the *last* of the government of Pilate: where he has inserted them accordingly.

To come, however, to the testimony of Christian writers.

I. Τρεῖς δεκάδας ἐτῶν πολιτευσάμενος ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον . . . ἐσταύρωθη. Ignatius, ad Trallian. x. PP. Apost. 898. E.

Τὴν μὲν Θεότητα αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν σημείων ἐν τῇ τριετίᾳ τῇ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, τὴν δὲ ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ, ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα χρόνοις τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος. Melito, apud Rel. Sacras, i. 115. line 18.

Of these two noble testimonies, it has been usual to consider the first an interpolation; but whether on sufficient grounds, I am not prepared to say. Its spirit and design, as taken in conjunction with the context, are entirely in unison with the tenor of numerous other passages in the same Epistles of Ignatius, acknowledged to be genuine, and levelled in common against the various forms of ancient heresy, which denied the reality of our Lord's personal existence and history^u *. To condemn it, as containing a testimony at variance with the sentiments of the age of the writer, would be clearly to beg the question; and not less directly contrary to the similar testimony from Melito; whose age

* See the whole passage, quoted from the Epistle to the Tralliani, in the Chronicon Paschale, i. 416. 5—21.

^u Vide ad Ephesios, vii. 855. D. also xviii. 858. A. B: Ad Magnesianos, xi. 861. E: Ad Trallianos, ix. x. 864. 865: Ad Smyrṇæos, i—iv. 872. D—873. E.

is placed by Lardner A. D. 177; but as I believe was much nearer to the middle of the second century.

On both passages, then, we might argue in common, that if our Lord was believed to have preached *three* years before his crucifixion, and after his baptism, he was believed to have begun to preach at a Passover: if he was *thirty* years old at his baptism, he was *thirty-three* years old at his death: and if he was both baptized and crucified at or about a Passover, he must have been born at or about a Passover.

II. Πρὸ ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα γεγεννησθαι τὸν Χριστὸν λέγειν ἡμᾶς, ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου. Justinus Martyr, Apologia i^a. 69. line 14–16.

This first Apology, which the opening sentence proves to have been presented to the emperor Antoninus Pius, the Fasti of Cassiodorus^w assert to have been presented Coss. Grato et Seleuco; which consuls answer, in the Paschal Chronicon^x, to Severus and Verinus; and in the Fasti Anonymi, annexed to the Chronicon, to Clarus and Severus^y. Of this there can be little doubt; as the succession of consuls from U. C. 891, A. D. 138, when Hadrian the predecessor of Antoninus died on the tenth of July, through a period of eight years afterwards, down to these two, is the same in each of those documents. The consulate of Clarus and Severus belongs, therefore, to U. C. 899, A. D. 146. The time of presenting the first Apology was, consequently, in the same year: and if so, the alleged date of the birth of Christ, one hundred and fifty years before that, was either U. C. 749, B. C. 5, or U. C. 750, B. C. 4: the former, if the one hundred and fifty years are to be understood *exclusively* of the year of the consulate in question; the latter, if they are to be understood *inclusively* of it. That the census of St.

^w Chronicum, Operum p. 8. ^x i. 478. l. 16. ^y ii. xii. 161. ad ann. P. C. N. 146.

Luke is meant by the allusion to Cyrenius, appears from this passage in the *Dialogus*: ἀπογραφῆς οὔσης ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ τότε πρώτης, ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου. 306. line 3.

III. Καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἢ πλείονα, ἢ καὶ ἐλάσσονα, μείνας, μέχρις οὗ προελήλυθεν Ἰωάννης· . . . καὶ τότε ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν, κ', τ. λ. *Dialogus*, 331. line 3-9.

This testimony may leave it in doubt whether our Lord was exactly thirty at the time of his baptism; but it cannot leave it in doubt whether he was more or less than twenty-nine; nor whether the first appearance of John was much before or much after *he* also arrived at the age of thirty.

IV. Propter quod dicunt triginta annorum Dominum ad baptismum venisse. Irenæus, contra Valentinianos; *Adversus Hær.* ii. 13. 132. line 4.

Καὶ ὅτι τῷ δωδεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἔπαθεν· ἐνιαυτῷ γὰρ ἐνὶ βούλονται αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ κεκηρυχέναι. *Ibid.* Lib. i. cap. 5. §. 1. p. 16. line 23.

Nor does Irenæus differ with them on the first of these positions, but solely on the last.

V. Ad baptismum enim venit nondum qui triginta annos suppleverat, sed qui inciperet esse tanquam triginta annorum. ita enim, qui ejus annos significavit, Lucas posuit; *Jesus autem erat quasi incipiens triginta annorum*, cum veniret ad baptismum. *Ibid.* Lib. ii. cap. 39. p. 161. line 7. Compare with this the following from Epiphanius^z.

Διὸ κατὰ τὸ λεπτὸν τὰ πάντα διηγούμενοι οἱ ἅγιοι Εὐαγγελισταὶ ἀκριβολογοῦσι. καὶ φύσει ὁ Λουκάς, ὡς ἀπὸ (τῶν) κάτωθεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνω ἀναφέρων τὴν διάνοιαν, φάσκει· ἦν δὲ (ὁ) Ἰησοῦς ἀρχόμενος εἶναι ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα· that is, (see cap. xvi. 439. B.) ἦν γὰρ τῷ μὲν ὄντι εἰκοσιεννέα ἐτῶν

^z *Adversus Hær.* i. 432. C. Alogi, x.

καὶ μηνῶν δέκα τριάκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ πλήρης. διὸ λέγει· ἀρχόμενος ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα *.

These two authorities alone must suffice to justify the construction which we elsewhere put upon this text.

VI. Natus est enim Dominus noster circa primum et quædragesimum annum Augusti imperii. Irenæus, Adversus Hær. iii. 25. 256. line 16.

Videamus, autem, quoniam quadragesimo et primo anno imperii Augusti nascitur Christus. Tertullian, Adversus Jud. cap. 8. Operum ii. 297.

In this passage Tertullian reckons the reign of Augustus at fifty-six years: which, if his reign expired with the middle of U. C. 767, supposes it to have begun with the middle of U. C. 711, the time of Augustus' first consulate. The forty-first year from this date would begin U. C. 751. Josephus, however, will shew that, according to one computation, which dated the beginning of the reign of Augustus from the death of Julius Cæsar, U. C. 710, its length might be reckoned at fifty-seven years and six months ^b. In this case, its forty-first year would begin U. C. 750 *ineunte*. Whether of these computations was intended by Irenæus does not appear: but in any case, his expression *circa* is more guarded than Tertullian's, and admits of a more liberal interpretation than that †.

* Origen, Operum iii. 357. D: in Ezech. Homilia i. 4: Et Dominus Jesus Christus incipiens erat quasi triginta annorum, secus fluvium Jordanem, &c. Ibid. 406. E. in Ezech. Selecta: ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ὅτε Ἰησοῦς ἦν ἀρχόμενος ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα. Cf. Clemens Al. i. 21. 407. 6.

Epiphanius, i. 155. C: Ebi-onæi, xxix: ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἀρχό-

μενος εἶναι ὡς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα, ὧν υἱὸς, ὡς ἐνομιζέτο, Ἰωσήφ, κ', τ. λ: 433. A. Alogi, xi: ἦν οὖν ὡς ἐτῶν λ': Cf. 444. B. Alogi, xxii.

† Principe Augusto nomen hoc ortum est: Tiberio, disciplina ejus inlucit: sub Nerone damnatio invaluit. . . . igitur ætati nostræ nondum anni ccl: Tertullian, Ad Nationes, i. 7: Operum v. 136.

VII. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Κυρίου κατὰ τὴν παρουσίαν διδασκαλία ἀπὸ Αὐγούστου καὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἀρξαμένη, μεσούντων τῶν Αὐγούστου (Τιβερίου) χρόνων, τελειοῦται. Clemens Alex. Stromatum vii. cap. 17. page 898. l. 3.

The middle of the times of Tiberius, understood as freely as it may, cannot imply later than his fifteenth or his sixteenth, at the utmost.

The same writer demonstrates^c that in his own time, which was A. D. 194, there was only one opinion respecting the period of the nativity; (and that, assigning it to the spring;) with which he at least was acquainted.

It is true that Clement, both here and elsewhere^d, makes the length of our Lord's ministry one year only. His computation of the interval between the Passion, and the destruction of Jerusalem, viz. forty-two years and three months, or rather forty-two current years^e; implies the same thing. Forty-two current years before U. C. 823 *ineuntem* begin U. C. 782 *ineunte*; that is, with the middle of the fifteenth of Tiberius.

VIII. Quæ passio hujus exterminii intra tempora lxx hebdomadarum perfecta est sub Tiberio Cæsare, consulibus Rubellio Gemino et Rufio (Fusio) Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus paschæ, die viii Calendarum Aprilium, die prima azymorum, quo agnum ut occiderent ad

Ut supra edidimus ætatis nostræ nondum anni trecenti, &c.: Ibid. 10. 142.

This work was apparently composed soon after Severus' reduction of Niger and Albinus: Apologeticus, 35. Operum v. 86: and ad Nationes, i. 17. Ibid. 159: that is, not earlier than U. C. 947 on the one hand, when Niger was killed, nor than U. C. 950 on the other, the year

of the death of Albinus.

Unless, therefore, the above numbers are corrupt in each instance, I should understand them to be referred to the beginning of the reign of Augustus, U. C. 711; in which case, it might justly be said not to be yet 250 years, that is, not to be yet U. C. 961, in the time of the writer; who was living *until* that year, at least.

^c Stromatum i. 21. i. 407, 408. line 40. Cf. i. 21. i. 407. l. 7—12.

^d Strom. v. 6. i. 668. l. 20—23. vi. 11. 783.

^e Strom. i. 21. i. 407. l. 12—14.

vesperam, a Moyse fuerat præceptum. Tertullian, ii. 300 : Adversus Judæos, 8.

Exinde tetrarchas habuerunt usque ad Herodem, qui fuit sub imperio Tiberii Cæsaris ; cujus anno quinto decimo, id est duobus Geminis consulibus, ante diem septimam Calendarum Aprilium Judæi Christum cruci affixerunt—Lactantius, Divin. Institt. iv. 10. 336. Cf. 14. 352. Idem, De Mortibus Persecutorum, 2. 843 : Extremis temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus a Judæis cruciatus est post diem decimum Calendarum Aprilis, duobus Geminis consulibus.

Mortuus est ergo Christus duobus Geminis consulibus, octavo Kalendas Aprilis—Augustin, De Civitate Dei, xviii. 54. Operum vii. 538. C. Cf. also Operum vi. 25. E—Quidam putant Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum quintodecimo anni regni Tiberii Cæsaris, id est, duobus Geminis Consulibus, crucifixum, quo anno, secundum indubitabilem Lucæ Evangelistæ auctoritatem, baptizatum eum esse manifestum est, et Evangelium regni cælorum prædicare cœpisse : Prosperi Chronicum, Operum 702. C. D.

These testimonies all imply that our Lord suffered in the consular year, which bore date from the first of January, 782^b ; but in the year of the city, which would bear date from April 19, 20, or 21,ⁱ the Roman Palilia, 781.^k The last year of our Lord's ministry was the year of the city 782 : and the true date of his Passion was the beginning of the consular year 783, coss. Quartino et Longino ; Tib. XVI^o. *medio*. Nine months of this last year, however, would nominally belong to the Gemini ; and this may have been the reason of the current tradition that he suffered *consulibus Geminis*. It is certain at least, that if the ministry of John was supposed

^b Cf. Tacitus, Ann. xiii. 10. ⁱ Ovid, Fastor. iv. 801—862. ^k Vell. Pat. i. 8. Suet. Caius, 16. Censorinus, De Die Natali, 21. Pliny, H. N. xviii. 66. §. 1.

to have begun, and the ministry of our Lord to have ended in the same year, Tiberii xv^o; the fifteenth of Tiberius must have been dated from the spring, and not from the autumn, of U. C. 781: or the ministry both of John and of our Saviour could not be considered to have lasted one entire year.

With regard, however, to Tertullian; in another passage of the same work, he writes thus: Hujus (sc. Tiberii) quinto decimo anno imperii passus est Christus, annos habens quasi triginta cum pateretur^l; which words Jerome, professing to quote *ad litteram*, exhibits as follows^m: Hujus imperii decimo quinto anno patitur Christus, annos habens quasi triginta tres cum pateretur. In his copy therefore of this work of Tertullian's, Jerome must have read *triginta tres*, not *triginta*. Now, *adversus Marcionem*ⁿ, Tertullian himself observes, At nunc quale est, ut Dominus a XII. Tiberii Cæsaris revelatus sit, substantia vero ad xv. jam Severi imperatoris nulla omnino comperta sit. The reign of Severus began either March or June, U. C. 946; so that his fifteenth began U. C. 960, A. D. 207: which alone must prove that this work against Marcion was one of the last of Tertullian's productions; and therefore may be supposed to contain his mature opinions. By Christ's being revealed *a duodecimo Tiberii* less cannot be meant than the commencement of his own ministry, or at least of John's, *from* the twelfth of Tiberius forward; and therefore *in* the thirteenth. There was certainly a time when Tertullian believed this revelation to have begun in the fifteenth; but when he wrote against Marcion, he had seen reason to change this opinion: and if he corrected his former works agreeably to this change, Jerome might read,

^l ii. 299. *Adversus Judæos* §.

ⁿ Lib. i. cap. 15. *Operum* i. 26.

^m *Operum* iii. 1116 *ad med.* in Dan. ix.

Annos habens quasi triginta tres, in some copy, where we now read, Annos habens quasi triginta. The same change would imply that Tertullian saw reason to place the Passion in the sixteenth, not in the fifteenth: for if Christ was of Quasi triginta annos, when he was revealed, and of Quasi triginta tres, when he suffered—if he was revealed *a duodecimo*, and therefore in the thirteenth of Tiberius, he suffered *a decimo quinto*; and therefore in the sixteenth*.

IX. The opinions of Origen, being judged of by the testimony of Pamphilus^o, and from his own Commentaries on the Gospels, would imply that he thought the length of our Lord's ministry was one year, and a few months over. But, *Contra Celsum*, a work which he composed when he was more than sixty years old, not nine years before his death^p—and which, consequently,

* It appears from the exordium of the first book against Marcion, and from that of other books of the same treatise, that the present treatise in Latin was a second edition of a work which had been previously published; and as we may conjecture, in Greek.

Hieronimus, iii. 1455: Præf. in Abdiam: In libris quoque contra Marcionem Septimius Tertullianus hoc idem passus est: et Origenes in Cantico Canticorum, &c.: that is, they had seen occasion to renounce some of their former opinions: of which this, in the case of Tertullian, might be one, that whereas he once supposed our Lord's ministry to be of one year's duration, beginning in the fifteenth of Tiberius, he afterwards thought it a ministry of three years' dura-

tion, beginning in the thirteenth.

As the *Libri adversus Marcionem* were certainly not composed before A. D. 207 or 208: so according to Pamelius, the treatise *Adversus Judæos* was written A. D. 199: the former, therefore, was one of the latest, the latter was among the earliest of the works of Tertullian, the date of which admits of being probably determined. There is considerable uncertainty, it is true, with respect to the exact time of many of his treatises; and the *Liber adversus Judæos* may be among the number. It bears internal evidences, however, of being one of the first of his writings, and not the most careful or elaborate; the contrary to which is the case with the *Libri adversus Marcionem*.

^o Reliquiæ Sacræ, iv. 314. ^p Hieronymus, Catalogus SS. Eccles. liv. Operum iv. Pars ii^a. 117. Photius, Codex 118. p. 92. l. 19—22 *ad dextram*: Eusebius, E. H. vi. 36. vii. 1.

contains his mature sentiments—he expresses himself differently; ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας παρὰ τῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐδὲ τρία διέτριψεν ἔτη^q. This cannot affirm less than that Judas was with Jesus more than two, though perhaps not quite three years.

X. The apocryphal correspondence between Christ and Abgarus, the king of Edessa; which king, or one of the same name descended from him, Tacitus proves to have been a contemporary character^r, U. C. 802; is placed in the three hundred and fortieth year of the Æra Seleucidarum^s, that is, U. C. 782. A.D. 29—*after* the ascension. The author of this forgery, therefore, was one of those who placed the Passion, U. C. 782 *in-eunte*, Tib. xv. *medio*. The name of Abgarus or Abarus, or as Dio expresses it Augarust^t, was a common one for the kings of Edessa*. If an Abgarus was supposed to be alive, and reigning in Edessa, U. C. 782. it is nothing improbable that he might still be alive and reigning U. C. 802: so that the correspondence, though spurious and apocryphal in itself, would yet be attributed to a real and contemporary character in Abgarus on the one hand, as well as in our Saviour on the other†.

* Vide Dio, xl. 20. Herodian, iii. 27. Capitolinus, Antoninus Pius, 9: Spartian, Severus, 17. The name itself is written, indifferently, both Ἀβγαρος in Greek, and Αὔγαρος. Cf. Suidas in Ἀβγαρος and Αὔγαρος. See a particular account of this Abgarus, and the correspondence in question, Procopius, De Bello Persico, ii. 12. Cf. also Evagrius, E. H. iv. xxvii. 400 B. C. Joannes Damascenus, De Orthodoxa Fide, Lib. iv. 93. *ad finem*.

† Eusebius tells us (E. H. i. xiii. 32. B. 35. B.) that the originals of these letters, in the Syrian character, were preserved in the archives of Edessa; where any one might see them. But he does not say that he had seen them himself, or that he knew any one who had: and it is sufficiently apparent that the Greek translation itself is the original; the composition of some one who had read St. John's Gospel—and borrowed from it such

^q Operum i. 397. E. F. Contra Celsum, ii. 12. ^r Ann. xii. 12. ^s Eus. E. H. i. 13. 35. B. ^t lxxviii. 21. Cf. Suidas, Ἐδεσσα, Ἑλλόβια, Ἰκέτευμα, &c.

XI. The treatise, *De Computo Paschali*, appended to Bishop Fell's edition of the works of Cyprian, (which the editor considers either to be actually Cyprian's, or at least contemporary with him,) has these words: *Cujus nativitatis tempus cognoscere desiderantes, ipsos annos MDXLVIII. ab Exodo . . . dinumeremus, et ad diem nativitatis ejus perveniemus. qui dies, sexta Se-decennitate, in tertio decimo versu invenitur, v. kal. April. feria iv.^u (Wednesday, March 28.)—Ecce iterum jam vere credamus quod v. kal. April. secundum carnem natus sit Christus^v. This writer, then, knew of no opinion respecting the birth of Christ, which did not refer it to the spring. The Passion he places in the sixteenth of Tiberius: *Sextodecimo autem die, sicut in anno sextodecimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris—Inventi sunt anni triginta: quibus suppletis, Dominus Jesus a nativitate sua baptizatus est a Johanne anno quintodecimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris: cujus anno sextodecimo passus est, et resurrexit—Hi sunt Apostoli, quorum sermonibus ædificati recognovimus Dominum nostrum anno sextodecimo imperii Tiberii Cæsaris passum, cum esset ipse annorum xxxi—A quo tempore, id est a passione, usque ad annum quintum Gordiani, Arriano et Papo consulibus, suppleti sunt anni ccxv.**

This reckoning places the consulship of Arrianus and Papus U. C. 998. which the *Fasti* shew U. C. 996.

XII. Julius Africanus, in his exposition of the Seventy weeks, places the Passion in the sixteenth of Tiberius; and, consequently, supposes the ministry of Christ to have lasted but one year^w. The same chro-

sentiments as these: "Αβγαρε, μακάριος εἶ, πιστεύσας ἐν ἐμοί, μὴ ἑωρακώς με (John xx. 29): and *agáin, γέγραπται γὰρ περὶ ἐμοῦ, τοὺς*

ἐωρακότας με μὴ πιστεύσειν μοι, ἵνα οἱ μὴ ἑωρακότες, αὐτοὶ πιστεύσωσι καὶ ζήσωνται: John ix. 39.

^u Pag. 69.

^v Pag. 70.

^w Rel. Sacr. ii. l. 183—192.

nologer placed the nativity A. M. 5500, and the Passion and resurrection A. M. 5531: whence we may infer that he believed our Saviour to have been born in the spring^{x*}.

XIII. Ab Alexandro usque ad Christum Olympiades I. XXX. quod sunt anni CCCXX—Hippolytus, Opera, Chronicon, sectio xiii. 56.

Alexander died Ol. 114. 1. B. C. 324.^y The birth of Christ then is placed, B. C. 4. U. C. 750 *ineunte*. For, as the years or generation of Christ are reckoned from the passover, Hippolytus must have concluded that he

* This date of the birth of Christ supposes that he was born A. M. 5500 *exeunte*: for the object of so placing the birth was that it might exactly divide the sixth millennium, or fall critically between A. M. 5500 *exeunte*, and A. M. 5501 *ineunte*. Hence, at whatever time these ancient Christian chronologers conceived the world to have been created, at the same time they were bound, upon their principles, to fix the nativity. Now many of them certainly believed the world to have been created in the spring. Cyrillus Hierosolym. 192. line 1: Catechesis xiv. 5: ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ μὴν ὁ παρ' Ἑβραίοις πρῶτος, ἐν ᾧ ἡ ἑορτὴ τοῦ πάσχα, τοῦ πρότερον τυπικοῦ, νῦν δὲ ἀληθινοῦ· οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς τῆς τοῦ κόσμου δημιουργίας. Such was the opinion also of Philo Judæus: τὴν ἑαρινὴν ἰσημερίαν ἀπεικόνισμά τε καὶ μίμημα συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης καθ' ἣν ὁδε ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο—ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ ἑαρινὴ ἑορτὴ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου γενέσεως ὑπόμνημα, κ', τ. λ.: Operum ii. 293. l. 11 and 45: De Septenario et Festis. The Montanistæ placed the creation of

the sun and moon on the 22d of March, the assumed date of the Vernal Equinox, in Sozomen's time, the end of the fourth century: see Sozomen, vii. xviii. 733. B—D. Cf. Chrysostom, viii. *Spuria*, 268. A. C. De Pascha vi. 3: 275. C. 279. C. De Pascha vii. Also the anonymous Christian writer, quoted by Suidas, in αὐτῇ: who places the creation of the world on the day of our Lord's resurrection.

For Africanus' dates, Cf. Eusebius, Demonstratio Evang. lib. viii. 389. B—391. A: Hieronymus, Operum iii. 1110. *ad princ.*—1111. *ad med.* (who, however, does not quote him aright, when he reckons only to the 15th of Tiberius): Syncellus, i. 609. 16—614. 4: 615. 14: 616. 20: Photius, Codex 34. p. 7.

Rel. Sacræ, ii. 181. 17, Africanus placed the capture of Alexandria and the death of Cleopatra, A. M. 5472. This year answered to U. C. 724; and therefore A. M. 5500 on his principles, corresponded to U. C. 752: and A. M. 5531, to U. C. 783.

^x Rel. Sacr. ii. 362. Cf. Ibid. x. 132. l. 192. and Syncellus, i. 31. l. 15. 615. l. 14. 616. l. 20. ^y Diodorus Sic. xvii. 113. 117. Josephus, Contra Apion. i. 22. 1187.

was born in the spring. This follows also from his placing the nativity exactly at the end of A. M. 5500^z: for the reason assigned under the last article. It would be proved, however, most clearly by the fragment referred to as his, in the Rel. Sacræ, if that were genuine; where the beginning of our Lord's ministry is placed A. M. 5530, and his Passion, A. M. 5533, with exactly three years, from passover to passover, between*.

XIV. Tricesimo enim juxta Evangelistam Lucam anno ætatis suæ cœpit in carne Dominus Evangelium prædicare; et juxta Johannem Evangelistam, per tria paschata duos postea implevit annos: et exinde sex Tiberii supputantur anni—Apollinarius Laodicens, apud Hieronymum in Dan. ix. Operum iii. 1114–15. This writer then placed the Passion U. C. 784 *ineunte*; or Tib. xvii^o. *medio*.

Secundum vero Joannis Evangelium, festivitati Paschæ Judæorum ter Dominum interfuisse cognoscimus: ut appareat tertium fuisse illud Pascha, quod verus agnus suo sanguine consecravit—Prosper Aquitanus, Chronicum, 702. D.

Et est sensus: antequam annus Domini acceptabilis prædicationis ejus adveniat, imo duo anni, de quibus in Cantico Habacuc juxta Hebraicam legimus: In medio duorum temporum cognosceris, seminate vobis in

* Nunc dogma nobis Christianum nascitur, | Post evolutos mille demum consules | Ab urbe Roma: ne retexam Nestoras. Prudentius, i. 235. Περὶ στεφάνου, x. 406. Again, Si res novellas respuis, nil tam recens: | Vix mille fastis implet hanc ætatulam | Cursus dierum conditore ab Augure. Ibid. 613.

This is a poetical version of the Acta S^{ti} Romani Martyris:

and, if he suffered in the persecution under Decius, A. D. 249—251, his date for the birth of Christ would be U. C. 750 or 751; on which principle Romanus' own time, 250 years afterwards, would be just U. C. 1000. It must be admitted, however, that Prudentius himself supposes his martyrdom to have happened in the persecution under Galerius.

^z Chronicon, 55. 56. Sectio xii. and xiii. Cf. the Rel. Sacræ, i. 136. Annott. in Melitonis Fragm. p. 115. l. 18.

lacrymis, ut metatis in gaudio. scriptum est in Evangelio secundum Johannem, per tria pascha Dominum venisse in Jerusalem, quæ duos annos efficiunt: Hieronymus, Operum iii. 245 *ad med.* in Is. xxix.

In his work De SS. Ecclesiasticis^a, capp. v. and ii. Jerome places the death of St. Paul in the fourteenth of Nero, and the thirty-seventh after the Passion: and the death of James, the first bishop of Jerusalem, in the seventh of Nero, and the thirtieth after the Passion: and in his commentary on Dan. ix. (iii. 1114. *ad principium*,) he approves of the opinion, which computed thirty-five years between the Passion and the beginning of the Jewish war.

All these notes of time, consequently, must concur to place the Passion, U. C. 784: Tiberii xvii.

Veteres revolvamus Historias; et inveniemus usque ad vicesimum octavum annum Cæsaris Augusti, (cujus quadragesimo primo anno Christus natus est in Judæa,) in toto orbe terrarum fuisse discordiam: Hieronymus, iii. 23. *ad med.* in Isaïæ ii. This date was probably quoted *memoriter* from Irenæus or Tertullian, though otherwise it is not inconsistent with the above date of the Passion.

XV. The testimony of Epiphanius has been anticipated. But though in his work Adversus Hæreses he places the nativity in the forty-second of Augustus, yet in his Ancoratus, (at least if the text be genuine,) reckoning the reign of Augustus at fifty-six years and six months, he places it in his fortieth^b; which would thus be U. C. 750 or 751. The length of the ministry of Christ he makes two years and some months.

XVI. Sub hoc Herode, anno imperii ejus tertio et xxx. Christus natus est, Sabino et Rufino Consulibus, viii. kal. Januarias—(December 25.)—Sulpicii

^a Operum iv. Pars ii^a. 102. 103.

^b Operum ii. 63 A. cap. lx.

Severi Sacrae Hist. ii. 39. Sabinus and Rufinus, or Rufus, were consuls U. C. 750: and Herod's reign, according to Sulpicius^c, bears date from the capture of Jerusalem, by Herod and Sosius, U. C. 717. The Passion he places Fusio Gemino et Rubellio Gemino Consulibus^d; that is, U. C. 782: consequently, in the thirty-second year of our Saviour's age*.

XVII. Ex istius namque Consulatu, (*nempe* Lucii Licinii Luculli,) annos jam (consules) requirentes; invenimus usque ad passionem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, usque ad annum XVI. imperii Tiberii Cæsaris†, CLXXIX. annos esse completos: ac per hoc a fabrica mundi usque ad passionem Christi Salvatoris nostri, sunt V. M. DXXX—Quintus Junius Hilario, De Mundi Duratione^e. Lucius Licinius Lucullus was consul U. C. 603: from which year exclusively of both extremes one hundred and seventy-nine years bring us to U. C. 783, the middle of the sixteenth of Tiberius. Again—A passione Domini, in consulatum Cæsaris (*Cæsarii*) et Attici, die IX. kal. Aprilis, anni transierunt CCCLXIX.^f Cæsarius and Atticus were consuls A. D. 397.^g or according to Hilario's reckoning, 399, which determines his age. He places the Passion, then, IX. kal. April, U. C. 783, and A. M. 5530. Now, he supposes the world to have been created VIII. kal. April^h: and he must have supposed our Saviour was thirty years old at his death. He must have supposed,

* The age of Sulpicius was A. D. 399, the year before the consulate of Stilicho.

He says that Herod reigned thirty-seven years in all; yet he makes his thirty-third year coincide with U. C. 750: and his first, with U. C. 717. If so, he

must have supposed that he survived the birth of Christ *four* years. See cap. 39.

† Hilario placed the Passion in the sixteenth of Tiberius, in his treatise De die Paschæ, also. See Gallandi Bibliotheca Patrum, viii. 748. 14.

^c ii. 38.

^d Ibid. 16. 40.

^e Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. vii. 282. A.

^f Ibid. B. ^g Chronicon Paschale, ii. xii. 172. ^h Bibliotheca Patrum, vii. 278. B.

then, that he was born A. M. 5500, on the day before the world was created, A. M. 1.

After this, it seems needless to adduce any more authorities: yet from a just deference to the illustrious name of St. John Chrysostom, and of his abbreviator Theophylact, I shall produce the following.

Ὁ γὰρ εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθὼν, καὶ οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν θαυμάτων οὐ τοῖς ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ γνωρισθεῖς μόνον καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσι μόνον ταῦτα πεποιηκώς, μαλλὸν δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν τριῶν τούτων δεηθεὶς εἰς τὸ δεῖξαι ἑαυτόν. κ', τ. λ. Homilia, xxi. in Johannem, cap. 2. Operum viii. 121. E.

Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος βασιλεύοντος, τριακονταέτης γενόμενος, ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεότητα ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητάς, καὶ ἐπὶ τουτοῖς τρία ἐπεκήρυξε· πανταχοῦ γὰρ τιμία ἡ τριάς· διὸ τρία κηρύξας ἔτη, τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ ἔτει Τιβερίου ἀπαντᾷ εἰς τὸ πάθος*. Chrysostom, Operum ii. 803. C. D. cap. 2.

Τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς σχεδὸν κηρύττοντος τοῦ Κυρίου. κ', τ. λ. Theophylact, Operum i. 464. B. in Luc. cap. xxi. Καί τοι περί που τριάκοντα καὶ τρία ἔτη τότε γεγονότα. Ibid. 630. C. in Joh. cap. viii.

Ἐτέχθη μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κύριος, καθὼς οἱ χρόνοι δηλοῦσιν, ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος· ἀπέθανε δὲ μετὰ λβ' ἔτη ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Αὐγούστου. Operum iii. 172. E. in Acta xxv. 15.

* Yet, Operum iii. 95. C. in Principium Actorum iv. Chrysostom reckons it 40 years and upwards between the Passion and the destruction of Jerusalem: which supposes the Passion, U. C. 783, in the sixteenth of Tiberius, not in the eighteenth.

It is however to be observed, that the Homily above referred to, is considered by Saville and others not genuine, though the Benedictine editors do not undertake to pronounce it spurious.

DISSERTATION XIV.

On the census of Cyrenius, or the meaning of Luke ii. 2.

IF our Lord was exactly thirty years of age at the beginning of U. C. 780, the middle of the thirteenth of Tiberius Cæsar; it follows that he was born at the beginning of U. C. 750. This, therefore, I assume as the true date of the nativity, answering to B. C. 4, to the year of the Julian period 4710, and if the principles of the Bible chronology be correct, (as I shall endeavour to prove elsewhere that they are,) to A. M. 4000 *exeunte*, or 4001 *ineunte*.

The data from which this memorable conclusion is deduced, are such as I apprehend cannot easily be shaken. It must be certain at least, that if our Saviour was born *before* the death of Herod, he was born before the end of U. C. 750: and if those circumstances are all matters of fact which either St. Luke or St. Matthew in particular, shews to have transpired between these two events; he must have been born before the middle of that year at the latest: for we could not on any supposition allow less than an interval of six months, for the purification and the presentation, for the arrival of the Magi, and for the residence in Egypt, posterior to the nativity of Christ, and prior to the death of Herod. But the age of our Lord at his baptism, and the corresponding year of the reigning emperor, being once determined, the year of his birth follows as matter of course.

It follows also from the same premises, that if our Saviour's ministry began U. C. 780 *ineunte*, A. D. 27, and lasted three years afterwards; the year of the Passion was U. C. 783 *ineunte*, A. D. 30; the middle of the sixteenth of Tiberius. No attention is due to

the tradition which, upon the authority of the eclipse of Phlegon, fixes the date of the Passion to the middle of the nineteenth, U. C. 786, or A. D. 33: and that, without calling in question the fact of the eclipse itself. Eusebius, who has quoted the words of Phlegon^a, says nothing about its happening when the moon was at the full; which only would prove it to be a preternatural event. The same is true of the allusion to it by Origen^b. Africanus alone^c asserts the contrary; in which assertion he is confuted by Phlegon himself; not to mention that the latter is said to have referred the eclipse to Ol. 202. 4, the nineteenth of Tiberius; whereas Africanus on his own principles^d ought to have referred it to the sixteenth, Ol. 202. 2, in which he placed the Passion*.

* Operum iii. 923. C. Comm. in Matt. 134. Origen plainly admits that Phlegon made no mention of the full of the moon in his eclipse. But in a fragment Comm. super Matt. (Bibliothecæ Gallandianæ Appendix Posthuma,) it is said that he asserts the contrary. Vide the Rel. Sacræ, ii. 336, 337.

Syncellus also, i. 610. 14, quoting from Africanus, has the words, Φλέγων ιστορεῖ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐν πανσελήνῳ κ', τ. λ.

There can be little doubt, however, that this additional circumstance is not rightly attributed to Phlegon. The Armenian version of Eusebius' Chronicon, (Pars ii^a 265,) though professing to quote the very words of Phlegon, is silent about it; and merely says, Nox hora sexta facta est. The same is true of the testimony of Eusebius, Chron.

Epitome, apud SS. Deperdit. Novam Coll. vol. i. p. 2. E. 3. B.

This version places the eclipse in question Ol. 203. 4, which must be a mistake for Ol. 202. 4. Vide the Greek of Phlegon, or of Eusebius, *in loco*, apud Syncellum, i. 614. 14: and the Chronicon Paschale, i. 412. l. 9—15. Ol. 202. 4. answers to Tib. 19. medio, A. D. 33; in which year (according to the Chron.-Armeno-Lat. *ut supra*) Eusebius apparently places the Passion; though the Greek of the passage (apud Syncellum) has the eighteenth; which too, I should consider to be Eusebius' real date for it, inasmuch as he places it three years after the fifteenth of Tiberius—upon the supposed testimony of St. John's Gospel.

Africanus' Olympiads, it must be remembered, are cycles of

^a In Chronico. ^b Operum i. 414. B. C. Contra Celsum, ii. 33: Cf. Operum i. 432. A. Ibid. ii. 59. ^c Rel. Sacræ, ii. l. 184. l. 6. ^d Ibid. 188. l. 3—5.

As little regard is due to another tradition; viz. that the year of the nativity coincided with a year in

leap years. The second year of Olympiad 202, regularly understood, as dated from A. D. 29, would be A. D. 31, in the seventeenth of Tiberius; but as dated from A. D. 28, the last preceding leap year, would be A. D. 30, Tiberii 16 *medio*; the year in which there is no doubt that Africanus placed the Passion.

The well known tradition respecting Dionysius the Areopagite, and his supposed observation of this eclipse, at Heliopolis in Egypt, and his construction of the cause of so unusual an event—imply that in the opinion of the authors of this tradition it could not have happened at any time but the full of the moon; otherwise it would have been no extraordinary event, nor have given occasion to any such remark as that which Dionysius is reported to have founded upon it. See Suidas, *Ἀνέκαθεν* and *Διονύσιος*, and Dionysii Areop. Opera, ii. 213. *ad medium*. Cf. i. Maximi Prologus, xxxvii. In fact, it is distinctly stated, in Dionysius' own supposed letter to Polycarp, that it was not the time of the conjunction, that is, the new moon, when this eclipse happened, but just the reverse.

The whole of this Epistle of the Pseudo-Dionysius to Polycarp, in reference to this eclipse, and to the two miracles, of a similar preternatural kind, in the time of Joshua, and of Hezekiah, respectively, is a singular document; more especially that part of it, in which the author explains the ratio-

nale of these miracles, or by what change and inversion of the natural course of things, the preternatural effect itself, in each instance, was brought about. Vide Dionysii Opera, ii. 88—92. Epp. vii. and the Scholia of Maximus, upon this Epistle, 93—97, which throw much light on the obscurity of the original. These Scholia end with citing the testimony of Phlegon, and Africanus, to the fact of the eclipse, as follows: μέμνηται μὲν καὶ Φλέγων ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς χρονογράφος ἐν τρισκαίδεκάτῳ Χρονογραφίῳ, ἐν τῇ σγ' Ὀλυμπιάδι, τῆς ἐκλείψεως ταύτης, παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτὴν λέγων γενέσθαι, οὐ μὴν τὸν τρόπον ἀνέγραψε. καὶ Ἀφρικανὸς δὲ ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐν πέμπτῳ Χρονογραφίῳ, καὶ Εὐσέβιος ὁ Παμφίλου ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς μέμνηται τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκλείψεως. Maximus also, we observe here, read the 203 Olympiad in Phlegon: but his assertion respecting Phlegon's remark upon the eclipse, if that means that he described it as happening at an unnatural time, for the reasons stated above, must be mistaken. Perhaps Phlegon observed no more about it, than that it was an unusually large eclipse. The tables exhibit one eclipse of the sun, A. D. 32, April 28, at 7½ in the morning, which was small, though visible in part of Europe: and another, A. D. 33, Sept. 12, at 10½ morning, which was *central*. This would begin at Jerusalem as nearly as possible at 12 at noon, or the sixth hour of the day. It would also answer to Olymp. 203. 1. This was most probably Phlegon's

which the temple of Janus was shut. The temple of Janus indeed was thrice closed by Augustus in the course of his reign^e; the times of two of which closings are ascertained by Dio—one in U. C. 725^f, the other in U. C. 729^g: but the third occasion is left doubtful. Orosius it is true places it in U. C. 752 or U. C. 753^h. But this is clearly for the sake of establishing the coincidence between that event and the date which he assumes for the nativity. We know no more concerning it than this; that U. C. 744, *sub finem*, it was intended to have taken place, but was delayed a little longer by some unimportant commotions among the Daci and Dalmatæⁱ. The death of Drusus occurred the next year^k; after which there ceased to be war prosecuted even in Germany. The peculiar tranquillity of the period from U. C. 748 to U. C. 752 or 753, at least, may be collected from the hiatus during these years which is perceptible in the LVth book of Dio: so much so, that the mission of Caius Cæsar into the East, which really took place U. C. 753, appears to be directly consecutive on U. C. 748^l. We may conclude

eclipse—which, bearing date Sept. 12, A.D. 33, U. C. 786, came almost within the last quarter of the nineteenth of Tiberius. It does not appear that Phlegon specified the day as well as the year of the eclipse in question; and if he had merely said, An eclipse of the sun happened in such a year of Tiberius, (the eighteenth or the nineteenth,) at the sixth hour of the day, this would be quite sufficient to induce Christians of later times to suppose he meant the eclipse at the crucifixion. Maximus, as it appears from page 180, (the

Scholia on the tenth Epistle of the Pseudo-Dionysius, which professes to be written to St. John, at the time of his banishment in the isle of Patmos,) placed the passion in the eighteenth of Tiberius; supposing our Lord's ministry to have begun in the fifteenth, and to have lasted three years and a few months over: as it would have done, on that supposition, if its ἀρχὴ were dated from his baptism, in the fifteenth, and its close from his Passion, in the eighteenth.

^e Suet. Augustus, 22.
liv. 36.

^k liv. 1.

^f li. 20.
^l liv. 9. 11.

^g liii. 26.

^h vi. 22.

ⁱ Dio,

therefore that either Dio had nothing memorable to record of this intervening period; or that part of the book in question has been lost; which had it existed, would perhaps have contained an account of the third shutting of the temple of Janus, and probably have assigned it to U. C. 748 or 749*.

* Plutarch, De Fortuna Romanorum, Operum vii. 276, 277, has an account of the openings and shuttings of the temple of Janus, from Numa downwards, to the close of the Cantabrian war, U. C. 729. Servius, ad Æneid. i. 291, speaks of *three* shuttings only as well known; viz. that in Numa's time; that after the second Punic war; and that after the bellum Actiacum. Horace, Epp. ii. 1. 255, alludes probably to this last: *Claustra que custodem pacis cohibentia Janum, | Et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam.* It continued shut, U. C. 729, so short a time, that this instance of its being closed might easily be overlooked.

Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. vi. 273: the coins of Nero ascertain the fact of *one* closing at least, by him: which Suet. Nero, 13, 4 was after the visit of Tiridates; consequently U. C. 819. Yet Orosius, vii. 3, on the authority of Tacitus, asserts that, after being opened for the last time, *sene Augusto*, the temple continued open to the reign of Vespasian, who shut it up (Orosius, vii. 9.) U. C. 824, at the time of the triumph of Titus, after the Jewish war; when he began the building of the temple of Peace.

It is the opinion of some learned men indeed, that the third closing of the temple of Janus never actually took place in the reign of Augustus^m: and though Suetonius, in the passage referred to, appears to imply the contrary, yet the Ancyran marble, which must be considered as an equal, if not a better authority, seems to confirm the opinion. For it does not assert that the temple was actually *thrice* shut by Augustus, but only that the senate had commanded it to be *thrice* shut by himⁿ. It is an insuperable objection to the supposition of its being shut in the year U. C. 752, that this was the year when the rupture between the Roman and the Parthian governments, respecting the disposal of Armenia, took place. Such a rupture was necessarily of too serious a character to allow of the temple of Janus' being closed, until peace had been restored; nor was this the case before Phraates the Parthian king, and Caius Cæsar, had met upon the Euphrates, U. C. 755^o. Though however the words of the angels P, on which this supposed coincidence is ultimately founded, were literally, and not spiritually, to be understood; still if the nativity took place, as we

^m Eckhel, Doct. Numm. Vett. vi. 89, 90. Suidas, voce *Ἰανός*, has a fragment which speaks of the opening of the temple before the departure of some one of the Roman emperors into the East; but which, is not specified. ⁿ Vide Taciti Opera, vol. iv. 841. ^o Velleius Pat. ii. 101. ^p Luke ii. 14.

It follows also that U. C. 749 was probably the year of the census which brought the Holy family, before the birth of our Lord, from Nazareth to Bethlehem. If we may reason from the analogy of other cases, the edict, which enjoined this census, would arrive in the provinces during the summer; and its execution, if begun immediately, would necessarily be going on in the winter. The census of Judæa in U. C. 760, so far as it resembled this, would be a case in point; and both the above conclusions appear to hold good of that. But the census at the nativity might differ in many respects from the census in the time of Quirinius. The latter was certainly conducted by a Roman president of Syria; the former, in all probability, by the native authorities of Judæa: the object of the latter might be such as to require it to be begun immediately; the nature of the former might be so far different, as to render dispatch unnecessary.

The place, which St. Luke assigns to the mention of the census, is presumptively a proof that it had not yet been commenced before either the close of Mary's visit to Elizabeth, or the birth of John. The visit was made in the *sixth* month, dated from the conception of John; and, as it lasted not quite three months, it was concluded some time in the ninth. The Virgin returned to her own home^q; that is, as verse twenty-sixth proves, to Nazareth; and soon after this return, the course of proceedings, which was there suspended by St. Luke, begins to be taken up by the narrative of St. Matthew^{*r}.

have assumed it did, U. C. 750 *ineunte*, there is no period, in the whole reign of Augustus, of which it might more truly be

said that at that time, *there was peace upon earth*.

* Mary had been almost three months secluded in the family

^q Luke i. 56.

^r i. 18.

It does not distinctly appear at what period, in the course of the census, the nativity took place. We can infer nothing with certainty, except that, when the Holy family repaired to Bethlehem, the census was either begun, or in preparation; and that Mary was more or less advanced in her pregnancy. The fulness of the inn, indeed, implies that many strangers were at Bethlehem as well as they; and consequently that the census could not yet be over: and perhaps that it was only just begun. If this was the case, it was just

of Elizabeth; and it seems not improbable^s that the conception of our Lord had taken place before she arrived there. Her pregnancy would first become visible upon her return to Nazareth; and until Joseph was admonished by the angel of its true cause, it might naturally give occasion to those reflections which the discovery is said to have produced in his mind.

It is clear, then, that St. Matthew presupposes here the particulars related by St. Luke; and it is not less clear that when St. Luke shortly after resumes the thread of his account, he presupposes the particulars related by St. Matthew^t. The very term *παραλαβεῖν*, employed by the latter, shews that the marriage union between Joseph and Mary was still incomplete; or that the Virgin was living by herself as before, when Joseph was commanded to take her home; and the description applied to her by the former—*τῇ μεμνηστευμένη αὐτῷ γυναικί*—Who

had been espoused unto him, *as his wife*; that is, was still considered only espoused, though she was now publicly recognised as his wife—is just as strong a proof that, though he had already taken her home, and so far declared her his wife, he was still waiting for the birth of Christ, before their union could be duly completed. It is no difficulty that they are said to have been espoused before the annunciation. There was no maximum, though there might be a minimum, to the length of espousals among the Jews. It could not be less than one month^u, but it might be any time greater than that^v: and the same rule held good at Rome^w. *Concedunt virgini duodecim menses, ab eo tempore quo eam requisiverit maritus, ad parandum seipsam*^x: which twelve months the commentaries of Bartenoras and of Maimonides both shew to have been distinct even from the time of espousals.

^s Luke i. 43.

^t Luke ii. 1—5.

Cf. the Codex Apocryphus, i. 36. Evangelium De Nativitate Mariæ, cap. x.

^u Cf. Jos. Ant. Jud. xvi. vii. 3.

^v Vide

xvii. 1. 2.

^w Dio, liv. 16.

^x Mishna, iii. 72. 2.

beginning in the spring; and, consequently, at a time of the year, when it might *a priori* be expected that a measure (which required every one to leave his own home, and to repair to quarters with which he might have little or no connection) would be found to begin. Nor does it follow, even on this principle, that the first intention of the measure had been conceived only now; or that preparations for its execution might not have been going on for some time before. The first intention of the measure might have been conceived in the autumn of one year; its execution might be purposely reserved for the spring of the next.

Let us suppose that the decree of Augustus, alluded to by St. Luke^y, arrived and was made known in the eastern provinces of the empire, about the midsummer of U. C. 749. It would arrive and be made known in Judæa not long before the annual recurrence of the feast of Tabernacles; which may be proved to have fallen that year on or about September the 16th^z: almost as early as it could. The recurrence of this feast would collect the whole nation of the Jews in Jerusalem; and the collection of the nation on the spot would afford the best opportunity for making known to them all at once the intention of a measure, in which all were concerned alike. Accordingly, there is evidence in Josephus that something was done about the month of September, U. C. 749, which concerned the nation at large, and could be done only when they were assembled together; and, consequently, at the time of some feast: which something, as we may reasonably presume, was either the direct effect of the orders received from Augustus, or a necessary preliminary to their execution. The proof of this position

y ii. 1.

z Supra p. 331. Dissertation vii.

may be easily made out; but we must trace the course of events in the history for a time backwards.

First; the answer of Augustus, empowering Herod to dispose of his son Antipater, (whose treasonable designs against his father's life had been fully discovered,) in any way he pleased, was received by him probably about a week before his own death^a; that is, it was received, as we have shewn elsewhere, about the first week in March, U. C. 751.

Secondly; Herod had written to Augustus on the very day of his son's conviction^b; which conviction took place the day after his arrival at Jerusalem^c, upon his return from a journey to Rome.

Thirdly; before the answer of Augustus could be received in Judæa, it was necessary that messengers should both go to, and return from, Rome between the time of the conviction of Antipater, and the first week in March; for which effect in the winter season, and when there was no very urgent reason for dispatch, we cannot allow less than five months' time. I assume, then, that the return of Antipater from Rome did not take place later than the month of September, in the year before the death of Herod; that is, U. C. 750.

Fourthly; between the time of that return and the discovery of the treason of Antipater, there was an interval of seven months^d; which interval Josephus appears to restrict to the time of the death of Herod's brother Pheroras, (out of which arose the whole train of the subsequent inquiries, which terminated in the discovery of the treason of Antipater^e,) on the one hand—and to the time of Antipater's return, on the other; but which, as I shall shew hereafter, is really

^a Ant. Jud. xvii. vii. viii. 1. Bell. i. xxxiii. 7. 8.
xxxii. 5. ^c Bell. i. xxxii. 1. Ant. xvii. v. 2. 3.
xxxi. 2. ^e Ant. xvii. iii. 3. Bell. i. xxx. 1.

^b Ant. xvii. v. 7. Bell. i.
^d Ant. xvii. iv. 3. Bell. i.

meant of the whole period of the absence of Antipater*. If the return then of Antipater coincided with some time in the month of September, his departure coincided with some time in the month of March—U. C. 750. Now he was sent to Rome at the recommendation of Herod's friends there; and this recommendation had been instigated by himself, in letters written expressly from Judæa. On the same principle then, as before, and on the supposition that his departure took place soon after their answer had been received; he must have written to these friends some time in the October preceding, and received their answer in the February or the March ensuing. This October would be the October of U. C. 749.

Fifthly; at the time when he wrote to that effect, Pheroras and his wife were in disgrace with Herod, because the latter had paid a certain fine, imposed

* The two measures of time, in fact, might be coincident; for the death of Pheroras ensued not long after Antipater's departure, and probably five or six months before his return. It is the usage of Josephus, in almost all such instances of reckoning as these, to express himself by current months. There is a remarkable example of this peculiarity, in the assertion^f that Jerusalem was taken by Herod and Sosius, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, as compared with another just before^g, which shews that it was taken in forty days *plus* fifteen, or about fifty-five days in all; that is, at the end of one month complete and in parts of two months more; which might be called upon the whole the *third* current month.

It is another instance of the same mode of speaking that, Ant. Jud. iii. ii. 5, the arrival of the Israelites at mount Sinai, which was really within fifty days of the Exodus, is placed ἐν τριμήνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κίνησιν. Parts of three successive months had certainly elapsed since that time; but nothing more. It is true, however, that the book of Exodus itself speaks the same language.

On this principle, if the death of Pheroras happened at the end of one month, and the return of Antipater took place at the beginning of another, and there were only just five months complete between—Josephus would yet call it an interval of seven months.

^f Ant. xiv. xvi. 4.

^g Ib. 2.

upon the Pharisees as a punishment for their conduct on some occasion, when, παντὸς τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι' ὄρκων ἢ μὴν εὐνοῆσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι, they only had refused to take the oath in question^h. Whatever be the occasion here referred to—if it was something which happened just before Antipater wrote to his friends at Rome, it was something which happened about the end of September, or the beginning of October, U. C. 749. The mention of the whole Jewish nation, and of the Pharisees, (whom Josephus makes six thousand in number and upwards,) in contradistinction to them—of the former as taking, and of the latter as refusing to take the same oath, and at the same time—is a presumptive proof that both the one and the other were then assembled in Jerusalem; which they would be in every year at any of the feasts in general, and in the month of September, U. C. 749, as we have shewn, would be so at the feast of Tabernacles in particular.

Moreover, there is a great resemblance between the language of Josephus in describing this oath, and the manner in which the contemporary historian Dio speaks of the usual oath of allegiance to the reigning emperor; as renewed on the first of January in every year: τὰ τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ πραχθησόμενα, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ ζώντων ὄρκοις τισὶ βεβαιουῖσθαιⁱ—τὰ τε πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τοῦ Ἰανουαρίου νομηνία ὄρκοις ἐβεβαιώσαντο^k—ἐν τε τῇ νομηνίᾳ ὄρκους ἢ βουλὴν, βεβαιούσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ, ἐποίησατο^l.

It is not improbable, then, that the edict of Augustus had been recently received; and the Jews being soon after assembled at the feast of Tabernacles, that it was followed by this public act, to express the readi-

^h Bell. Jud. i. xxix. 2. Ant. xvii. iii. 1. 2. ii. 4.
^l liii. 28.

ⁱ lvii. 8.

^k li. 20.

ness of the nation to submit to his commands. The oath unquestionably was administered by the authority of Herod; and if this was the first occasion of the kind, as the resistance of the Pharisees is sufficient to prove, all *his* authority might be requisite to oblige them to give their consent to the measure; or to accept an oath of allegiance to the Roman emperor. The same period would coincide with the anniversary of his own reign, which bore date from the last week in September, U.C. 714: and, therefore, comes in here critically to account for the mention of himself in the terms and purport of the oath, along with Cæsar. It follows, then, that the edict relating to this great state measure having been about this time made known, and the consent of the nation to its peaceful execution having been provided for; the census, such as it was designed to be, might begin either then, or at the most convenient time as soon afterwards, as possible. The spring of the year would be on all accounts more eligible than the winter; and early in the spring, that is, in three or four months' time afterwards, it might accordingly be carried into effect.

At the time of the trial of Antipater, Quintilius Varus (the same person who afterwards perished in Germany) was at Jerusalem; and he was there as the President of Syria^m. But he had been invited thither by Herod in expectation of his son's return; and consequently after that letter from Antipater, if not his own reply to it, which we shall see by and by he had not long before received. Josephus speaks of Varus in such a manner as strongly implies that he had been only just appointed to his government, and had not as yet visited even Antioch itself; and had he arrived the same summer, and landed at Cæsarea, proposing to

^m Ant. Jud. xvii. v. 2. 7. Bell. i. xxxi. 5. xxxii. 5.

travel from thence to Antioch, this might manifestly be the case. If so, any census in U. C. 749, conducted by a Roman magistrate, would be conducted by his predecessor in office; which predecessor was C. Sentius Saturninus, a man of consular dignity, as the attendance of his three *πρεσβευταὶ* or legates alone would implyⁿ; whom the Consular Fasti exhibit as consul U. C. 735, and whom Josephus expressly styles as such.

Accordingly, by Tertullian the census at the nativity of Christ is distinctly ascribed to this president^o: *Sed et census constat actos sub Augusto nunc in Judæam per Sentium Saturninum*, apud quos genus ejus inquire potuissent. And, whatsoever some learned men may have thought of this assertion, I am one of those who believe it to be founded in fact; and a singular proof of Tertullian's accuracy; at least in his latest productions.

In proof of this opinion I had endeavoured to ascertain the succession of the Governors of Syria, from the time of the battle of Actium, U. C. 723, to the time of the death of Augustus, U. C. 767. But on comparing the results of these investigations with the statement of that succession, as exhibited by Cardinal Norisius, in his *Cenotaphia Pisana*^p, I found we agreed so nearly together, that to represent the series in detail would be merely *actum agere*. I shall confine myself therefore, on this subject, to such considerations only as more immediately concern my present purpose; one of which is the determination of the precise time when Saturninus may be supposed to have come into office; and consequently, when Titius his predecessor must be supposed to have gone out of office.

That Titius was sometime president of Syria is

ⁿ Ant. Jud. xvi. xi. 3. Strabo, iii. cap. 4. p. 444. 445. Dio, liii. 14. ^o *Adversus Marcionem*, iv. 19. *Opus* i. 261. ^p *Dissertatio* ii^a.

proved by both Josephus and Strabo^q. The period of time to which the allusion to him in Josephus belongs will be considered hereafter. The mention of the name of Titius in Strabo is coupled with two other facts, the restoration of the standards, and the surrendry of the hostages; both by Phraates king of Parthia, and both to the Roman emperor Augustus. These two facts are mentioned in conjunction in another passage also^r; but the name of Titius, and the statement of the number and the names of the hostages, as four of the sons—two of them with their wives—and four of the grandsons of Phraates, occur only here. Now, it is no unusual thing in Strabo to find remote events alluded to by him in conjunction. Nor is this any impeachment of his accuracy, but a natural consequence of the character of his work, which is not properly historical, but geographical. There is a good instance of this mode of writing, where he mentions the fate of Syllæus^s; to whose perfidy the failure of the Arabian expedition under Ælius Gallus was principally due. That expedition was over U. C. 731, and Syllæus was not put to death before U. C. 750: nor was he then put to death on account of his treachery in U. C. 731: yet his death is alluded to as if it happened directly after the expedition, and in consequence of it.

We cannot infer, then, upon the authority of Strabo, that Titius was in office at the date of the first of the two facts in question; especially if there was any interval between them: but only that he was in office at the time of the second. The restitution of the standards is attested by Dio also^t, and is confirmed by a variety of coins and inscriptions^u; all which concur to place it U. C. 734: but by none of these authorities,

^q Ant. Jud. xvi. viii. 6. Strabo, xvi. 1. §. 28. 297. ^r Lib. vi. 4. §. 2. 314.
^s Lib. xvi. 4. §. 23. 445—§. 24. 455. ^t liv. 8. ^u Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. vi. 93—99. 128.

except Strabo's, is it coupled with the fact of the surrendry of the hostages. Each of the same events is alluded to on the Ancyran monument, and in Suetonius's Life of Augustus; but as perfectly distinct from the other^v. One other fact only is commonly found combined with that of the standards; viz. the fact of the reduction of Armenia by Tiberius: and that was strictly synchronous with it; for both of them happened U. C. 734. The contemporary poets are full of allusions to one or the other of these topics; which proves how flattering to the pride of Augustus they were considered to be: but there is no where to be met with in them any mention of the surrendry of the hostages; which, nevertheless, it might be supposed, would have been equally agreeable to him. The natural inference from this distinction is that, at the time when they were writing, one of these events had taken place, the other had not*.

* It may not be disagreeable to my reader to see a few of these passages collected together. Thus:

I. Et signa nostro restituit Jovi, | Derepta Parthorum superbis | Postibus, et vacuum duellis | Janum Quirinum clausit. Horace, iv. xv. 6. The time of this ode is ascertained by Dio, liv. 8.

II. Jam mari terraque manus potentes | Medus, Albanasque timet secures: | Jam Scythæ responsa petunt, superbi | Nuper et Indi. Carmen Sæc. 53. The secular games were celebrated by Augustus, U. C. 737^x. The allusions in this passage are illustrated by Dio, liv. 8, 9. and by

Strabo, xv. cap. i. §. 73. 154—157.

III. Cantaber Agrippæ, Claudî virtute Neronis | Armenius cecidit: jus imperiumque Phrates | Cæsaris accepit, genibus minor: aurea fruges | Italiæ pleno defudit Copia cornu. Epist. i. xii. 26. Agrippa finally reduced the Cantabri U. C. 734 or 735. Dio, liv. 6—11.

IV. Sub duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit | Nunc, et si quid abest Italis adjudicat armis. Ibid. i. xviii. 56. Vide also Carm. i. xii. 53—56. i. xxvi. 5. compared with Dio, liii. 33. (which shews it to belong to U. C. 731,) and ii. ix. 18—24. The Arabian expedition, U. C. 730, is twice alluded to by Ho-

^v Tacitus, Opera, iv. 849. 852. Suet. Augustus, 21. Tac. iv. 845. Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. vi. 102.

^x Marmor Ancyran.

Dio, liv. 18.

It is certain, indeed, that the standards were restored to Augustus in person, who was himself at Antioch

race, Carm. i. xxix. and i. xxxv. 29—32. Compare Dio, liii. 22. 25. 29.

Horace, according to his own account^y, was forty-four years old, U. C. 733, when Lollius and Lepidus were consuls: and he was born vi. id. Decem. in the consulship of Cotta and Torquatus, U. C. 689. These notes of time agree together: and as he died at fifty-seven years old, about the same time with Mæcenas, viz. U. C. 746^z, in the consulship of Censorinus and Gallus, perhaps we have nothing from his pen, the date of which can be satisfactorily determined, later than Carminum iv. xiv. which lines 34—38 prove to have been composed U. C. 738 or 39, fifteen years after the reduction of Egypt, U. C. 724: and Carminum iv. ii. and iv. which 34—36 of the former, and 17, 18 of the latter, compared with Dio, liv. 22, shew could not have been written before U. C. 739.

V. Jam negat Euphrates equitem post terga tueri | Parthorum, et Crassos se tenuisse dolet. | India quin, Auguste, tuo dat colla triumpho, | Et domus intactæ te tremit Arabiæ. Proptertius, ii. x. 13. Vide also iii. iv. and xii.

VI. Ille paludosos memoret servire Sygambros, | Cepheam hic Meroën, fuscaque regna, canat: | Hic referat sero confectum fœdere Parthum: | Reddat signa Remi; mox dabit ipse sua. | Sive aliquid pharetris

Augustus parcet Eois, | Differat in pueros ista tropæa suos.

| Gaude, Crasse, nigras si quid sapis inter arenas; | Ire per Euphraten ad tua busta licet. Idem, iv. vi. 77. The final reduction of the Sygambri was not prior to U. C. 743^a; and the mention of Meroë alludes to the war with the Ethiopians, U. C. 732.^b

VII. Signa, decus belli, Parthus Romana tenebat, | Romanæque aquilæ signifer hostis erat: | Isque pudor mansisset adhuc, nisi fortibus armis | Cæsaris Ausoniæ protegerentur opes. | Ille notas veteres, et longi dedecus ævi | Sustulit; agnoverunt signa recepta suos. | Quid tibi nunc solitæ mitti post terga sagittæ, | Quid loca, quid rapidi profuit usus equi? | Parthe! refers aquilas; victos quoque porrigis arcus: | Pignora jam nostri nulla pudoris habes. Ovid, Fastorum v. 585.

The passage, which might be quoted from the *Ars Amandi*, lib. i. 177—226, alludes to the projected mission of Caius Cæsar in U. C. 753; and not to the restitution of the standards in U. C. 734.

I know not too, whether the epigram of Antipater of Thessalonica, which occurs, *Anthologia*, ii. 100. xx. Στέλλειν ἐπ' Εὐφρήτην, Ζηνὸς τέκος· εἰς σέ γὰρ ἦδη | ἡῶι Πάρθων αὐτομολοῦσι πόδες. κ', τ. λ. may not be understood with more propriety of the mission of Caius, U. C. 753, than of Augustus' visit, U. C. 734, or U. C.

^y Epist. i. xx. 28. Cf. Epod. xiii. 6. Strabo, iv. 6. §. 9. 86. vii. 1. §. 4. 326. 613—§. 54. 620.

^z Dio, liv. 7. ^a Dio, liv. 22. 32, 33.

^b Dio, liv. 5. Strabo, xvii. 1. §. 53.

U.C. 734; and not to any of his prefects: and it is not less certain that the hostages, whensoever they were delivered, were delivered to Titius; who must consequently have been the only person in authority present at the time. And from this fact alone we might infer that, whosoever was then president of Syria, they could not have been surrendered before the second return of Marcus Agrippa from the East; that is, before the end of U. C. 741. at least ^{c*}.

724. Antipater was a contemporary of this part of the reign of Augustus; as appears from a variety of epigrams, addressed to the Roman Piso, Lucius Piso, upon the subject of his recent successes in Thrace; which Dio, *lv.* 34. Velleius *Pat.* *ii.* 97. 98. shew to have been obtained U.C. 743—745. Vide *Anthologia*, *ii.* 97—99. *Antipatri*, *x—xvii.*

* According to Velleius Paterculus, the surrendry of the hostages by Phraates was a consequence of the appointment of Artavasdes to the throne of Armenia; and, therefore, happened about the same time with that ^d. There is no authority, except that of mere conjecture, for reading Tigranes in this passage of Velleius, and not Artavasdes. It is true, that he attributes the appointment of this Artavasdes to Tiberius; which is the chief reason, indeed, for concluding that he has confounded him with Tigranes. The instrumentality of Tiberius in placing a Tigranes on the throne of Armenia is attested on all hands; but the assertion that he was similarly employed, in the appointment of Artavasdes, rests on the single authority of Velleius. As to the history of Dio, there is no period

of time between U. C. 740. and U. C. 748. during which it can be probably collected from it that Tiberius was any where engaged in the East. In U. C. 741. he was consul, and Agrippa returned from the East: at the beginning of the next year Agrippa died, and Tiberius was espoused to Julia, and soon after sent into Pannonia: in U. C. 743. he was married to her; and the same year he was still employed in Dalmatia and Pannonia: in U. C. 744. he was commanding in Gaul: in U. C. 745. when Drusus died, he was sent by Augustus to attend his body from Germanyⁱ. On this point, then, the assertion of Velleius must be received with distrust: but if the fact itself, that an Artavasdes was sometime placed on the throne of Armenia, between the appointment of Tigranes and the time of the delivery of the hostages, be sufficiently well attested, it is indifferent by whose instrumentality it was effected. There are allusions, in the contemporary poets, to some triumph of Tiberius over Armenia, along with other events much later than the time of the restitution of the standards; which will be so far in accordance with Velleius.

^c Dio, *liv.* 28. *Jos. Ant. Jud.* *xvi.* *iii.* 3.

^d *ii.* 94.

ⁱ Dio, *liv.* 25—36. *lv.* 2.

Though the motive, which induced Phraates to deliver up the hostages, is ascribed by Velleius to the in-

Among these, we might quote the following epigram of Crinagoras, a contemporary Poet : Anthologia, ii. 132. xviii. *Ἀντολῖαι, δύσιες, κόσμου μέτρα. ἀλλὰ Νέρωνος | ἔργα δι' ἀμφοτέρων ἵκετο γῆς περάτων. | ἥλιος Ἀρμενίην ἀνιῶν ὑπὸ χειρσὶ δαμείσαν | κείνου, Γερμανίην δ' εἶδε κατερχόμενος. | δισσὸν αἰεδέσθω πολέμου κράτος· οἶδεν Ἀράξης | καὶ Ῥῆνος δούλοις ἔθνεσι πινόμενοι.* For indications of the date of this epigram, see Epigram xxviii. of the same author—which celebrates the successes of Germanicus in Germany ; and compare Epigram xxii. with the former, and Epigram xxix. with the latter.

I. Nunc tibi Pannonia est, nunc Illyris ora domanda : | Rhætica nunc præbent, Thraciæque arma, metum. | Nunc petit Armenius pacem : nunc porrigit arcus | Parthus eques, timida captaque signa manu. Ovid, Tristium ii. Elegia i. 225.

II. Rhenus, et Alpinæ valles, et sanguine nigro | Decolor infecta testis Itargus aqua ; | Danubiusque rapax, et Dacius, orbe remoto, | Apulus^a huic hosti per breve Pontus iter ; | Armeniusque fugax, et tandem Dalmata supplex, | Summaque dispersi per juga Pannonii : | Et modo Germanus Romanis cognitus orbis. Consolatio ad Liviam, 385. This elegy was written U. C. 745. in the year of the consulate and the death of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius : as appears from the following passages. Consul init fractis mœrentem fascibus urbem. | Quid faceret victus, sic ubi

victor eat ? Line 177. Accipient juvenem Germanica signa ferentem | Consulis imperio, conspiciendumque decus. Line 335. The reduction of Armenia is thus alluded to, along with the defeat of the Rhæti and Vindelici, U. C. 739. and the reduction of Dalmatia and Pannonia, U. C. 743. Dio, liv. 22. 31—34.

Accordingly Eusebius, in Chronico, (Pars iia. 259.) specifies the fact of a triumph of Tiberius in the thirty-eighth year of the reign of Augustus, which he dates from U. C. 711 : and, consequently, U. C. 748 : in the following order, De Ariis, (lege Rhætis,) Armeniis, Vindeliciis, et Pannoniis. It can hardly be supposed that for successes obtained over the Armenians in particular, U. C. 734, Tiberius would be celebrating a triumph in U. C. 748.

In whatever way the different accounts, above referred to, are to be reconciled together, perhaps Dio gives some countenance to Velleius, first, by speaking of the affairs of Armenia as beginning to be unsettled so early as U. C. 748, the year in which Tiberius retired to Rhodes ; and secondly, by alluding to one Artabazus, (who may have been the same person with Artavasdes,) as possessing or lately having possessed Armenia, in U. C. 755, when Caius made peace with Phraates : lv. 9. 11.

Tacitus' account of the kings of Armenia, (Annales, ii. 3, 4,) and of the order in which they succeeded one another, is as follows. First, Artavasdes ; whom Dio,

^a This word is corrupt. The line should, perhaps, be written, Additus huic hosti per breve Pontus iter : or, Qua patet huic hosti, &c.

timidation produced by the successes of Tiberius, in the neighbouring country of Armenia; the Ancyran mo-

Josephus, Plutarch, (*Comparatio Antonii et Demetrii*) call Artabazes or Artabazus: entrapped by Antony and made prisoner, U. C. 720. In this, he is supported by Paterculus, ii. 82: Strabo, xi. 13, §. 9. 588. §. 10. 589. §. 15. 600. Plutarch, Antonius, 37, &c. The Artavasdes in question was the son and successor of Tigranes, reduced by Pompey, U. C. 690. Cf. Strabo, *loc. cit.*: Dio, xl. 16. U. C. 700: Cicero, ad Familiares, xv. 2. U. C. 700 and 703.

The next in order was Artaxias, whom Tacitus calls the son of Artavasdes: then Tigranes, appointed by Augustus through Tiberius: then an Artavasdes, also appointed by command of Augustus: then Ariobarzanes, appointed by Caius Cæsar: then the queen Erato: then Vonones.

The Ancyran monument: (*Taciti Opera*, iv. 847:) Armeniam majorem interfecto rege ejus Artaxia, m. posse . . . in potestatem Tigranis regis per Ti. Neronem diademate ejus capiti imposito transtuli. Armeniam gentem postea inquietam gentem et rebellantem, domitam per Caium filium meum, regi Ariobarzani gubernandam et frenandam tradidi, et post ejus mortem, filio ejus Artavasdi, quodam jure Ariobarzane, qui erat ex regio genere Armeniorum oriundus, in id regnum deducto.

If by any accident the names of Ariobarzanes and Artavasdes have been interchanged in this passage, the testimony of the monument will so far agree with the statement of Tacitus. The con-

cluding observation with respect to Ariobarzanes, seems to favour this supposition; especially as he was no lineal descendant of Tigranes, who immediately preceded either him or Artavasdes. Still the names in question are mentioned in the same order on the marble again; page 853: *A me gentes Parthorum et Medorum petierunt per principes earum gentium, regesque per eos acceperunt, Parthi Vononem regis Phratis filium, regis Orodidis nepotem, Medi Artabanum . . . regis Artavasdis filium, regis Ariobarzanis nepotem.* If Artavasdes and Ariobarzanes here mentioned are the same persons, who were mentioned before; the former was the son of the latter.

To reconcile these accounts with Tacitus, it is necessary to suppose the omission of a name in his statements, between Ariobarzanes and Erato; which must have been that of another Artavasdes, a son of Ariobarzanes.

Tigranes, the predecessor of one or other of these, could not have been the person so called, the grandson of Herod by Alexander and Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, (*Jos. Ant. Jud.* xviii. v. 4,) who was sometime king of Armenia, and being recalled from his kingdom to Rome, died there childless. The former Tigranes is spoken of even in the Antiquities (xv. iv. 3.) as restored by Tiberius, and as the younger brother of Artaxias. The latter Tigranes, then, the grandson of Herod, as well as *his* nephew or bro-

nument gives a much more impartial account of it^k: Rex Parthorum Phrates, (*sic*) Orodis filius, filios suos nepotesque misit in Italiam, non bello superatus, sed amicitiam nostram per hæc suorum pignora petens. The true reason was probably a regard for his own safety; lest any of his family should conspire against him, as he is said to have conspired against the life of his father^l; and still more probably a motive assigned by Josephus^m, distinct from all, yet perhaps the most likely to be the real one of any.

The emperor Augustus some time or other presented Phraates with an Italian female slave, called Thermusa; who became his favourite queen, especially after she had borne him a son; whom Josephus denominates Phraataces. In order to secure the accession of this son to the throne of Parthia, and in the true spirit of oriental jealousy, she made use of her influence over Phraates to remove from home the rest of the blood royal; who were likely to have been his rivals. Now we may assume two things in reference to this account; first, that Augustus did not present Thermusa to Phraates before U. C. 731, when the restitution of the standards was first stipulated forⁿ; or before U. C. 734, when he himself was a second time in the East. In U. C. 724, when he was there before^o, there was no particular exchange of civilities between himself and Phraates, to make us suppose he presented

ther's son, called Tigranes also, (and made king of Armenia, in the reign of Nero: Ant. Jud. xviii. v. 4: Bell. ii. xi. 6: an appointment which Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 26, shews to have taken

place U. C. 813,) were of course very different persons from any of the same name, mentioned on the monument, or in the passages of Tacitus which we have been considering.

^k Tacitus, ut supra, 852.

^l Dio, xlix. 23. Justin, xlii. 4. 5. Cf. Strabo, xvi. 1. §. 28. 297. 298: where the motive of the act is so represented.

^m Ant. Jud. xviii. ii. 4.

ⁿ Dio, liii. 33. Cf. Justin, xlii. 5.

^o Dio, li. 18. 20.

her to him then. Secondly, that Thermusa would not conceive or execute any such scheme as this, until her son was ten or twelve years old at least. The surrendry of the hostages, then, as the effect of such a scheme, cannot be placed earlier than U. C. 745 or 746. There was some interval even after their surrendry, and before the death of Phraates, during which Phraataces continued to be brought up in the Parthian court, as the heir presumptive of his father's throne; and it was impatience of his father's longevity, which induced him at last to conspire against his life, and with the assistance of his mother to put him to death. That he was at this period arrived at man's estate appears from the fact that, both then and for some time after, he was strongly suspected of a criminal intercourse with Thermusa herself.

Now there is extant a coin of Phraates, which is described by Eckhel^p, and bears the date A I T. that is, 311: and being referred, as he shews it must be, to U. C. 443 *medio*, demonstrates that Phraates was still alive U. C. 754. In U. C. 755, we must place his interview with Caius Cæsar on the Euphrates^q; but in the year after, U. C. 756, the succession and history of the subsequent kings, Phraataces, Orodes, and Vonones, necessarily require us to place his death. The accession of Vonones in particular, as it may be collected from Suetonius^r, was some time between U. C. 757 *medium*, when Tiberius was sent into Germany, and U. C. 760, when the war was transferred into Pannonia; that is, it was about U. C. 759. Phraataces was king before Orodes, and Orodes before Vonones; nor can we allow less than three years, viz. from U. C. 756 to U. C. 759, for the joint reigns of both. The

^p Doctrina Numm. Vett. iii. 530.

^q Velleius Pat. ii. 101. Dio, lv. 11.

^r Tiberius, 16.

former then would come to the throne U. C. 756; and if he was born U. C. 735, or U. C. 736, he would be arrived at man's estate U. C. 756*.

Lastly; the presumption, concerning the time when the hostages were actually delivered, is wonderfully supported, if it is not confirmed, by the testimony of a coin of Augustus; which also is described by Eckhel^s. It represents the emperor Augustus sitting upon a kind of suggestus, that is, *pro tribunali*; and giving audience to another person, whose appearance and dress are characteristic of a foreigner, and who is offering him a little boy. This device is sufficient to prove that the coin commemorates the surrendry of the hostages. The time of the coin is ascertained by the date on the obverse, Tr. Pot. xvi. The sixteenth of Augustus' tribunician authority began June 27, U. C. 746, and expired June 26, U. C. 747^t: between these extremes therefore the coin must have been struck. The event which it commemorates was likely to attract speedy notice, if what Suetonius relates concerning it be true^u: Quodam autem muneris die Parthorum obsides, tunc primum missos, per arenam mediam ad spectaculum induxit, superque se subsellio secundo collocavit. If then it commemorates the surrendry of the hostages, and that at the time when it took place, this surrendry could not have happened either earlier or later than U. C. 746. It follows consequently, that Titius was still in office as late as U. C. 746; a conclu-

* The epitomizer of the lost books of Livy, in the argument for lib. 139. and in the year before the death of Drusus, U. C. 744, has these words; Pax cum Parthis facta est, signis a rege eorum, quæ sub Crasso, et postea sub Antonio, capta erant

redditis. This would place the restitution of the standards ten years beyond its proper time; viz. in U. C. 744, instead of U. C. 734. The anachronism, however, may be accounted for, if the hostages were given up about this time.

^s vi. 110.

^t Eckhel, viii. 404. Dio, liii. 32. 17.

^u Augustus, 43.

sion which will be further confirmed by what will be shewn by and by*.

* Nor can the time of the surrender be placed earlier than the year in question, without involving us in difficulties arising from the course of events, with respect to the subsequent disposal of the hostages; certain of whom were afterwards reclaimed by the Parthians, to be placed on the throne of Parthia. It appears from Strabo, (*locis citatis*), that they consisted in all of ten persons, four of the sons, (two of them with their wives,) and four of the grandsons of Phraates; and the names of the sons were Seraspadanes, Rodaspes, Phraates, and Vonones. Of the two first we meet with no mention subsequently; whence we may infer that they died at Rome, before any of them were restored^a. But Vonones was sent back by Augustus, upon the application of the Parthians, about U. C. 759; and he was alive after that until U. C. 772, in the reign of Tiberius^v. Phraates also was sent back by Tiberius, U. C. 788^w: and both these were sons of Phraates.

After however the death of Phraates the younger, which occurred in the same year, no mention appears of any more of the sons of Phraates the elder; but only of his grandsons. It is manifest, therefore, that all the

sons of this Phraates were more than arrived at man's estate, when they were sent to Italy; and two of them (one of whom, as we shall see presently, was Vonones) were married men. Phraates himself came to the throne U. C. 717^x; and if he was thirty or forty years old at that time, he might have one son or more, who might be married and have children, U. C. 746. But their children then would be comparatively infants; and this seems to have been actually the case: for the next of the hostages, whose restoration we read of, was Tiridates, (not a son, but a grandson of Phraates,) between U. C. 788 and U. C. 789; at the end of the reign of Tiberius^y. Tiridates was evidently at that time arrived at man's estate; and though he had been a mere infant in U. C. 746, he would still be forty-three or four in U. C. 788. The next whose name is mentioned is Meherdates; restored by Claudius, U. C. 802, and called a young man at the time^z. This Meherdates was a son of Vonones, and therefore a grandson of Phraates. The term which Tacitus applies to him will not allow us to suppose he was much more than forty at least in U. C. 802^c; and as he was the son of

^a It is evident from Strabo's language (xvi. i. §. 28. 299.) that some of these hostages were dead or restored before his time, U. C. 771 or 772. He says, τῶν μὲν οὖν παίδων ὅσοι περίεισιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δημοσίᾳ βασιλικῶς τημελοῦνται. ^v Tacitus, Ann. ii. 1—4. 56. 58. 68. ^w vi. 31. 32. ^x Dio, xlix. 23. ^y Tacitus, Ann. vi. 32. 37—44. ^z Ib. xi. 10. xii. 10. 11—14. ^c Cicero, Philipp. ii. 46: Defendi rempublicam *adolescens*, non deseram senex: yet Cicero was sixty-three, U. C. 711, and forty-three, U. C. 691.

The first mention of Saturninus in Josephus occurs Ant. xvi. ix. 1; the last, Ant. xvii. iii. 2. Bell. i. xxix. 3,

Vonones, and either brought to Rome with his father, or born in Rome, while he was still living there, he could not have been born later than the year when Venones was sent to Parthia; that is, about U. C. 759. Even in this case he would be forty-three years old, U. C. 802.

Augustus did indeed receive from Phraates one of his sons, as an hostage, in U. C. 724, whom he carried accordingly to Rome: Dio, li. 18. But this son was sent back, U. C. 731. Dio liii. 33.

According to Justin also, (xlii. 5.) when Tiridates fled to Augustus, he took with him the youngest son of Phraates as an hostage. But this he says was when Augustus was waging war in Spain: and Suet. Augustus, 26, he was at Tarraco in Spain on the first of January, both U. C. 728 and 729. This son was, therefore, a different person from the former: or even he, according to Dio, *loc. cit.* must have been restored, upon the application of Phraates, U. C. 731.

I should refer Horace, i. xxvi. 3: | Queis sub Arcto | Rex gelidæ metuatur oræ, | Quid Tiridatem terreat, unice | Securus — | to these transactions; U. C. 731. As also, iii. viii. 17. Mitte civiles super urbe curas: | Occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen; | Medus infestus sibi luctuosis | Dissidet armis: | Servit Hispanæ vetus hostis oræ | Cantaber, sera domitus catena: | Jam Scythæ laxo meditantur arcu | Cedere campis.

Mæcenas was left *urbis Præ-*

fectus, when Augustus departed for the East, and Agrippa was sent into Spain to subdue the rebellious Cantabri, U. C. 732 or 33: which he speedily effected: Dio, liv. 5. 6. 11. 19. Cf. Horace, iii. xxix. 25—28: iii. viii. 17: iii. vi. 13. 14: compared with Dio, liv. 5. 6. 3: which prove the time referred to, to be U. C. 732 and 733.

A *Cotiso* is mentioned by Florus, iv. xii. 18, as king of the Daci; and the same, or another, by Suetonius, Augustus, 63, as king of the Getæ. Those passages of Horace imply that there must have been some commotion among the Daci, not long before U. C. 731 or 732, though contemporary history may be silent about it—to which Virgil also possibly alludes, *Georgicæ* ii. 497: Aut conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro.

On the other hand, Horace, ii. ii. 17. Redditum Cyri solio Phraaten, | Dissidens plebi, numero beatorum | Eximit virtus, | is most probably in reference to the former contest between Phraates and Tiridates, U. C. 724: Dio, li. 18.

It is true, that Suet. Augustus, 34, a fact is recorded, which at first sight might be supposed referred to in the device of the coin produced above. But a little consideration will shew that this is impossible. Germanicus Cæsar was in his thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth year, when he died at Antioch, October 9, U. C. 772. From Suet. Caius, 15, we may collect that he was probably born in September: consequent-

at a time when Antipater was at Rome. It follows, then, that the sense of Ant. xvii. i. 1, even if it could be thought to imply that Saturninus was at Rome before Antipater's departure, will be determined by the parallel place in the War^a: οἱ γὰρ μὴν περὶ Σατουρνίνου ἐν Συρίᾳ πάντες ἐπλήσθησαν τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν. As this was only just posterior to the close of the council of Berytus, and the death of Herod's two sons, the decision of the present question is intimately connected with another; viz. the question of the time of that council, or of that death; on which I shall now enter. The result of this inquiry will be, if I mistake not, strongly to support our present conclusions.

The marriage of Herod and Mariamne was contracted a little before the battle of Philippi, U. C. 711 or 712^b: but not completed until U. C. 717, the year when Herod took Jerusalem^c. One year after the visit of Augustus to Antioch, U. C. 724, the year of the reduction of Egypt—consequently U. C. 725 *ex-eunte*, or U. C. 726 *ineunte*—he put her to death^d. They were married, therefore, only from U. C. 717 to U. C. 726, that is, for nine years complete; and in this time she bore him five children; three sons and two daughters^e. Of the sons, Aristobulus and Alexander were the eldest. The youngest died at Rome; these two, being brought up there, survived to arrive at maturity.

Having visited them there, and brought them back from thence^f, Herod disposed of them in marriage; contracting Aristobulus to Bernice, the daughter of

ly not earlier than U. C. 738. but eight years old. How then
Hence U. C. 746, he could be could he have had any children?

^a i. xxviii. 1. ^b Bell. Jud. i. xii. 3. Ant. xiv. xii. 1. ^c Bell. i. xvii. 8. 9.
Ant. xiv. xv. 14. xvi. 1. ^d Ant. xv. vii. 3, 4. ^e Bell. i. xxii. 2. Ant. xiv.
xii. 1. ^f Ant. xvi. 1, 2.

his sister Salome, and Alexander to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus king of Cappadocia. And when he had done these things, as the next chapter informs us, he heard that Mark Agrippa was come again into Asia. Before the winter of the year set in, Agrippa was sumptuously entertained by Herod, not merely in other cities of his dominions, but also in Jerusalem; after which he departed to Ionia, which means to Lesbos; for there, upon leaving Judæa again, he spent the winter*.

With the spring of the ensuing year, Herod set out from home to join him at Lesbos; but found he was gone to the Pontus. He followed him thither; and ultimately overtook him at Sinope. Now Agrippa came into the East, on this second occasion, in U. C. 738, towards the close of that year^h; and he was at the Pontus U. C. 740ⁱ, where Herod assisted him in military operations. The year, then, when he was brought to Jerusalem was U. C. 739, the year between these two†; and consequently the time when Herod

* This visit of Agrippa's to Jerusalem is recognised by Philok^k; and the time of the year, at which he places it, implicitly agrees with Josephus. For it is plainly to be inferred from his account, that the period of the visit coincided with one of the feasts; which feast the rest of the description ascertains to have been the feast of Tabernacles. This was the most imposing of the Jewish solemnities; and the high priest in particular had more to do then, than on any other occasion in the year.

† The account of Josephus also, (Ant. xvi. ii. 1.) implies

that the visit of Agrippa to Jerusalem, U. C. 739, was about the period of some legal solemnity; which must have been the Scenopegia, because it was just before the winter season set in.

Nicolaus Damascenus, *De Vita Sua*, page 6, gives us to understand that Agrippa came into the East late in the year; that Julia his wife followed in the spring of the next year; that Herod accompanied Agrippa from Amisus on the Pontus, into Paphlagonia; and that his sons were at Chios and Rhodes all the time. All this is in unison with Josephus, xv. ii. 2:

^h Dio, liv. 19.
De Virtutibus.

ⁱ Ib. 24.

^k Operum ii. 588. l. 28—30: 589. l. 8—31.

matched his sons, which was just before, was U. C. 738 *exeunte*, or U. C. 739 *ineunte*. Nor is this time otherwise than probable. For though they had been the two eldest children of Mariamne, and born in successive years, U. C. 718 and U. C. 719, one would be only twenty, and the other only nineteen, U. C. 738.

The offspring of Aristobulus and Bernice were five children^k; three sons, Herod, Agrippa, and Aristobulus, and two daughters, Mariamne and Herodias. The offspring of Alexander and Glaphyra were two sons only; Tigranes and Alexander. Of the sons of Aristobulus, the first is known in Josephus as Herod of Chalcis; the second as Herod Agrippa; and though he has not been express on this point, I think there is reason to believe they were born in the order in which they are mentioned. The time of Agrippa's birth we are enabled to determine; for he had not completed his fifty-fourth year when he died^l; and he died, as we shall see hereafter, in the third of Claudius, U. C. 796: that is, U. C. 796 was his fifty-fourth year incomplete, and, consequently, U. C. 742 was his first year incomplete; and he was born in U. C. 742: and that in Jerusalem, as appears from his letter to Caius^m. His brother Herod of Chalcis then was probably born in U. C. 740; and if his father was married U. C. 739, this circumstance would confirm the conjecture that Agrippa was next to him. For the births of the rest of the family, three in number, it seems necessary to

especially in what he tells us at the end, that Herod reconciled Agrippa to the people of Ilium, with whom he was angry. Nicolaus informs us that this anger was excited by the danger to

which the life of Julia, his wife, had been exposed, as Agrippa thought through their negligence, when she was crossing the Scamander by night.

^k Bell. Jud. i. xxviii. 1. Ant. xviii. v. 4. xvii. i. 2.
^m Philo, ii. 587. l. 17—19. De Virtutibus.

^l Ant. xix. viii. 2.

allow five years at least; in which case the birth of the youngest would be U. C. 747, at the earliest. And if Herod and Mariamne, in nine years' time, had only *five* children; it was just as possible that Aristobulus and Bernice in the same time would have no more*.

Now soon after the death of his sons, and before Antipater was yet gone to Italy, there is an account of Herod's producing these children in the presence of his friends; and, after deploring the loss of their fathers, making up prospectively certain matches for them; of which I shall mention those only which concerned the two daughters of Aristobulus^m. One of them he betrothed to the son of Antipater, the other to his own son by the second Mariamne, Herod; and this latter being Herodias, the former must have been Mariamne. And hence we may collect that Mariamne was the older of the two; for Antipater being at this time the heir presumptive of his father's throne, this was the better match; as further appears from the fact that soon after it was changed for Antipater himself, instead of his son.

Now it is quite clear that neither of these females was of a marriageable age at the time; and if Herodias was the younger of the two, it is very probable she was the youngest of Aristobulus' family. I will put it therefore to the judgment of my reader, if, when

* The family of Marcus Agrippa, and of Julia the daughter of Augustus, supplies a case in point to this. They were married U. C. 733ⁿ: and the death of Agrippa occurred U. C. 742^o; which is an interval of just nine years. In this time Julia bore five children^p, the

eldest in U. C. 734, the youngest after his father's death, in U. C. 742^q. Herod Agrippa also had five children only^r; between the birth of the eldest of whom, who bore his father's name, and that of the youngest, there was an interval of ten years at least^s.

^m Bell. i. xxviii. 2. 3. 5. Ant. xvii. i. 2. ⁿ Dio, liv. 6. ^o Ibid. 28.
^p Suet. Augustus, 64. ^q Dio, liv. 7. 8. 29. Cf. 18. ^r Ant. Jud. xviii. v. 4.
^s Ibid. xix. ix. 1.

she became the subject of a scheme like this, she could be under two years old *. I infer, then, that Herodias was two years old at the time of her father's death; in which case, if she was born in U. C. 747, her father had been put to death in U. C. 749: and we shall hereafter see, that even in the thirteenth of Tiberius, U. C. 780, she retained youth and beauty sufficient to captivate the tetrarch of Galilee.

It is not an easy task to arrange all the intermediate events, between the marriage and the death of the two

* There was an abuse of long standing at Rome, until it was corrected by Augustus, by which females, from interested motives, were sometimes affianced as infants; that is, at the age of one or two years; for none, even from such motives, could be affianced under it^u. Julia was two yearsold, when she was betrothed by Augustus to Antyllus, a son of Mark Antony^v; and Octavia was probably the same, when she was betrothed by Claudius her father, in the first or second year of his reign, to Silanus^x. Drusilla, the youngest daughter of Herod Agrippa, was six years old at her father's death; and Mariamne, the next to her, was ten; yet both had been already betrothed, the one to Julius Archelaus, the son of Chelcias, the other to Epiphanes, son of Antiochus, king of the Commagenes^y.

Dio does not say expressly that infants were affianced at the tender age of one or two; nor yet Suetonius: though both imply it; and instances are not wanting in which it is seen to have been the case. Thus (Dio xlvi. 31. 34. 54.) though Octa-

via was married to Antony, only U. C. 715 *ineunte*, yet a daughter of theirs was betrothed in marriage, U. C. 717 *exeunte*. Corn. Nepos, Atticus, 19: Hanc Cæsar vix anniculam Tiberio Claudio Neroni, Drusilla nato, privigno suo despondit.

A common age for marriage in females was ten or eleven. Plutarch, Comparatio Lycurgi cum Numa, 4: τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων δωδεκαετής καὶ νεωτέρας ἐκδιδόντων. Thus, Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 64, Octavia was in her twentieth year, when divorced by Nero, U. C. 815: to whom, xii. 9, she had been espoused U. C. 802: consequently in her seventh: and, xii. 58, she was married to him, U. C. 806 *ineunte*: consequently in her tenth or eleventh.

From Artemidorus also, Oneirocritica, i. 81, it appears that the marriageable age of females was immediately after ten; that is, eleven or twelve. The same fact may be collected from Suidas, in ἄρκτος ἐν Βραυρωνίῳ, and Harpocratio, in Δεκατεύειν. Many instances in proof of the same thing have been produced elsewhere.

^u Dio, liv. 16, 17. Suet. Augustus, 34. ^v Dio, xlviii. 34. 54. ^x Tacitus, Ann. xii. 3. Dio, lx. 5. 8. 9, 10. ^y Ant. Jud. xix. ix. 1.

young men: yet certain points of time may be determined with precision, and others with presumptive probability, which will agree to the above conclusions.

I. Antipater was recommended to Agrippa, about the time of his returning to Rome^z; which return is placed by Dio in U. C. 741^a.

II. Herod himself went to Rome, taking his two sons with him^b; the time of which journey was prior to Ol. 192. 1. U. C. 742, at least^c; as may thus be proved.

When Herod arrived, Augustus was at Aquileia; and Dio shews that he was absent from Rome, and that in or near to Gaul, U. C. 740 *exeunte*^d. But he must subsequently have returned, attended by Herod, to Rome: for the mention of the games and the largesses^e points to the time which is specified by Dio; viz. about the birthday of Augustus—IX. kal. Oct. September 23, U. C. 741^f, when Augustus was at Rome. And it confirms this coincidence, that there is no reason to suppose, from the narrative of Josephus here, that Agrippa was yet dead. But he died sometime after the nineteenth of March in the consular year 742^g, when the Ludi Quinquatria, called by Dio the *Παναθηναια*, were going on. If this visit, then, had taken place U. C. 742, Herod must have arrived at the time of the death of Agrippa, or soon after it; in which case neither would Josephus have been silent about it; nor would spectacles and largesses have been going on at Rome; nor would Augustus have been found at Aquileia, but in Campania; for there Agrippa fell sick and died.

I place the visit, then, U. C. 741 *medio*, which is

^z Ant. xvi. iii. 3. ^a liv. 28.

^c Ant. xvi. v. 1. Bell. i. xxi. 8.

^f liv. 25—28. ^g Ibid. 28.

^b Ant. Jud. xvi. iv. 1. Bell. i. xxiii. 3.

^d liv. 25.

^e Ant. Jud. xvi. iv. 5.

entirely in unison with Dio, who makes Augustus return to Rome only U.C. 741, and that at a time when the overflowing of the Tiber had filled the theatre called after Cornelius Balbus, the dedication of which was going on. Before this, it had been necessary to settle affairs in Gaul and Germany; so that it seems scarcely possible he could have returned, before the middle of the year at least. The consequent return home of Herod would be U.C. 742 *ineunte*; at which time the dedication of Cæsarea might be ready to begin^h; and would thus coincide with Olympiad 192. 1.*

III. The dedication of Cæsarea, and the institution of Herod's quinquennial games, would coincide with Olym. 192. 1, U.C. 742^k, and probably with the same time of the year as the Olympiads in general.

IV. The first of the rescripts, which are brought together in the following chapter^l, among the other titles of Augustus premised to it exhibits the title of ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ; that is, of the Pontifex Maximus.

* There is some difficulty, it is true, with respect to the previous disposal of Antipater. It is possible, however, that he might be recommended to Agrippa, and by him forwarded to Rome, U.C. 740. But there is no need to suppose that Agrippa accompanied him; nor in fact any ground for imagining that Agrippa was yet at Rome, during any part of the time when Herod was there. He was sent into Pannonia, soon after his return, at the beginning of the consular year 742ⁱ; which

proves that he did not return until late in U.C. 741.

The northern wind which detained Herod at Chios, Ant. Jud. xvi. ii. 2. U.C. 740, which some might suppose the northern monsoon, was more probably an accidental wind, much earlier in the season. It would be possible, therefore, for him to return to Judæa, not later than midsummer, U.C. 740, and to recommend Antipater to Agrippa before the autumn of the same year.

^h Ant. Jud. xvi. v. 1. ⁱ Dio, liv. 28.
xxi. 8. ^l Ant. Jud. xvi. vi. 2.

^k Ant. Jud. xvi. v. 1. Bell. i.

When that edict was issued, Augustus was consequently the chief pontiff. His predecessor in the office was Lepidus^m; and Lepidus did not vacate it by his death before U.C. 741ⁿ. This edict, then, could not have been issued before U.C. 741. But though Lepidus died, and vacated the pontificate, U.C. 741, still it is proved by Eckhel, on the authority of the ancient *Fasti* quoted by him^{*o}, that Augustus assumed the title only the next year, or U.C. 742. The day of the assumption is determined by Ovid, as *pridie nonas Martis*^p. The edict, then, could not have been issued before the sixth of March, U.C. 742; and probably it was a good deal later. The course of proceedings, therefore, is regularly carried on from chapter the fifth of this book of the *Antiquities*, to chapter the sixth[†].

* That is, the Maffæan and Prænestine Calendars, apud Foggini; whence it appears that he assumed the title on March 6, U.C. 742.

† At the end of the edict there is an allusion to some temple of Augustus, already built by the *Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας* at Ancyra; upon a column of which it appears that the edict was afterwards written. Among the coins of Augustus there is one described by Eckhel^q, which was struck in the fifth year of his Tribunitian authority—that is, U.C. 735 or 736—to commemorate the foundation of a temple to him by the Commune Asiæ. The situation of the temple is not mentioned. Eckhel conjectures it was Pergamus; but this rescript preserved by

Josephus, which proves that a temple in honour of Augustus must have been built at Ancyra before U.C. 742 at least, would equally imply that it was Ancyra; the Ancyra, either of Phrygia, which properly belonged to the province of Asia—or of Galatia, which was more distinguished by the favour of Augustus. It is true that Dio speaks of the building of two temples, or at least the consecration of two certain places, to Augustus, by his permission, one of them at Pergamus in Asia, the other at Nicomedia in Bithynia; as early as U.C. 724 or 725^r. The former is alluded to by Tacitus, in a speech of Tiberius, U.C. 778^s.

I have said nothing of the rest of the rescripts contained in the

^m Suet. Augustus, 31. ⁿ Dio, liv. 27. ^o *Doctrina Numm. Vett.* vi. 107. ^p *Fasti*, iii. 419. ^q *Doctrina Numm. Vett.* vi. 100. Vide also ii. 466. ^r li. 20. Cf. lix. 28. ^s *Annales*, iv. 37. Vide also 55. 56.

V. After Archelaus had succeeded in making up the renewed quarrel between Herod and his two sons, the former in gratitude reconciled him to Titius, at that time the president of Syria *^w. We may consider it

same chapter; all of which appear to be brought together, in conjunction with the first, more as relating to a common subject, than as belonging to a common point of time. This is especially true of the rescript of Julius Antonius^t; at that time proconsul of Asia. Julius Antonius was consul in U. C. 744; and by one of the standing rules of Augustus' government, he could not be proconsul before U. C. 750. U. C. 752, in consequence of the disgrace of Julia, either he was put to death by Augustus, or he committed suicide^u. His rescript therefore was issued most probably in U. C. 750. Norbanus Flaccus was consul U. C. 730: hence, his rescript might have been issued U. C. 736; but it was probably much later. It is not unlikely that he was proconsul of Asia in U. C. 742. There is another of his rescripts in section 6; and Philo Judæus has preserved a third, distinct from both the former, but issued like them in obedience to some orders of Augustus', which are recognised in them all alike, and which Philo mentions just before^v. These orders were very probably transmitted when he issued the edict recited at the head of the chapter.

Nor have I paid any attention

to the running titles prefixed to the several books of the Antiquities; for the periods embraced by these titles are not uniformly exact. The seventeenth book ends with U. C. 760, the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus; and it is stated to contain fourteen years. The fifteenth begins with U. C. 717, and is stated to contain eighteen; which is a correct computation: for it extends to U. C. 734, the year of the rebuilding of the temple, and even to U. C. 735, the year when it was partly finished. On this principle the next book ought to have begun with U. C. 735 or 736; and one of the first events mentioned in it belongs, as we have proved, to U. C. 737 or 738. It is stated to contain twelve years; which would make it end with U. C. 746 or U. C. 747. But in all probability the true distribution of time, originally, was *18* or *fourteen* years to this book, and *18*, or *twelve*, to the next; in which case, the former would end with U. C. 748 or 749, and the latter with U. C. 760, as before.

* Dio, lvii. 17: Archelaus was sometime accused to Augustus by his subjects, and defended by Tiberius, before the retirement of the latter to Rhodes, U. C.

^t xvi. vi. 7. ^u Velleius Pat. ii. 100. Dio, lv. 10. Tacitus, Ann. iv. 44. Seneca, De Clementia, lib. i. 10: De Brevitate Vitæ, v. 4. ^v Operum ii. 592. l. 9—19. De Virtutibus. ^w Ant. Jud. xvi. viii. 6.

probable that this event happened in the last year of Titius, because in the next chapter, section first, with little or no delay interposed, Saturninus and Voluminus are spoken of as already in office. This coincidence would point to U. C. 745 at least; and it will be further confirmed by what follows.

VI. For, before Archelaus left him, Herod concerted with him that he should himself go to Rome: and he both went and returned accordingly^x. The journey so designed is first mentioned in the War, i. xxiv. 4; but its execution is not there specified: and a similar design may be collected from i. xxv. 5, which would coincide with this journey in the Antiquities; and is perhaps prospectively alluded to even at Bell. i. xxii. 1.

Now, when Herod on some occasion was journeying to Rome, he passed through Greece at the time of an Olympic celebrity; over which he presided in person, and before he departed, made provision for the better celebration of the games ever after^y; which circumstance identifies this journey in the War with the occasion alluded to, Ant. xvi. v. 3. I think enough has been stated to prove that this Olympic year could not be Olympiad 192. 1, at which time Herod was not journeying to Rome, nor celebrating an Olympiad in Greece, but dedicating Cæsarea, and holding his own quinquennial games in Judæa. And this conclusion is confirmed by the context of the account, both in the War and in the Antiquities; that is, by the course and position of events, mentioned in common by each, before and after the journey.

748. He might at this time it was U. C. 745 or 746, would have the misunderstanding in be two years at least before question with Titius; which if U. C. 748.

^x Ant. Jud. xvi. viii. 6. ix. 1.

^y Bell. i. xxi. 12.

But if it was not Olympiad 192. 1. it was some Olympiad after that; for no one will suppose it was some Olympiad before it. No journey of Herod to Rome could have coincided with any Olympiad before that. His last journey prior to Olympiad 192. 1, U.C. 742, had been prior also to Olympiad 191. 1, for it was prior to U.C. 738^z. It is certain at least, that he had returned from Italy before Agrippa was sent into the East; and Agrippa was not sent into the East until U.C. 738. Herod had concluded the marriage of his sons before he heard of his arrival, and much more before he brought him to Jerusalem; both which, as we have seen, were events which happened in U.C. 739*.

* Had Herod made any journey to Italy in U.C. 738, he would have found Agrippa there; for Agrippa was dispatched into Asia from thence; and instead of hearing of his arrival the next year, and posterior to his own return home, Herod must have accompanied him from Italy himself. Nor, if he had visited Rome, U.C. 738, would he have found Augustus there; as it is expressly said that he found him. In U.C. 737, when Augustus was celebrating the *Ludi Sæculares*, he certainly was at Rome: and this is the year in which Herod's visit, to bring back his two sons, took place. But, U.C. 738, before he could have arrived at Rome, the emperor was gone into Gaul^a; nor did he return to Rome again before the occasion, already considered, U.C. 741. The return at that time took place either in the spring or in the autumn; for it took place

when the Tiber was overflowing its banks. The mention of Augustus' birthday, in the next chapter, determines that it was in the autumn, and probably in the month of August; which is the very time when Herod, having arrived in Italy about midsummer, and found Augustus at Aquileia, might be expected to accompany him to Rome.

Maternis laudor lacrymis, urbisque querelis, | Defensa et gemitu Cæsaris ossa mea. | Ille sua nata dignam vixisse sororem | Increpat: et lacrymas vidimus ire deo. Propertius, iv. xi. 57—Vidimus et fratrem selam geminasse curulem, | Consule quo facto tempore rapta soror. Ibid. 65.

This elegy was written to commemorate the death of Cornelia, the wife of L. Æmilius Paulus, and daughter of Scipio and Scribonia the first wife of

^z Ant. Jud. xvi. i. 2.

^a Dio, liv. 19. 21. 24. 25. 26.

It follows, then, that this journey coincided either with Ol. 193. 1, or with some date later than that. Now Ol. 193. 1. answers to U. C. 746; and this coincidence is so critically in unison with the fact that, just before the journey, Titius was in office, and just after the return, Saturninus; as to place it beyond a question that both the journey and the return took place U. C. 746, the former about the midsummer, the latter about the autumn.

VII. It was not possible for Herod to have gone to Rome upon this occasion, in U. C. 745; not merely because his journey, on that principle, never could have coincided with an Olympic year, but because it is clearly implied by the narrative that, as he simply went to Rome, and returned thence, so he found Augustus there. But from the beginning of U. C. 745, to the beginning of U. C. 746, Augustus was not at Rome*. There is an inscription in Gruter which

Augustus, and the mother of his daughter Julia. It may be collected from it, that this lady died in the year of her brother's consulship, U. C. 738; and that Augustus was most probably at Rome, when she died and was buried. But her death might happen in the early part of the year: and still Augustus might be gone to Gaul, before Herod arrived at Rome. His absence, on that occasion, was long enough to produce Horace, iv. v. 1: *Divis orte bonis, optime Romulæ | Custos gentis, abes jam nimium diu: | Maturum reditum pollicitus Patrum | Sancto concilio redi. Et quæ sequuntur.* See in particular, lines 21—23, and compare them with Dio, liv. 16, U. C. 736, when the laws relating to marriage were past.

They would be greatly mistaken, who should refer this ode to the occasion of Augustus' absence on his visit to the East, between U. C. 732 and U. C. 735: when, to commemorate his return in the latter year, the Augustalia were instituted, and the *Ara forti fortunæ* was dedicated October 12. Vide Dio, liv. 16. and the Maffæan and Amiternine Calendars.

The consecration of the Templum Quirini by Augustus, which Dio, liv. 19, places U. C. 738, is dated in the Calendars June 28: which certainly implies that he was still at Rome, so late as June 28. But even this might be too early for Herod's arrival, if he left Judæa only in April or May.

* Dio, liv. 36: Augustus was absent from Rome for part of

proves that he was absent on the first of January, U.C. 745^b; and on the fourteenth of September in the same year, according to the *kalendarium Antiatinum*, Drusus Cæsar died, and that in Germany^c. Augustus was then in the vicinity of Ticinum^d; nor did he return to Rome even upon the occasion of his funeral; but still kept without the city^e. He did not finally return, so as after that time to be found in Rome, before the beginning of the next year, U.C. 746^f. And though, soon after the commencement of that year, he is said to have marched against the Gauls or Germans, yet he did not leave Italy; and he had returned to Rome again by the month of August^g; about which time it is probable that Herod found him there.

VIII. It follows that the quarrel between Herod and Syllæus, which led in its consequences to a temporary rupture with Augustus; and which began in the absence of Herod; could not have begun before U.C. 746, nor been succeeded by open hostilities^h before the beginning of U.C. 747. And this agrees with the fact that Syllæus was gone to Rome before those hostilities broke out; which we may suppose would not be the case, except in the spring of the year. It follows, therefore, that the intermediate events between Ant. xvi. ix. 2, and ix. 4: (including the transmission of the news of these hostilities to Rome; the angry rescript of Augustus; the mission of a first embassy in his own defence by Herod; the death of Obodas; and

U.C. 744 also. Cf. Suet. Augustus, 20. for general allusions to his visits to Ravenna, Milan,

or Aquileia, during the Pannonian or German wars in question.

^b Page lxi. No. 1. ^c Suet. Tiberius, 7. Claudius, 1. Pliny, H. N. vii. 20. Ovid, *Consolatio ad Liviam*, 139. 141—144. 199. 293. 457. ^d Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 5. ^e Dio, lv. 2. 4. ^f Ibid. 5. Cf. Gruter, lxi. 2. ^g Dio, lv. 6. ^h Ant. Jud. xvi. ix. 1. 2. 3.

the accession of Æneas, under the name of Aretas; the increasing perplexities of Herod; the numerous affronts which he was obliged to bear; the aggressions of the Trachonitæ, and of the Arabians—presuming on the encouragement of the Roman emperor; the mission of a second embassy, at the head of which was Nicolaus of Damascus:) could not possibly all have come to pass before the spring of U. C. 748.

At this point of time the Antiquities, confirmed by the War^h, resume the history and progress of the domestic intrigues, which led to the death of Herod's sons; down to the time when he sent Olympus and Volumnius first to Cilicia, and then on to Romeⁱ. This time coincides with Bell. i. xxvii. 1: and from the course of circumstances in both accounts, it seems impossible that it could have fallen out before U. C. 748, *medium*, at the soonest. At the time of their arrival in Rome, Nicolaus (dispatched as we supposed in the spring of U. C. 748.) had just succeeded in reconciling Augustus to his master; who had already sent back Syllæus to make him reparation^k, and was hesitating only about the disposal of Arabia, when these second messengers arrived, with the renewed accusations of Herod against his sons. To these accusations the emperor replied by empowering, or rather advising him to try them before a special council, which he was to summon at Berytus^{*1}: upon which advice he acted accordingly.

But this reply could scarcely be received before the end of U. C. 748; nor, consequently, however speedily

* Berytus is here alluded to as a Roman colony. It was planted, as Strabo, xvi. 2. §. 19. 331, implies, between U. C. 738 and

741: and by Eusebius, Chron. Arm. Lat. (Pars ii^a. 259) it is dated accordingly, U. C. 738 or 739.

^h Ant. xvi. x. 1. Cf. Bell. i. xxix. 3.

Bell. i. xxvi. 1.

ⁱ Ant. xvi. x. 7.

^k Ant. xvi. x. 8. 9.

¹ Ant. xvi. xi. 1. Bell. i. xxvii. 1.

Herod might act upon it, could the council be summoned before U.C. 749 *ineuntem*. The result of the council is well known. Herod took the young men, now condemned, first from Berytus directly to Tyre; afterwards from Tyre to Cæsarea; and ultimately he sent them to Sebaste^m. While he was still at Tyre, Nicolaus returned from Rome, and joined him there; which also is an argument that the council could not have taken place before midsummer, U.C. 749. For Nicolaus must have been left at Rome when Augustus (about U.C. 748 *medium*) dispatched his answer to Herod: nor was there any reason why he should set off before the spring of the following year. Moreover it is implied by Josephusⁿ that between the condemnation and the death of the young men, there was some interval of time greater or less. Consequently, if the one took place about midsummer, U.C. 749, the other might take place about the autumn in the same year. I shall mention, therefore, one more circumstance of coincidence only, which is this; that Syllæus, who had been sent from Rome to Judæa, to make satisfaction to Herod, about U.C. 748 *medium*, was again sent to Rome^o, along with Antipater, not merely as having failed to do what he was required, but with fresh complaints against him in addition to the old. This second journey was U.C. 750 *ineunte*; and every thing considered, it seems scarcely possible that it could have taken place sooner.

These two conclusions, one of which respects the time of the surrendry of the hostages, and the other that of the council of Berytus, however exactly they may harmonize together, have been obtained from independent data; which renders their agreement

^m Ant. xvi. xi. 3—6. Bell. i. xxvii. 3—6.

ⁿ Ant. xvi. xi. 7.

^o Ant.

xvii. iii. 2. Bell. i. xxix. 3.

with each other so much the stronger an argument of the truth of both. Before I prosecute the subject any further, I consider it necessary to make some observations on the probable duration of the term of office, which the presidents of Syria, in the reign of Augustus, or any other of his governors, may be reasonably supposed to have enjoyed: especially when I find such writers as Eckhel confidently assuming, *quod Augustei moris non fuit, magistratum imperia prorogare*^p.

There was a law in the time of the Republic, that none who had served the office of consul or of prætor, should be sent into any province, $\pi\rho\delta\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ^q—which its promulgation U. C. 701 proves to have meant, $\pi\rho\iota\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\ \pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\epsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\ \delta\iota\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\theta\eta$ ^r—the *sixth* year inclusive of the year of office*. This law was reinforced by Augustus, U.C. 727, in the year of the partition of the provinces^s; and there is reason to believe it was ever after strictly observed by him. But it was a law which related solely to the disposal of the popular provinces; that is, to the authorities who were entitled *sortiri provincias*: it had nothing to do with the dis-

* It is doubtful, indeed, whether this was an *ancient* law, or one only recently adopted. Yet from Dio, xl. 56, the former construction may perhaps be put upon it. Cicero was consul U.C. 691, yet he had a province assigned him only U.C. 703. The same is true of Bibulus, consul with Julius Cæsar, U.C. 695, yet made governor of Syria, U.C. 701. Still Cæsar, his colleague, was dispatched into his province, Gaul, in the very next year after

his consulate, U. C. 696.

In fact, the law, in this present instance, seems to have been a *special* one, passed by the influence of Pompey, U.C. 701, and reinforced by him, in his consulate, U.C. 702. And it was directly in the face of this law for any one to be sent into Syria, U.C. 702 or 703. Still it might be grounded upon ancient usage; and Augustus' subsequent adoption of the rule in question, implies that it was.

^p Doctrina Numm. Vett. iii. 489. liii. 2. 14.

^q Dio, xl. 30.

^r Ib. 46.

^s Dio,

posal of the imperial provinces, or with the governors in the nomination of the emperor; whom Dio styles τοὺς αἵρετοὺς, in opposition to the former, whom he calls τοὺς κληρωτοὺς. Under the Republic also, so late as the year 703, when Cicero was proconsul of Cilicia Aspera, it was still the practice that every governor, (unless for special reasons the term of his office had been prolonged,) at the end of a year should be relieved by a successor^t; and this rule likewise was enforced by Augustus, except in favour of such as could plead the prescription of being fathers of families, or at least married men: or for other and peculiar reasons^u. It is considered therefore an extraordinary circumstance, attributable wholly to the precarious state of the times, that in U. C. 759, many governors, among the *sortiti*, were continued two years in office^v. In the reign of Tiberius, partly from the peculiar policy of that prince, partly from the effects of his cruelty, by which the number of persons of such a description as might have kept up the succession, was greatly diminished, these governments were prolonged to very unusual lengths^w. Nor was it uncommon in the time of Claudius for the term of office to be two years^{x*}. The edict of Julius Cæsar, U. C. 708^y, seems in fact to have determined the practice of succeeding emperors in this respect.

With regard however to the governors appointed by the emperor, whose proper title was that of his pro-prætors, their continuance in office depended absolutely upon his *beneplacitum*, or their own good behaviour^z.

* Capitolinus, Antoninus Pius, cap. 5. Antoninus is said to have kept *bonos præsides* some seven years, others nine years, in office.

^t Epistolæ ad Familiares, iii. 5, &c. ad Atticum, vi. 1. 2, &c. ^u Dio, liii. 13. liv. 16. 30. ^v Dio, lv. 28. vide also Suet. Augustus, 23. ^w Tacitus, Ann. i. 80. Suet. Tiberius, 41. Jos. Ant. Jud. xviii. vi. 5. Dio, lviii. 23. ^x Dio, lx. 25. 33. ^y Dio, xliii. 25. ^z Dio, liii. 13. lv. 28. lviii. 23.

Whether, then, any settled rule to determine this continuance was observed by Augustus, in the absence of positive assurances must be left to presumptive inference: yet such an inference is not without data to rest upon.

In the speech, which Dio has put into the mouth of Mæcenas, upon occasion of the supposed conference between him, Agrippa, and Augustus, in the year after the reduction of Egypt, U.C. 725; and which, as we may reasonably conclude, exhibits the outline of Augustus' policy, or the standing rules of his government in general; we find among other particulars, this piece of advice in relation to the governors of provinces ^a: καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν μήτε ἔλαττον ἐτῶν τριῶν, εἰ μή τις ἀδικήσκειέ τι, μήτε πλεῖον πέντε. And such, as we may presume, was upon the whole his practice; viz. to retain his governors between three years and five years in office: perhaps, the governors of the more important provinces, or of an higher rank, four or five; and those of the minor provinces, or of inferior dignity, not more than three. It was part of the same advice of Mæcenas, to send into every province one person of consular, and two of prætorian, dignity, with separate but concurrent jurisdictions; and this advice at least was so far adopted by Augustus, that into the imperial provinces, along with one magistrate of consular, another was frequently dispatched of prætorian, rank; one of them more properly the civil magistrate, and called δικαιοδότης; the other more properly the military, and called στρατοπεδάρχης ^b; in one of which capacities, while Saturninus was present in Syria as governor, Volumnius is seen to have been present also ^c. And it is some such officer, distinct from the president of Syria as such, whom Seneca describes in the reign of Tiberius, by Pacuvius: Qui Syriam suam usu fecit ^d.

^a lii. 23. ^b Strabo, iii. 2. 444—446. xvii. 3. §. 25. 705—709. ^c Ant. Jud. xvi. ix. 1. Bell. i. xxvii. 2. ^d Epistolæ, xii. §. 8. Cf. Tacitus, Ann. ii. 79.

The observance of the rule in question may be actually demonstrated in a number of instances : and therefore may be justly supposed of the rest.

I. Cornelius Gallus, the first procurator of Egypt, was appointed U. C. 724, and recalled U. C. 728, after a four years' government^e.

II. Ælius Gallus, the next procurator, superseded Gallus U. C. 728. and was superseded himself by Petronius U. C. 731^e; which implies a three years' government.

III. Petronius came into office U. C. 731; and he was still in office U. C. 734: hence, though he might have been recalled U. C. 734 itself, he would yet have been three years at least in office. It is no objection, therefore, that some of the coins of Augustus, which commemorate the restitution of the standards, exhibit the name of Publius Petronius Turpilianus, as one of the triumviri monetales, or masters of the mint, posterior to that event^f. No such coins could have been struck before U. C. 734, or perhaps before U. C. 735: and though Petronius the monetal triumvir, and Petronius the procurator of Egypt may have been the same person; still he might have been in Egypt U. C. 734, and master of the mint at Rome, either in that year, or in the next, notwithstanding.

IV. The term of office of the first three procurators of Judæa, Coponius, Ambivius, and Rufus, extended from U. C. 760, to U. C. 768: which implies an average of three years each to two of them, and of two years to the third; most probably the last of the number^g.

V. The coins of Silanus, the last president of Syria appointed by Augustus; which are eight in number, and chiefly consecutive; shew him to have been five years at

^e Supra, 252. Dissertation v.
^g Supra, 350. Dissertation ix.

^f Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm. Vett.* vi. 98. v. 270.

least in office^h. The three first of these coins bear the dates 42. 43. 44. and the head of Jupiter; the remainder are coins of Tiberius. Referred to the era of the battle of Actium, the earliest of them proves that he was already in office by the middle of U. C. 765, at least: and the last of them, that he had not been removed possibly before the middle of 770, at the earliest; which conclusion is confirmed by Tacitusⁱ.

VI. If Quirinius came into office in U. C. 760, and Silanus was already in office by the middle of U. C. 765, we may reasonably suppose there was no other governor between them: in which case Quirinius must have enjoyed a four or five years' government.

VII. Let it be supposed that Varus came into office U. C. 750. Between this date and the appointment of Quirinius, there would be an interval of ten years; which must be acknowledged to be greater than could be occupied by the administration of any one president, and yet possibly not to be greater than might be divided between two. Now it is a critical circumstance that, among the coins of Antioch, there is one which, though solitary, demonstrates that, between Varus and Quirinius, there was some other president; whose name it exhibits as Volusius Saturninus^k. Such at least is the natural construction of the legend, ΕΠΙ. ΣΑΤΟΡΝΙΝΟΥ. ΟΥΟΛΑΟ. The date of this coin is ΕΑ or 35: which, referred as before to the era of the battle of Actium, proves him to have been in office before the middle of U. C. 758*.

* The name of Volusius Saturninus is not an uncommon one; for it occurs in the Consular Fasti, both U. C. 809 and U. C. 840 and 845. A brother

of Saturninus is mentioned by Josephus also^l; who might bear the *nomen* of Volusius, and very possibly be at Rome, when his brother Sentius was still in Sy-

^h Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm. Vett.* iii. 276.

ⁱ *Annales*, ii. 43.

^k Eckhel,

Doctrina Numm. Vett. iii. 275.

^l *Ant. Jud.* xvii. i. 1.

VIII. If Marcus Agrippa, as often as he was sent into the East, is to be reckoned among the ordinary governors of Syria; then, as he did not return from the East, on the last occasion, before U. C. 741 *exeuntem*, the first year of Titius, if Titius succeeded to him in the government of Syria in particular, would begin with U. C. 742; from which time to that of the delivery of the hostages, there would still be an interval of four years.

IX. Between the first return of Agrippa in U. C. 733, and his second mission in U. C. 738, there was an interval of four or five years; which must have been occupied by some president or other, and not by Agrippa in person. Now there is proof from Appian^q that Cicero the younger; (whom he makes consul suffect at the time of the battle of Actium, consequently about August or September, U. C. 723, but Dio at the time of the capture of Alexandria, consequently about the month of August, U. C. 724 *^r;) was, some-

ria. The death of one Lucius Volusius, who had sometime before been consul, is mentioned by Tacitus, U. C. 773^m; and that of another, at the age of ninety-three, in U. C. 809ⁿ. This person must consequently have been born U. C. 716; and both his death and his great age are noticed by Pliny^o. It is probable that he was the president of Syria in question. The most remarkable circumstance however is this; that as Quinctilius Varus and L. Volusius Saturninus appear to have succeeded each other in the government of Syria, so do they in another instance before.

The coins of Achulla Byzacene, in Africa, exhibit them both in sequence after U. C. 741 P.

* The Amiternine and Campanian Calendars shew the consulship of Augustus and Titius at the time of the battle of Actium. Pliny also, H. N. xxii. 6, confirms Dio: and Plutarch, Vita Ciceronis, 49.

Seneca, de Beneficiis, iv. 30, §. 1, alludes to this consulship in general terms: and from M. Ann. Seneca, Suasoriarum vii^a. page 57. it appears that Cicero the younger was likewise sometime governor of Asia.

^m Annales, iii. 30.

ⁿ Ibid. xiii. 30.

^o H. N. vii. 12. 49. xi. 90. Cf.

Columella De Re Rustica, i. 7.

^p Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. iv. 133.

^q De Bellis Civ. iv. 51.

^r li. 19. Cf. Orosius, vi. 19. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 12.

time or other after this consulate, appointed by Augustus to the government of Syria. How appositely this appointment would come in to fill up the vacuum between U. C. 733 and U. C. 738, I need not observe. I will remark only that as Augustus himself was in Antioch for part of U. C. 734, we cannot suppose that any regular president would be wanted, before the middle of this year at the earliest. If Cicero was then appointed; from that time, until he was superseded by Agrippa, he would continue four years in office.

On the principle of the general induction, which might be derived from the particular instances here collected, a four years' term of government would be nothing extraordinary, in the case of any of the presidents of Syria. I have shewn that Saturninus succeeded to Titius in U. C. 746; and Varus to Saturninus in U. C. 750; so that the rule in these cases strictly held good. It happens, however, that certain of the coins of Antioch, which I have not yet mentioned, appear to militate against this conclusion. These are the three coins attributed to Varus, and bearing date in the consecutive years, EK. 5K. ZK. 25. 26. 27: which learned men, from the time of cardinal Norisius, who first examined them, are almost unanimous in referring to the Antiochean era, U. C. 723^s. The difficulties, under which the reception of this supposition would immediately place us, must be intuitively obvious; yet notwithstanding this, and at the risk of appearing unnecessarily prolix and tedious, such is the general validity of the argument deducible from coins, and such the importance which is attached to these three coins in particular, that I shall perhaps be excused, if I state those difficulties in all their force.

^s Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm. Vett.* iii. 275.

First, then, the evidence of these coins, however justly they may be ascribed to Varus, cannot shake the conclusion that Titius did not go out of office, nor, consequently, Saturninus come into it, before the middle of U. C. 746, at the earliest. If, therefore, the first of the series, with which only we are chiefly concerned, is both a coin of Varus, and to be referred to the Actian era of U. C. 723; the coin must have been struck, and Varus must consequently have been in office, between the autumn of U. C. 747, and the autumn of U. C. 748. Though the coin then should have been struck in the first year of his government; still his government must have begun either in the last half of U. C. 747, or in the first half of U. C. 748. In the one case Saturninus could have been only one year in office previously, and in the other only two years; both which suppositions are highly improbable; but especially the former. The term of one year's government, and even of two, we have seen, was the regular period allotted to the proconsuls themselves; and much more to the imperial legates. Besides which, peculiar privileges were accorded to married men, and especially to fathers of families; and among all the presidents of Syria in the reign of Augustus, there is none who had a greater claim to indulgence on this score, than C. Sentius Saturninus. He was not only a married man, but entitled to the *jus trium liberorum*; his three legati, who attended upon him in virtue of his consular rank, being his three sons. No president of Syria was more worthy of the office; nor any so little likely to misconduct himself in it, so as to produce his recall prematurely.

Again, let Varus have come into office when he may, the evidence of his coins cannot shake the conclusion that Saturninus was still president of Syria, at the time

of the council of Berytus; and let this council have been held in what year it may, enough has been done to prove that it must have taken place between the spring and the midsummer of that year, at the earliest. It follows, then, that if Saturninus, as governor of Syria, presided at the council, the council was held either between the spring and the midsummer of U. C. 747, or the spring and the midsummer of U. C. 748. Now at the first of these periods, the youngest child of Aristobulus (whom we have shewn to have been two years old at the time of her father's death) was perhaps unborn; and Herod, who must have been still on his way to Rome so late as the third or fourth week in July, if he attended the Olympic solemnity, U. C. 746, however speedily he might have come back, could not have been six months returned to Judæa*. At the second of the same periods, Varus, who must have come into office before the autumn of U. C. 748, at the latest, might already have superseded Saturninus; and, at least, would necessarily do so immediately after the council; whereas it is certain from Josephus that Saturninus was still in office not only at the time of the council, but for some interval, more or less considerable, after it. In short, if there was any truth in the reasonings before instituted, or any grounds for the data on which they were founded; the absurdity of placing the time of an event, which could

* It may be proved from an eclipse of the moon, which is calculated in Pingré's table for May 24. 6. 15. in the morning, B. C. 8, or U. C. 746, that the first mean full moon after June 24, the supposed date of the summer solstice, at which time the Olympiads began to be ce-

lebrated; did not fall in that year before July 22: that is, almost as late as it could. The full moon before that fell on June 22; and that would have been too soon. It must have been at the time of the next full moon, therefore, that Herod was passing through Greece.

not have occurred before U. C. 749, at the earliest, in U. C. 748 or U. C. 747, must be obvious without any proof.

Between the death of Alexander and of Aristobulus, and the departure of Antipater to Rome, Josephus relates many intermediate events; as first, the steps which were taken by Antipater to palliate the odium of their death, in the presents he is said to have made to Saturninus, or to those in the train of Saturninus in Syria, as well as to his friends and connections at Rome^t. Secondly, the disposal of the children of Aristobulus; and about the same time the marriage of Herod's sister Salome with Alexas; previous to which (as her consent to this marriage was chiefly due to the advice she received from Julia or Livia, the consort of Augustus) it was necessary that a communication should be made to and received from Rome^u. Thirdly, the settlement by Herod of Zamaris the Babylonian, with his followers, in Batanæa; which measure, being intended as a means of protection against the Trachonitæ, arose out of the war with that people, recorded before, though it is placed by Josephus here; and could not consequently have been prior to Herod's reconciliation with Augustus^v. Before this settlement, Zamaris had been living in a quarter near Antioch, called Valatha; which Saturninus is said to have assigned him: so that at the time of this settlement Saturninus was still in office. Fourthly, the beginning and the course of the intrigues between Antipater and Pheroras, which included the affair of the Pharisees, and determined Antipater, for the better execution of his purposes, to retire for a while to

^t Ant. xvii. i. 1. Bell. i. xxviii. 1.
2—6.

^v Ant. xvii. ii. 1—3.

^u Ant. xvii. i. 1, 2. Bell. i. xxviii.

Rome^w. Fifthly, his writing accordingly to his friends at Rome; and after waiting to receive their answer, his departure thither^x.

Now at the time of this departure, Syllæus the Arabian also was going to Rome^y; and the departure of both must have been coincident, for they went to oppose each other with regard to Herod's particular suit against Syllæus; and they were certainly both at Rome together. It is clearly implied by the narrative that Syllæus, in going to Rome, acted of his own accord; whence it is manifest that nothing as yet had come to light, which would seriously have endangered his life. A plot of his, however, for assassinating Herod, did sometime come to light; concerning which so much is related, that the parties in it, viz. Corinthus one of the king's body guard, and two Arabians, one of them a personal friend of Syllæus, having been arrested upon suspicion and tried before Saturninus, were by him ordered away to Rome. This is sufficient to prove that the plot came to light subsequently to the departure of Syllæus; and that he was not himself on the spot*. Saturninus possessed the power to try even *him* upon such a charge as this; and if the principal in the conspiracy had not been at Rome, he would not have sent the accomplices thither.

The sequel of the history of Syllæus confirms this

* Besides what is here urged, we are told in the War that Fabatus, the fiscal procurator of Augustus, who betrayed this plot to Herod, was accused to Augustus by Syllæus; and in revenge made known his conspiracy to Herod. This implies that the information, relating to

it, was given after Syllæus was gone to Rome: and it serves to discredit the statement in the Antiquities, xvii. iii. 2, that Syllæus was accused to Augustus of the murder of his servant, Fabatus: which, I think, is decidedly an oversight of Josephus in the Antiquities.

^w Ant. xvii. ii. 4. iii. 1. Bell. i. xxix. 1, 2.
^y Ant. xvi. iii. 2. Bell. i. xxix. 5.

^x Ant. xvii. iii. 2. Bell. i.

conclusion, and proves that he had been some time gone, before the conspiracy was found out. We do not know from Josephus that Augustus ever put him to death; but we do know that Antipater carried his suit against him^y: we may infer, then, that at this point of time, which was just before the return of Antipater back from Rome, the news of the additional offence on the part of Syllæus had not yet been received in the city. We learn from Strabo that Augustus did sometime actually put him to death; a resolution, to which the discovery of his plot against the life of Herod would doubtless contribute, as much as any thing.

It would seem, then, that Saturninus was still in office not merely when Antipater set out to Rome, but for one or two months at least afterwards. This conclusion establishes the fact that he was president of Syria, not only in U. C. 749, at the time of the council of Berytus, but at the beginning of U. C. 750: nor does it at all prevent but that he might still be superseded by Varus before the middle of the same year*.

* I asserted elsewhere^z that the seven months' interval, between the return of Antipater and the first suspicions of his treachery, though dated apparently from the death of Pheroras, expressed the whole interval of his absence. And, indeed, as the train of inquiries, which ultimately terminated in the discovery of his guilt, began to be instituted immediately upon his uncle's death; and as this death was the effect of a very short illness, (it might al-

most be supposed of only two or three days' duration^a;) if that death ensued soon after the departure, the two intervals might coincide. The assertion however may be established by various presumptive proofs.

I. Antipater had been dispatched to Rome on a special mission, the object of which might be speedily accomplished; and consequently which would not detain him long^b.

II. From the language of Josephus^c, it might almost be

^y Ant. xvii. iv. 3. v. 1. Bell. i. xxxi. 2. ^z Page 474, 475. supra. ^a Ant. xvii. iii. 3. iv. 1. Bell. i. xxix. 4. xxx. 1. ^b Ant. xvii. iii. 2. iv. 3. Bell. i. xxix. 3. xxxi. 2. xxxii. 3. ^c Ant. xvii. iii. 3.

What then shall we say to the evidence of the coins in question? Perhaps it may not be impossible to ac-

gathered that Pheroras fell sick and died, even before his nephew was supposed to have arrived at Rome.

III. Before his departure Antipater had concerted with Pheroras the scheme of his father's death; and, ignorant as yet of his decease, he sent Bathyllus his own freedman from Rome with fresh poison; to be ready for use should the first have failed of its effect. The arrival of Bathyllus took place in the midst of the inquiries produced by the death of Pheroras^d; and completed the discovery of his master's treason.

IV. Only one letter, laying the foundation of future accusations against his brothers Archelaus and Philip, who were also at Rome; was written by his subornation from thence^e. This letter arrived at the same time with Bathyllus.

V. Soon after each of these things, he wrote to his father himself, to say he was about to return; still ignorant, as it is evident, of the death of Pheroras: for he wrote to his father from Rome, but he heard of that death at Tarentum^f.

VI. This letter was followed so speedily by his departure, that though Herod answered it without delay, he fell in with the answer a little before he arrived at Celenderis in Cilicia^g; where he was only within a week's journey of Judæa.

VII. The discovery of his

treason, even before the arrival of Bathyllus, had been followed by the divorce of his mother Doris: yet he heard of that divorce first in Cilicia. He heard, in like manner, of the death of Pheroras merely at Tarentum; when, it is evident, he was upon his return. All these circumstances concur to prove that he could not have been many months absent from home. If he set out at the beginning of March, U.C. 750, and was about six weeks in arriving at Rome, and about as many more in returning; and had been three or four months employed in the transaction of his business there; he would be about seven months absent in all. Nor are there any of the intermediate particulars which, on this principle, do not admit of being arranged accordingly. There is one thing only to be observed; viz. that all communication between Antipater and Judæa, upon the first excitement of suspicion against him, having been by the vigilance of Herod purposely cut off; the death of Pheroras, however early it might have happened, would be for some time kept from his knowledge. It would be very possible, then, that this death might have happened so early as March or April, and yet Antipater have known nothing of it before July or August, U.C. 750.

The exact period of his return may be left to conjecture. I have shewn, however, that it

^d Ant. xvii. iv. 3. Bell. i. xxxi. 1. xxxi. 2, 3.

^g Ant. xvii. v. 1. Bell. i. xxxi. 3.

^e Ibid.

^f Ant. xvii. v. 1. Bell. i.

count for it, without exposing ourselves to the difficulties above mentioned.

After the *Æra Seleucidarum*, which bore date from

must have been prior to the feast of Tabernacles, or at least to the day of Atonement^h; when Matthias, who had superseded Simon the son of Boëthus, about the time of the arrival of Bathyllus, was certainly still in office. That feast of Tabernacles began October 5: and the day of Atonement previously fell upon September 30: and this is the time about which, if Antipater returned at all, U. C. 750, we might expect his return. There is no reason to suppose that, under ordinary circumstances, he would delay his arrival in Judæa beyond the autumnal equinox, September 24; after which the sea was considered to be shut. If we assume, then, that he did not return later than the second or third week in September, we may not be far from the truth. At the time of the return, Varus was certainly in office: and though he had superseded Saturninus in the course of that very summer only, yet by the month of September this would be the case.

I shall therefore conclude these details with one more observation. The account of the proceedings against Antipater, as thus given by Josephus, may appear to be inconsistent with St. Matthew's narrative of the visit of the Magi, and of its consequences: but it is critically in unison with it. For this visit, as I shall shew elsewhere, hap-

pened in the fourth or fifth month from the nativity; that is, in July or August, U. C. 750: which is just *after* the point of time when, the discovery of Antipater's guilt being fully developed, the course of the inquiry had necessarily been suspended in expectation of his return. It is a singular fact, however, that the well-known passage of Macrobiusⁱ, which so far accords both with the Gospel narrative and the history of Herod, as manifestly to have been founded in fact, makes Augustus hear of the death of the infants, and of the death of Herod's son, (who, on this principle, must have been Antipater,) at once: and if both the facts were really true, each happened within the last six or seven months of Herod's reign; and so near to one another, that the same report might carry to Rome the tidings of both. If however the birth of our Saviour is to be placed U. C. 749, and in the spring of the year, as before; then the visit of the Magi, four or five months afterwards, would probably have coincided with the very time of the council of Berytus; and that would involve us in no small perplexity: for at the time of this council, it would be certain that Herod never could have been found at Jerusalem. He would necessarily have been in Berytus, in Tyre, or in Cæsarea.

^h Supra, page 310 and 314. Dissertation vi.

ⁱ Saturnalia, ii. 4.

the middle of U. C. 442, B. C. 312, had been laid aside by the city of Antioch, the *Æra Cæsarea* was adopted in its stead. This era, as it is indisputably proved by a coin of Pomponius Flaccus, struck in the reign of Tiberius; and by two coins of Mucian, one belonging to the reign of Galba, and the other to the reign of Otho^k; bears date from the middle of U. C. 705. These two epochs appear to have been at different times the only true and proper eras of the coins of Antioch; but besides these, and during the reign of Augustus in particular, the *Æra Actiaca*, which bears date from the middle of U. C. 723, was unquestionably in use^l. Many of the coins of Antioch, belonging to the reign of Augustus, are characterised by the inscription *ἔτεα νίκης*, which must demonstrate of itself to what epoch they were supposed to be referred: and even those, which do not exhibit any such decisive criterion of their own reference, are yet, on the principle of analogy, and for other reasons, distinctly to be referred to the same point of time; and not to U. C. 724. There is no coin which proves this more satisfactorily than the coin which is characterised by the double, and consequently synchronous date, $\varsigma\Lambda$ and ΔN , 36 and 54: the larger number on which must be referred either to the *Æra Cæsarea*, U. C. 705, or to the date of the battle of Pharsalia, U. C. 706; and therefore the smaller either to the date of the battle of Actium, U. C. 723, or to the date of the reduction of Egypt, U. C. 724. The date of the battle of Pharsalia would be quite unexampled in any other instance; and consequently so would the date of the reduction of Egypt*.

* The mention of the battle of Pharsalia leads me to make the following observations on its date; the length of which, I

^k Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm. Vett.* iii. 279. 282. vi. 299. 307. ^l *Ib.* iii. 272—275.

But the Actian era began and expired with the reign of Augustus; it is not to be found, at least, on any of

trust, the reader will be disposed to excuse, both on other accounts, and for the sake of the subject itself. For there is not perhaps in all ancient history a point, upon which historical testimony is apparently more at variance. The difficulties connected with the question of this date, as well as what I consider the only practicable method of solving them, I shall take the liberty to specify in their order; but as concisely as possible.

I. Pompey was assassinated in Egypt, after the battle of Pharsalia, either on the day before, or on the day after, or upon his birthday. Velleius Pat. ii. 53. Dio, xlii. 5. Plutarch, Conviv. Quæst. viii. 1. Operum viii. 863. Pompeius, 79: Camillus 19. Appian, B. C. ii. 86.

II. The birthday of Pompey was pridie kalendas Octobris, (September 30 in the Julian year; September 29 in that of Numa:) U. C. 648. Pliny, H. N. xxxvii. 6. Cf. vii. 27. Velleius Pat. ii. 53.

III. Between the battle of Pharsalia and the death of Pompey, which took place on the day of his arrival at Pelusium in Egypt, only three days are actually specified, and not many more are left to implication. Cæsar, De Bell. Civ. iii. 96-104. Dio, xlii. 2, 3. Appian, B. C. ii. 83-86. 88, 89. Plutarch, Pompeius, 73-77. Velleius Pat. ii. 53.

IV. It follows then that Pompey arrived and perished, in Egypt, within about ten days of the battle of Pharsalia; that is, if he arrived and perished pridie

kal. Octobris, the battle had taken place about September 20 previously.

V. The same conclusion follows from the motions of Cæsar; who set out to the Hellespont on the third day after the battle, and arrived in Egypt on the third day after he set sail from the Hellespont, or on the third day after the death of Pompey. Appian, De Bello Civ. ii. 88, 89. Florus, Epitome, cxii. Dio, xlii. 6, 7. Lucan, Pharsalia, ix. 1004.

It agrees also with the testimony of the poet Lucan, who places the arrival of Pompey at the autumnal equinox: *Tempus erat, quo Libra pares examinat horas, | Non uno plus æqua die.* Pharsalia, viii. 467: that is, September 24. viii. kal. Oct. Pliny, H. N. xviii. 74. These testimonies, I think, are sufficient to establish the fact that the date of the battle of Pharsalia, at least *nominally*, was either September 20, U. C. 706, or not much before that day.

By two ancient Kalendaria, however, the Amiterninum, and the Antiatinum, the date of the battle of Pharsalia is placed v. idus Sextiles—that is, on the ninth of August in the same year. Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. iv. 400. Cf. Fasti Verrii Flacci.

What then shall we say to these different dates?—There is but one mode of reconciling them together, and even that is not without its objections: the ninth of August is the rectified, and consequently the true date; but the twentieth of September,

the coins of Antioch, later than the time of Silanus, the last of *his* presidents of Syria. The question then

or about that, is still the nominal.

The year, U. C. 708, when Cæsar rectified the Calendar, was an ordinary intercalary year; and therefore so was the year of the battle of Pharsalia, U. C. 706. Suet. Julius Cæsar, 40—The Calendar was rectified, according to Dio, by intercalating sixty-seven days in all, and not more: which must consequently include the ordinary intercalated month; xliii. 26—This ordinary intercalary month, called Mercedonius, was a month of twenty-two or twenty-three days, and usually inserted after the vii. kal. of March, February 23. In the year 706, before the month of August or September, this month had been already intercalated. Censorinus, De Die Natali, xx. Macrobius, Sat. i. 13.

Now the difference between sixty-seven and twenty-two is forty-five: whence, in the year U. C. 706, after an intercalation of twenty-two days already made, the difference between the nominal and the true date of the battle of Pharsalia, fought sometime in the summer, ought to be just forty-five days. Let us suppose that August the ninth was the true date. From that to the twentieth of September, there are forty-three days, and from that to the twenty-second, there are forty-five, inclusive of the two extremes. I have shewn that the battle of Pharsalia could scarcely have been fought nominally before the one, and might have been fought nominally on the other; and the co-

incidence thus established may lead to the inference that it was actually fought on the latter. If so, the true date of this celebrated battle may be August 9; but its nominal date must be September 22, U. C. 706.

Yet even this explanation is not without its difficulties: for Censorinus, *loco citato*, and Macrobius, i. 14, assert one of them that Cæsar intercalated sixty-seven days, between November and December, after having before intercalated twenty-three in the usual place in February; the other, that the year of confusion contained four hundred and forty-three days in all; which implies the same thing. On this principle, the difference between the true date and the nominal date of the battle of Pharsalia, even after the usual intercalation, would be sixty-seven days, and not forty-five; and the battle, instead of being fought on the ninth of August, must have been fought on the eighteenth of July. Nor does it appear to me that there are any means left of escaping this further difficulty, except by giving up the authority of one of the two, either Censorinus or the Fasti. I do not know that Censorinus is confirmed in his statement by any other authority as ancient as himself; and Dio, who in point of antiquity is as good an authority as Censorinus, whose age was the consulate of Ulpian and Pontianus, U. C. 991, (cap. xxi.) seems to have had some such statement as his expressly in view, when he tells

still remains, at what period in his reign was this era adopted? There is no proof that it was in being for

us that Cæsar intercalated *only sixty-seven* days; though some persons thought he intercalated more: for surely the intercalation of twenty-two or twenty-three days, distinct from these, which must do as much in proportion to the rectification of the year, as the intercalation of sixty-seven, could not be unknown to Dio; or, if he was aware of it, passed over by him without notice.

In the Polyhistor of Julius Solinus, there is a very singular assertion on this point. After stating that the Roman year, as settled by Numa, began to contain three hundred and fifty-five days; and then the confusion produced in the course of time by the irregularity of the intercalations; he adds, *Itaque Cæsar universam hanc inconstantiam, incisa temporum turbatione, composuit; et ut statum certum præteritus error acciperet, dies XXI. et quadrantem simul intercalavit: quo pacto regradati menses, de cetero statuta ordinis sui tempora detinerent. ille ergo annus solus trecentos XLIIII. dies habuit. Polyhistor, i. §. 45.* If there is any error here in the text, there is a double error: one at dies XXI. et quadrantem, instead of dies LXXXIX. et quadrantem; and the other at trecentos XLIIII. instead of quadringentos XLIIII: and this double error is so improbable, especially in the absence of authority from manuscripts for correcting these numbers; that we are justified in supposing rather that there is

no error, but that the text stands as the author revised it himself. In this case, he must have conceived that Cæsar reformed the year, by taking away days, not by adding to them.

But not to dwell upon the authority of the Polyhistor, or the correctness of its readings; let me observe that the number of days, which Cæsar intercalated in what is called the year of confusion, could not be greater than the existing difference at that time, between a given date in the civil year and the corresponding date in the solar or tropical year. Let us assume the date of the vernal equinox in each. This date, when fixed by Cæsar, in the rectified year, was a. d. VIII. kal. Aprilis, March 25. This date then must have been supposed the true date of the vernal equinox in the year of confusion. In the year U. C. 705, however, three years before that, (because when Marcellus and Lentulus were consuls, and Julius Cæsar was employed against Petreius and Afranius in Spain, Dio, xli. 1—39. Cæsar, *De Bello Civ. i. 5—41:*) we have the implicit testimony of Cicero ad Atticum, x. 17, 18, that the date of the same equinox was not earlier than prid. idus, scil. Maias, nor later than xvii. kal. Jun. Prid. idus Maias answers to May 14: and if Cicero means any particular day by the equinox as such, the context intimates that he means this.

It would seem, then, that U. C. 705, the date of the vernal equi-

the first *eleven* years after the battle of Actium. There is no coin of Antioch extant and bearing such a date

nox was May 14; and U. C. 709, in the first Julian year as such, it was March 25. Between March 25 *exclusive*, and May 14 *inclusive*, the difference amounts at the utmost to fifty days only; and consequently the difference between the solar and the civil year, if estimated by the dates of the same cardinal point in either, the vernal equinox, respectively, amounted to fifty days only. In this case, what more would be necessary, U. C. 705, in order to restore the balance between them, than an intercalation of fifty days, in its proper place? But even this difference is probably too great.

If the vernal equinox, at the time of the correction of the calendar, U. C. 708, was rightly fixed to March 25; then, on the principle of the anticipation of the equinoxes, though estimated only at eleven minutes, three seconds annually, the date of the vernal equinox, U. C. 39, in the first year of Numa Pompilius, six hundred and sixty-nine years before U. C. 708, must have fallen five days, four hours, and twelve minutes, earlier than the corresponding time U. C. 708. If this time then, U. C. 708, was rightly fixed to March 25, the same time, U. C. 39, must have been March 30.

Now the true measure of the difference between the solar and the civil year, at the time of the reformation of the calendar, is the amount of the difference between any given date in that year in the time of Numa Pompilius, before the year had yet

become disordered, and the corresponding date in the same year, immediately before its rectification. There cannot be a better date for estimating this amount, than the date of the vernal equinox; for the precession of the equinoxes being a fact altogether unknown to the ancients, the date of this equinox at one time would necessarily be supposed the same as its date at another; nor could this date in the first year of Numa Pompilius have been March 30, and three years before the correction of the Calendar by Cæsar, have been May 14, unless, in consequence of the disorder which had gradually crept into the year of Numa, March 30, as it was once, had been advanced into the place of May 14, as it had become before the correction.

Now between March 30 *exclusive*, and May 14 *inclusive*, the difference is precisely forty-five days. I should infer, then, that the exact amount, by which the length of the civil at this time exceeded that of the solar year, was forty-five days; and consequently that an intercalation of forty-five only would be wanted to restore them to a level. If Cæsar actually intercalated no more than sixty-seven days in all; this conclusion would be wonderfully in accordance with the matter of fact: for the twenty-two days, over and above the forty-five, made up the ordinary intercalation—which belonged, *ex consuetudine*, to the same year—and would be want-

as, referred to the year of that battle, would fall at any point of time between U. C. 723 and U. C. 735: the earliest of them bears date anno EK. or 5K. 25 or 26 only: and this is not an unimportant distinction.

For it is a well authenticated fact, that U. C. 724, after the reduction of Egypt, Augustus spent the winter in person at Antioch; and also that, U. C. 734, exactly ten years after, he did the same again. It is well known also that the decennials of the emperors, and especially the decennials of the first of the emperors, Augustus^m, were wont to be distinguished by peculiar honours, above any other periods in their reigns. The year U. C. 734 was the close of the first, and the beginning of the second of the decennials of Augustus, dated from the battle of Actium: and from the time of the visit to Syria, and to other parts of the East, which took place in this year, it is capable of proof that many cities of the East either instituted a fresh date on their coins, or incorporated a new one with the oldⁿ. It is nothing incredible that Antioch might do the same; and, consequently, that the Actian era was not adopted by it before U. C. 734 or 735. Any coins of Augustus, then, or of his presidents, struck before this year, would still be referred to the *Æra Cæsarea*, U. C. 705.

Let the coins in question, without taking into consideration the name which appears upon them, but simply the dates which they exhibit, be so referred. The earliest of them must have been struck between the autumn of U. C. 729, and the autumn of U. C. 730; the next between the autumn of U. C. 730, and the

ed in that year, for its proper purpose, (the restoration of a *lunar* to an equality with a *solar* year,) at the end of two years'

time, though each had begun, two years before, from the same point of time.

^m Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm. Vett.* viii. 475. ⁿ *Ibid.* iii. 46. 47. and elsewhere.

autumn of U. C. 731 ; the last between the autumn of U. C. 731, and the autumn of U. C. 732. Nor is it necessary to suppose that this last coin was struck in the latter half of the year in question. If it was struck in the first, and directly after U. C. 731, *ab auctumno*, it would still exhibit the date 27. Hence, though these three coins all belonged to the same president, they would not necessarily prove that he was three years in office : they would prove simply that he was in office at the earliest, U. C. 729, *ab auctumno* ; and at the latest, U. C. 731, *ab auctumno* ; that is, for only two years in all.

Now the year U. C. 729 was a year posterior to the first Actian solemnity : for though the Actian festival was instituted and the city Nicopolis was founded in the year U. C. 724, and both by Augustus, to commemorate the battle of Actium—and though the Actian games, like the Olympic, were quinquennial, or celebrated after every fourth year complete* ; yet the first Actiad, properly so called, took place U. C. 726, when Augustus celebrated it in his sixth consulate, along with Agrippa ; and it was just over, U. C. 727 or 728°. Some year *after* the first Actiad, and *before* the second, is specified by Josephus as the time when Herod received from Augustus an accession of territory, in the tetrarchy of Lysanias, whom Antony had put to death, U. C. 718, to gratify Cleopatra^p ; and which after his death, and until it was assigned to Herod, had been farmed by one Zenodorus^q. Concerning the exact time of this grant there cannot be much question. It was prior to the arrival of Augustus in the

* Strabo, vii. 7. §. 6. 461. calls the Actia an olympic or quinquennial ἀγών.

° Dio, li. i. liii. 1. Cassiodori Fasti, p. 6. Suet. Augustus, 18. Tiberius, 6.
^p Dio, xlix. 32. Jos. Ant. Jud. xv. iv. 1. ^q Ant. xv. x. 1—3. Bell. i. xx. iv.

East, U. C. 734^r: it was prior to the first mission of Agrippa, U. C. 731^s: it was soon after the first Actian celebrity ^t; that is, either U. C. 727, U. C. 728, or U. C. 729. It is consequently not the original grant to that effect, but the final ratification of it, accompanied by the rest of the territory of Zenodorus, (whose death had just happened very opportunely,) and as proceeding from Augustus in person, U. C. 734, when he was present on the spot, to which Dio alludes^v.

Now before the gift was made, and, consequently, so early as U. C. 728; and after it had been made too, consequently as late as U. C. 729 or U. C. 730; there was a president in office whom Josephus denominates Varro. It may be proved that this president could not have come into office before U. C. 728; nor very probably have gone out of it before U. C. 731, or U. C. 732: and on this proof, out of deference to the importance of the point itself, I shall enter with some degree of minuteness.

The course and particulars of the whole of these proceedings were as follows. The people of Damascus, being molested by the freebooters who lodged in this portion of the dominions of Zenodorus, laid a complaint against them before Varro*: Varro communicated this complaint to Rome: Augustus wrote back word that he should exterminate the freebooters by force of arms: Varro executed these commands, and thereby dispossessed Zenodorus of so much of his territory: which territory so dispossessed Augustus finally commanded to be bestowed on Herod. It is manifest, therefore, that the

* Zenodorus is mentioned by Strabo, Lib. xvi. cap. 2. §. 20. 333. as well as this molestation of the Damascenes by the Ἀγροται

belonging to his regency; and their expulsion by the Roman government.

^r Ant. xv. x. 3.

^s Ib. x. 2.

^t Bell. i. xx. 4.

^v liv. 9.

complaints of the Damascenes to Varro must have been made in *one* year, but the military operations against the freebooters, in consequence of the orders of Augustus, must have been undertaken in the *next*. It does not indeed clearly appear, whether the emperor instructed Varro how to dispose of the territory dispossessed, at the same time when he sent orders that it should be dispossessed ; or afterwards. The Antiquities assert the former, and the War asserts the latter. I will suppose however the former ; which appears to me the most probable of the two.

Now to oppose the diminution of his territory, whensoever it was projected, and before it had yet taken place, Zenodorus went himself to Rome ; but not succeeding in his suit, he returned in time to dispose of a part of Auranitis, (one of the districts included in the intended grant to Herod,) for the sum of fifty talents, to the neighbouring Arabians ; before the transfer had yet taken place. To the part so alienated Herod and the Arabians, who had bought it, both laid claim ; and on this question they were at issue with each other, when Agrippa arrived in the East.

The mission of Agrippa was subsequent to the return of Zenodorus home ; and the decision of the dispute in question was subsequent to his arrival, when he was wintering at Lesbus ; and that was in the winter of U.C. 732. I think, then, it is evident that the journey of Zenodorus to and from Rome, cannot be placed earlier than U. C. 729 ; nor consequently Herod's first accession of territory, in this part of his dominions, before the same year at least. The military operations of Varro therefore must have been executed in U. C. 729 ; and, consequently, the complaint of the Damascenes, in the first instance, must have been laid before him in U. C.

728. If so, he was president of Syria and in office, both U. C. 728 and U. C. 729*.

If however Varro was actually president U. C. 728 or U. C. 729, and continued to be so until U. C. 730 or U. C. 731; the term of his office was exactly coincident with the period embraced by the coins, as referred to U. C. 705. Hence, if the name of Varro might only be expressed in Greek by that of Varus, or the name ΟΥΑΡΡΩΝ be confounded by any means with the name ΟΥΑΡΟΣ; we should account for the origin of these three coins in a way which, instead of committing their dates irreconcilably with contemporary history, would render them entirely at unison with it. Now both these

* It makes in favour of the same inference, that the Antiquities place the bestowal of this accession of territory upon Herod, *after* the building of Sebaste; that is, *after* U. C. 729, which was the year of the foundation of Sebaste^u; and yet *before* the first mission of Agrippa, which was certainly U. C. 731. If so, the accession must have been made either U. C. 729, or U. C. 730, or early in U. C. 731: and it is clear from the context that, whensoever it was made, it was made while Varro was still in office.

It is not certain whether Josephus dates the first Actiad as here mentioned, from the time when it *ought* to have been first celebrated, viz. U. C. 728, or from the year when it was *actually* first celebrated, viz. U. C. 726. He makes no use of the Actiads, as notes or divisions of time, in any other part of his

works, except in this single instance. But, from whatever point of time he may deduce it; U. C. 729, or even U. C. 730 in particular, would still be some year posterior to the first Actiad as such; the former the first year after it, if dated from U. C. 728, and the latter the fourth year after it, if dated from U. C. 726. I am inclined to think that he follows the former computation; because Herod himself is said to have instituted quinquennial games in honour of Augustus, which were manifestly in imitation of the Actian. The time of these games comes between the discovery of the children of Babas, in the eleventh or twelfth year of Herod, on the one hand^v, and the foundation of Sebaste in his thirteenth, on the other^w; that is, they were instituted between U. C. 727 and U. C. 729^x; and most probably in U. C. 728.

^u xv. viii. 5. ix. 1.

^v Ant. xv. vii. 10. viii. 1.

^w Ib. viii. 5. ix. 1.

^x See Eckhel, Doctrina Numm. Vett. iii. 440.

cases are possible. The name of Varro is found expressed, even in Latin inscriptions and in Latin writers, by Varo or Baro^x; as the name of Varus is found expressed in like manner by Varrus; which brings it still nearer the resemblance to Varro. Even in the Greek text of Josephus, where the name occurs, it has been confounded with Varus. There can be little question that in point of etymon and in meaning originally the two names were almost the same*. The one would be much more readily inscribed on a coin of small dimensions (like these) than the other. The masters of the mint at Antioch, who were most probably Greeks, and among whom as yet there had been neither a Varro nor a Varus, without any impeachment of their accuracy, might either think the names absolutely the same, or believe themselves justified in giving to the name of Varro or Varo a form the most convenient, or most agreeable to the genius of their own language: which would be ΟΥΑΡΡΟΣ or ΟΥΑΡΟΣ, not ΟΥΑΡΡΩΝ or ΟΥΑΡΩΝ. It is at least a remarkable coincidence, beyond the power of mere chance to have produced, that coins, struck in the consecutive years 25, 26, 27, and referred to the proper era of Antioch, U.C. 705, may all have belonged to Varro; but referred to the era of the battle of Actium, can none of them except the last with any probability be attributed to Varus. I think this consideration alone should decide the question, whether the name of Varus, which appears on these coins, is not really the name of Varro†.

* Upon the origin of the name of Varro, Servius ad Æneid. xi. 743, observes; Varro enim, cum de suo cognomine disputaret, ait: Eum, qui primus Varro sit appel-

latus, in Illyrico hostem, Varro-nem nomine, quod rapuerat, et ad suos portaverat, ex insigni facto meruisse nomen.

† Besides the Gens Terentia,

^x Rasche, *Lexicon Universæ Rei Nummarie*. Forcellini *Lexicon totius Latinitatis*. Cf. Suidas, in *Οὐδάρως*.

The account which Josephus has given us of the reign of Herod was taken from the history of a con-

there was another Roman family which bore the cognomen of Varro, the Gens Visellia; one of whom is mentioned as legate of Lower Germany, U.C. 774, and another, or the same, as consul, U.C. 777^x. We read also in contemporary history of a Vibidius Varro, a Cingonius Varroy, and a Varro Muræna^z. It is no objection, therefore, that Terentius Varro, whom Dio alludes to as employed against the Salassi, U. C. 729^a, is known from the consular Fasti to have died U.C. 731, so immediately after entering on the consulate, that the name of Calpurnius Piso alone commonly appears for that year in his stead. The president of Syria could not be this Terentius Varro; but he might still be some Varro, either of the Terentian or of the Visellian family.

The year U. C. 727, was the year of the partition of the provinces^b; whence, if Varro was in office U. C. 728, or U. C. 729, it becomes probable that he was the first governor of Syria appointed after that partition; especially as a different person may be proved to have been in office there as late as U. C. 727.

The president of Syria at the time of the battle of Actium, U. C. 723, and also at the time of the reduction of Egypt, U. C. 724, was Quintus Didius^{bb}. He

had consequently succeeded to L. Calpurnius Bibulus; whom Appian proves to have died in the government of Syria^c; and whom one of his coins, described by Eckhel^d, and struck while he was Præfectus Classi of Antony's, demonstrates to have been still alive U. C. 722.

The president next to Didius, as it may be justly presumed, was Valerius Messala Corvinus, the celebrated orator, who was consul along with Augustus U. C. 723^e: for the measures projected and begun by Didius against the gladiators of Antony, who had been settled at Daphne, near Antioch, U. C. 724, are said to have been executed by him^f.

Messala commanded along with Augustus at the battle of Actium, September 2, U.C. 723; and immediately after it, according to Appian^g, he was dispatched by him against the Gauls, who were beginning to revolt. The poems of Tibullus, whose patron Messala was, shew us in more than one passage that for the successes which he obtained in Gaul, he was sometime allowed the honours of a triumph. Hunc cecinere diem Parcæ fatalia nentes | Stamina, non ulli dissoluenda deo: | Hunc fore, Aquitanas posset qui fundere gentes, | Quem tremeret forti milite victus Atax. | Evenere;

^x Tacitus, Ann. iii. 41. iv. 17.

^z The brother of Proculeius, and of Terentia, the wife of Mæcenas: Dio, liv. 3. ^a liii. 25. ^b liii. 2—12—15. ^{bb} Dio, li. 7. Jos. Ant. Jud. xv. vi. 7. Bell. i. xx. 2. ^c Dio, l. 10.

^y Ibid. ii. 48. xiv. 45. Suet. Augustus,

^e B. C. iv. 38. ^d vi. 57. Vide ^f li. 7. ^g B. C. iv. 38.

temporary and eyewitness, whom he has frequently occasion to mention, Nicolaus of Damascus; and this

novos pubes Romana triumphos
| Vidit, et evinctos brachia capta duces. | At te victrices lauros, Messala, gerentem, | Portabat niveis currus eburnus equis. Liber i. vii. 1—8. And again—Gentis Aquitanæ celeber Messala triumphis, | Et magna intonsis gloria victor avis. Liber ii. i. 33. 34.

The triumph in question is alluded to in the following fragment; among the Catalecta ascribed to Virgil. Pauca mihi, niveo sed non incognita Phœbo,
| Pauca mihi doctæ dicite Pegasides. | Victor adest, magni magnum decus ecce triumphi, | Victor, qua terræ, quaque patent maria: | Horrida barbaricæ portans insignia pugnæ, | Magnus ut Cœnides, utque superbus Eryx.

Appian, *loco cit.*, attests the fact of this triumph; and the Fasti Triumphales exhibit a triumph of Messala Corvinus, *proconsole*, over the Aquitani, ex a. d. vii. kal. Oct. U.C. 727.

That these successes were earned between the time of the battle of Actium, U.C. 723, and the time when Augustus finally set out to Asia in the next year; which was within thirty days after midwinter, U.C. 724^h; is proved by the following lines of Tibullus. An te, Cydne, canam, tacitis qui leniter undis | Cæruleus placidis per vada serpis aquis; | Quantus et, ætherio contingens vertice nubes, | Frigidus intonsos Taurus alat Cilicas? | Quid referam, ut volitet crebras

intacta per urbes | Alba Palæstino sancta columba Syro; | Utque maris vastum prospectet turribus æquor, | Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros; | Qualis et, arentes cum findit Sirius agros, | Fertilis æstiva Nilus abundet aqua? Liber i. vii. 13—22.

It is manifest from the order of this description, which beginning with the river of Cydnus in Cilicia terminates in Egypt; that Messala had journeyed from the former extremity, through Cilicia, Phœnicia, Palestine, in their order, as far as the latter; where he must have arrived either before or during the annual rising of the Nile; that is, the middle of the summer. Augustus took the same course in his invasion of Asia, U.C. 724, to the time of the capture of Alexandria, on the first of August, or soon after it, in the same yearⁱ; whence it is manifest that Messala accompanied him throughout it. It follows also that Messala was just setting out for Asia, when Tibullus was left in Corecyra; and wrote the third elegy of the first book^k. Ibitis Ægæas sine me, Messala, per undas; | O utinam memores, ipse cohorsque, mei! for he expected then (had he not been prevented by this illness) to have accompanied him to Egypt. Nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi—nam posse maderi | Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis— | Ut mea votivas persolvens Delia voces | Ante

^h Dio, li. 4. 5. Suet. Augustus, 17.

Suet. Augustus, 17. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 12.

and iii. ix. 53—56.

ⁱ Dio, li. 5. 9. Jos. Ant. Jud. xv. vi. 7.

^k Cf. Propertius, Liber i. vi.

is an additional reason why in those particulars, which he relates of the last years of Herod's reign, he should

sacras lino tecta fores sedeat ; | Bisque die, resoluta comas, tibi dicere laudes | Insignis turba debeat in Pharia. 27—32. The goddess, whom he is apostrophizing, is the goddess Isis, the tutelary genius of Egypt. Vide lines 23, 24¹.

Messala then was still with Augustus in Egypt U. C. 724. It is probable that he accompanied him to Syria the same year ; and when Augustus finally left the East to return to Rome, U. C. 725, that he remained behind invested, for the present, with proconsular authority over both Syria and the rest of the newly conquered provinces. In this capacity he must have remained until the time of his triumph, U. C. 727. And as the tables shew that he was in that year at Rome, in order to celebrate the triumph ; so does Eusebius, in *Chronico*, prove that he must have been there U. C. 728, which is but a little later ; for he makes him the first *urbis præfectus*, and appointed in the eighteenth year of Augustus ; though he supposes him to abdicate the office in six days afterwards^m. The same thing is implied by Tibullus also in another passage of *Liber i. vii.* 57—62, where the allusion to the roads is a proof that Messala was one of those *triumphales vi-*

*ri*ⁿ, who had assisted Augustus in the reparation or construction of the roads, begun, according to Dio, U. C. 727^o, though perhaps not finished until some years after^p, U. C. 735 or U. C. 738^q.

It seems, then, to be presumptively certain that no governor of Syria, after Messala, could come into office before the autumn of U. C. 727, at the earliest ; nor very probably until the middle of U. C. 728. At this time, as we had reason to conclude, Varro was in office ; which being the case, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that he had been appointed to succeed Messala. Now a four years' presidency in his instance, as well as in so many others, would make his government continue to the autumn of U. C. 732 ; and a three years' presidency, to the autumn of U. C. 731 : so that, even in this last case, a coin might be struck bearing the date 27, which yet, if referred to the era of U. C. 705, would come within the term of his government. Hence, though Marcus Agrippa, as often as he was sent into Asia, should be reckoned among the ordinary governors of Syria ; yet as his first mission did not take place until U. C. 731 ; nor until after Augustus' recovery from his sickness in that

¹ The passage, however, does not necessarily imply that Delia herself would be in Egypt ; as Isis, at this time, had abundance of worshippers at Rome. ^m Apud Hieronymum. Vide also Dio, lii. 21. Tacitus, Ann. vi. 11. ⁿ Suet. Augustus, 30. ^o liii. 22. ^p Eckhel, *Doctrina Numm. Vett.* vi. 105. Dio, liv. 8. ^q Cf. Tibullus, iv. i. 137—142 : which, beginning with Gaul, and ending with Syria or Upper Asia, seems to be a sketch of Messala's military career between U. C. 723 and U. C. 727.

be implicitly trusted. To return then from this digression—the length of which must be excused by its

year; nor even until a little before he abdicated his eleventh consulate^r, (which Suetonius will prove^s was either six or nine months from the beginning of the year^t;) it is manifest that he could not have arrived before the middle of U.C. 731. Nor did he proceed, even then, to Syria; but continued all the while at Lesbos.

It is very doubtful however whether Agrippa upon either of his visits, is to be reckoned among the ordinary governors of the East. Dio indeed may appear to imply thus much; but Velleius Paterculus and Josephus speak a different language^u; and represent his mission as one which extended, with an authority equal to that of Augustus himself, over all Asia. His mission, then, was like that

of Caius Cassius, U. C. 711^x; of Caius Cæsar, U. C. 753; of Germanicus, U. C. 770; and of Corbulo, in the time of Nero^y; not one of which can be proved to have interfered with the regular administration of the provinces, or the ordinary succession of governors in particular instances; though the parties so deputed possessed an extraordinary authority over all. Pætus was still governor of Armenia, when Corbulo was endued with proconsular power over all Asia; and Piso in particular was appointed to the presidency of Syria, at the very time when Tiberius determined to send Germanicus into the East. The conduct of Agrippa in his office proves, in short, that he is no more to be numbered among the governors of Syria, than of any

^r Dio, liii. 32. ^s Vita, 26. ^t *Quinque medios consulatus, a sexto ad undecimum, annuos gessit.* This implies either that the *sixth* consulate or the *eleventh* was held for a year; and the latter is the more natural sense, were it not that Dio (*loco cit.*) is at variance with it. According to his account, the consulship in question was abdicated just before the tribunician authority was decreed to Augustus for life, that is, before June 27, U. C. 731. The *Fasti Consulares* seem to confirm Dio; for they exhibit one consul *suffect* in place of Augustus, at the time when they mention also the reception of the tribunician authority. But they do not specify the date of the appointment: which, however, I should conjecture was not earlier than the kalends of July. It is to be observed, indeed, that Dio places the abdication of Augustus, at the time of the *Feriæ Latinæ*; liii. 32, 33. But these *Feriæ* might be held late in a given year, as well as early.

Agrippa was sent into the East, while Marcellus was still alive. Dio, liii. 30, 33, places his death this year, U. C. 731. Pliny, H. N. xix. 6, shews that he was alive on the first of August, at least, in Augustus' xi consulate, U. C. 731, when the ceremony to which he there alludes took place. Still that he died soon after this ceremony, and, consequently, as we may presume, in the same half year, is proved by Propertius, iii. xviii. 11. *Quid genus, aut virtus, aut optima profuit illi | Mater, et amplexo Cæsaris esse focus? | Aut modo tam pleno fluitantia vela theatro, | Et per maternas omnia gesta manus? | Occidit, et misero steterat vigesimus annus. | Tot bona tam parvo clausit in orbe dies. | I nunc, tolle animos, et tecum finge triumphos, | Stantiaque in plausum tota theatra juvent. | Attalicas supera vestes, atque omnia magnis | Gemmea sint ludis: ignibus usta dabis.* Marcellus, it is thus said, died in his *twentieth* year; and was born, consequently, U. C. 712.

^u Velleius Pat. ii. 93. Jos. Bell. i. xx. 4. Ant. xv. x. 2. 3. xvi. ii. 1. iii. 3. xii. iii. 2. ^x Cicero, Philippica, xi. 12. ^y Tacitus, Ann. xv. 25.

importance—to our original subject; the consideration of the census at the Nativity*.

To this census the reference in the early Christian writers is as regular, as that to the Acts of Pilate^s. To decide upon its nature or its object, regarded as a state measure of the reigning emperor's, may be extremely difficult; but its use in a providential point of view is too obvious to be mistaken. Coinciding with the time of the birth of Christ, it fulfilled a most essential purpose; by bringing that event to pass in Bethlehem, where it was necessary to the accomplishment of prophecy that it should come to pass. Yet without the interposition of such an event as this census, there is no reason to suppose that our Saviour would not have been born where his reputed parents had probably been born, and where they were certainly living both before and after his birth; viz. at Nazareth.

The censorian power was decreed to Augustus first, U. C. 725^t. From that time forward, he held repeated censuses: *Censum tamen populi ter egit: primum ac tertium cum collega, medium solus*^u; his colleague in the first instance being Marcus Agrippa, and in the second,

other of the contiguous regions; whence it is by no means a matter of course that even his arrival, however early in U. C. 731, would supersede Varro, before the term of his office had expired. He exercised his great powers with equal moderation: and therefore would supersede no one (who did not otherwise deserve it) prematurely.

* We may take leave of the a-

bove subject with the following quotation from Eckhel, respecting the difficulties sometimes exhibited by coins. *Non raro ars nostra objicit numos, nequaquam subæratos et maligni commatis, sed probos, eosque obvios, quos domare nullo ingenio possis, et quorum indiciis chronologicis fidem habere nequeas, nisi totum et ab reliquo agmine tuto stabilitum ordinem invertas.*

^s Justin Mart. *Apologia*, i^a. 55. l. 12: 69. l. 17. *Dialogus*, Pars ii^{da}. 306. l. 3. Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* iv. 7. *Operum* i. 200: 19. *Ibid.* 261: 36. *Ibid.* 340: *Adversus Jud.* 9. *Operum* ii. 311: *De Carne Christi*, 2. *Operum* iii. 343. Chrysostom, *Operum* ii. 356. C. In Diem Natalem D. N. J. Christi, cap. 2. ^t Dio, lii. 42. ^u Suet. Augustus, 27.

as we have seen elsewhere^v, being Tiberius. The Ancyran monument confirms Suetonius^w, and shews that the censuses in question were held in U. C. 726, U. C. 746, and U. C. 767, respectively. The end of the first census, U. C. 726, is implicitly alluded to by Dio^x; and the middle one proleptically in U. C. 743, where he says, that Augustus, ἀπογραφάς τε ἐποίησατο, πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά οἱ καθάπερ τις ιδιώτης ἀπογραφάμενος; and also a Senatus lectio^y. This was after the censorian power had been again renewed in his person; once in U. C. 735; and again in U. C. 742^z—before either of which times though not censor he was exercising the censorian power, U. C. 732^a, at a time between the first renewal and the original grant*.

We have no mention of any renewal after the second instance of it: which is probably owing to a chasm in the History of Dio, subsequent to U. C. 747 or U. C. 748. But there is mention of Augustus' holding a census in U. C. 757^b, by virtue of his proconsular authority—ἀνθύπατον ἐξουσίαν—affecting persons of a certain property in Italy; but none out of it, nor any under that rate of property within it. The reason, assigned by Dio for this distinction in the former case, is a proof that censuses, out of Italy, were not uncommon things, any more than within it: and what he says of the mo-

* Ovid, Tristium ii. i. 541: Carminaque edideram, cum te delicta notantem | Præterii toties jure quietus eques. Also, Fasti, vi. 647: Sic agitur censura, et sic exempla parantur, | Cum vindex, alios quod monet, ipse facit. The time of each of these allusions to Augustus' exercise of the censorian power

probably comes between the years U. C. 735 and 742. The latter certainly does so: for it refers to his having pulled down the magnificent house of Vedius Pollio, when it was left to him by will, U. C. 739, and erected the Porticus Liviae upon the site of it. Dio, liv. 23.

^v Supra, 340. Dissertation viii.
^z Ibid. 10. 28. 30.

^a Ibid. 2.

^w Tacitus, iv. 839.

^x liii. 1.

^y liv. 35.

^b lv. 13.

tive which induced Augustus to lay aside the character of censor, and to assume that of proconsul, alludes to something which he had said on a similar occasion before. No trace of this statement appears at present*; whence we may collect that it must have been contained in the part which has perished; and therefore would probably have come in after U.C. 748.

In this case, some general census might be going on about U. C. 749,—which is the period of this in St. Luke; and such a census as Augustus had instituted by virtue not of his censorian but of his proconsular authority as such; the former of which might possibly be restricted to Rome or Italy, the latter would extend over the provinces. The three censuses, above referred to, were certainly all of the former kind: but there are clear proofs, in contemporary history, of particular censuses at least which affected the provinces. Thus there was one census going on in Gaul so early as U. C. 727; another in U. C. 741 or 742; and a third at the time of the death of Augustus, U. C. 767†^c; and Strabo, who wrote his *Geographica* between the accession of Tiberius and the death of Germanicus^d, alludes to them as common things: *ἤκουσα γοῦν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τιμήσεων, πεντακοσίους ἄνδρας τιμηθέντας ἱππικοὺς Γαδειτανούς^e*. This was in reference to Spain; and he mentions a similar fact with respect to Patavium in Italy^f, at a recent census, most probably U. C. 767.

I think it therefore exceedingly probable that, if we possessed in Dio the particulars of U. C. 749, and of

* Unless it be understood to refer to what precedes in the sentence just before.

† Suet. Caius, 8: Germanicus

was sent into Gaul after his consulship; that is, U. C. 766 *ineunte*; most probably on account of this census.

^c Dio, liii. 22. Ann. i. 31. 33.

Flori Epitome, 134. 136. 137. Gruter, p. DII. Tacitus, d Lib. vi. cap. 4. §. 2. 315.

^e iii. 5. 451. ^f v. 1. §. 7. 106.

the succeeding years, to the time of the death of Caius Cæsar; something would be found on record, calculated to illustrate the census of St. Luke. How far the assertion of Suidas ε—'Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ Αὔγουστος, ὁ μοναρχήσας, εἴκοσιν ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀρίστους τὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιλεξάμενος, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τῶν ὑπηκόων ἐξέπεμψε· δι' ὧν ἀπογραφὰς ἐποιήσατο τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ οὐσιῶν—is entitled to credit, I do not undertake to decide. It may allude to what is recorded by Dio of the last year but one of the reign of Augustus; when he is said to have dispatched a number of commissioners—ἄλλους ἄλλη—to take down an account of the property of both cities and individuals^b: or what is more probable, it refers to some earlier event. The number of the commissioners supposed by Suidas, agrees with the number of the provinces, both popular and imperial, into which they must have been sentⁱ: and in other respects the assertion contains nothing incredible*.

* If there is any weight in the objection to the fact of a census orbis at the nativity, from the silence of contemporary history about it; the same objection applies with equal force to the fact of a geometrical survey of the empire, under the reign of Augustus; about which contemporary history is not less silent, and yet which, as it may be proved from competent testimony, did actually take place some time in the reign of Augustus.

For example, an author is occasionally quoted in the Geographica of Strabo, under the general name of ὁ χωρογράφος, as one by whom a geometrical

survey of the empire had been made and committed to writing, before his own time at least; that is, before U. C. 771 or 772. And that this was executed under the directions of the Roman government, and by surveyors who were most probably Romans themselves, may be collected from the fact that the measurements of the chorographus in question were expressed in Roman miles, not in Grecian stades, or any other kind of measure.

But the most abundant testimony to the fact in question is contained in the Rei Agrariæ Auctores.

As

ε Ἀπογραφή. b lvi. 28. i Dio, liii. 2—12. Strabo, xvii. 3. §. 25. 705—709.

There is one circumstance, connected with the census at the nativity, which appears to me indisputably

As first, p. 109, apud Julium Frontinum de Coloniis.

Huic addendæ sunt mensuræ Limitum et Terminorum ex libris Augusti et Neronis Cæsarium: sed et Balbi mensoris, qui temporibus Augusti omnium provinciarum et civitatum formas et mensuras compertas in commentarios contulit, et legem Agrariam per universitatem provinciarum distinxit ac declaravit.

The same statements occur again, Ibid. p. 141, 142. Cf. likewise p. 118 and 142.

Again, p. 50, apud Aggenum Urbicum; in Julium Frontinum Commentarium.

Hunc agrum Frontinus ita remansisse testatus est, sed videamus ne forte postea jussu principis alicui datus sit, qui terram metiri denuo præceperit; sicut Cæsaris Augusti temporibus factum est.

Again, p. 148, Fragmenta Terminalia, sive de Terminis.

Jubente Augusto Cæsare, Balbo mensore, qui omnium provinciarum mensuras distinxit ac declaravit per testimonia quæ suprascripta, et fines locorum terminantur (leg. terminant.) Cf. p. 254. Nicolai Rigaltii notas.

Again, p. 255, Latinus et Mysrontius.

Nam in locis montanis terminos posuimus rotundos, quos Augusteos vocamus, pro hac ratione, quod Augustus eos recensuit, et ubi defuerunt, lapides alios constituit, et omnem terram suis temporibus fecit remensurari, ac veteranis assignari.

For the probable age of the

writers here quoted, I refer to the testimonies premised to the collection of their writings. If the first mentioned of them, Julius Frontinus, was the same Julius Frontinus who flourished in the reign of Nero, and was an old man in the reign of Trajan, a friend of Pliny the younger, and his predecessor in the auguratus, if not also the septemviratus; his testimony would be very valuable. But he quotes in the same work de Coloniis, laws or acts of Hadrian, Severus Antoninus, and Commodus: so that he was probably a later writer.

Again, in the 52d Epistle, lib. iii. p. 57. *ad sinistram* of the *Variæ* of Cassiodorus, after some general remarks on the subject of geometry, *agrorum mensura*, he proceeds,

Augusti siquidem temporibus orbis Romanus agris divisus, censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvenda. hoc auctor Hyrummetricus redegit ad dogma conscriptum: quatenus studiosus legendo possit agnoscere, quod deberet oculis absolute monstrare (forsan, monstrari.)

All these authorities, we perceive, concur in attributing the act of this survey of the empire to Augustus; and Julius Frontinus, in particular, calls the surveyor by whom it was executed Balbus; quoting the very book which he had compiled in the execution of the undertaking. Cassiodorus refers to this book also, but calls its author,

certain: and this is, that it did not concern Judæa any more than the rest of the Roman empire. Ἐξήλαθε

Hyrummetricus; which is probably a corruption for agrometricus, or chorometricus: and is in any case not a proper name, but a term of appellation.

In the Preface to the Cosmographia of Æthicus, the fact of a survey and measurement of the empire is also asserted; but it is ascribed to the Roman senate, and made to bear date from the consulship of Julius Cæsar and Antony, U. C. 707, B. C. 47, and to take up thirty-two years in completing. But, in ascribing it either to Julius Cæsar or to the Roman senate, it is contradictory to the other authorities, all of whom attribute it solely to Augustus. The names of the geometers by whom the different parts of the empire were measured, are also mentioned by Æthicus; viz. Zenodorus, Theodotus, and Polyclitus; but the name of Balbus does not appear among them, who yet was either the sole, or the principal person, in the conducting of the survey under Augustus.

It is well known that Augustus left behind him a *breviarium imperii*, written out with his own hand: Tacitus, Ann. i. 11: Suet. Augustus, 102, 7: Dio, lvi. 33: to the compilation of which, as described by Tacitus, some such work as that of Balbus, was evidently necessary. How long before his death it was composed, does not appear. Suetonius indeed, Augustus, 28, 1, speaks of a *rationarium imperii* as in existence at a time which from Dio, liii. 30, is seen to have

been U. C. 731: but that document, it also appears from Dio, contained an account only of the military strength and the revenues of the empire; what might very properly be called a *rationarium*, but not so properly a *breviarium imperii*, as that is called which Augustus left behind him at his death, because it was, *in brevi*, a description of the whole empire.

If the fact of a grand geometrical survey of the empire, undertaken by the government and executed with due care and attention, was as likely as any thing to have been noticed by the general historian of the times—then as there is no mention of such an event in Dio, before U. C. 748, up to which his account of every year of the reign of Augustus is regular and connected; nor after U. C. 757, from which to the end of his reign it continues to be so still—we may presume that the fact itself happened sometime between these two extreme dates, during which there is a chasm in the continuity of the history of Dio.

Along with a general measurement of the empire, might very naturally be ordered to proceed, a general census of the inhabitants of it also. The two things at least are so obviously connected together, that the fact of either of them is a strong presumptive argument of the fact of the other. We know the one of these facts from the testimonies above produced; and we have seen that it could not have

δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην^k: on the meaning of which words there ought not to have been more than one opinion among the learned. I should consider it a waste of time to prove that πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη is never used, nor ever could be used, by any writer who paid the least regard to propriety, for less than the compass of the Roman empire; which at the present period was almost the compass of the habitable world. Μεγίστη δ' ἡ σύμπασα, ἣν περ ἰδίως καλοῦμεν οἰκουμένην^l. We may meet with instances of the limited use of οἰκουμένη, as πάσης αὖθις τῆς οἰκουμένης, τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τότε οὔσης—πᾶσαν . . . τὴν οἰκουμένην τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν οὔσαν—Νέρων . . . στεφανοῖ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκουμένην*—οὐκ ἄν τις, σκοποῦ πόρρω τοξέων, λέγοι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπιτομὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης^m: but not with instances of its use to denote one particular country; much less with πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη in any such sense; than which it is scarcely possible to conceive a more extraordinary catachresis. There are no instances at least of such an use in the Christian scriptures; and to cite Acts xi. 28, as a case in point, would be only *litem lite resolvere*: for it is just as probable that ὅλην τὴν οἰκου-

happened before U. C. 748, nor after U. C. 757, or we should have had it noticed in the regular part of the history of Dio. We know the other from the Gospel of St. Luke; and we know further that, coinciding with the year of the nativity, it was either ordered or was going on, U. C. 750. This is actually within those two extreme dates, between which there is an hiatus in Dio; and where only we

should expect to find the fact of any thing of importance in the history of Augustus, not otherwise mentioned by an historian as careful to record every thing, (and much even of very little importance,) which happened in the same reign, as Dio appears to have been.

* Τὴν δὲ Ῥώμην, ἀθάνατον, εὐτυχὴ κολωνίαν, οἰκουμένην τῆς γῆς . . . ἐπωνόμασε: Dio, lxxii. 15. *De Commodo*.

^k Luke ii. 1. ^l Strabo, i. 1. page 23. Athenæus, Deipnosophistæ, i. 36.

^m Dio, xxxix. 9. lxvii. 8. lxiii. 14.

μένην *there* means at least the Roman empire, as that πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην does so *here*.

Notwithstanding however the universality of the measure, it may very justly be doubted whether it was a proper Roman census. Judæa was once subjected to such a census—of which this is the description given by Josephus: Κυρήνιος δὲ . . . ἐπὶ Συρίας παρήν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τιμητῆς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος: and again, ἀποτιμησόμενός τε αὐτῶν τὰς οὐσίας, καὶ ἀποδωσόμενος τὰ Ἀρχελαίου χρήματαⁿ: and again, ἀποτιμησόμενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ^o. The first object of a just Roman census was to ascertain the value of property; and there could be no such measure which did not include this valuation*. Consequently the proper designation of such a census is that of an ἀποτίμησις—or of ἀποτιμήσεις; both which appellations, as well as other phrases of a similar import, are applied to it indifferently by Josephus.

It is clear however from the account of St. Luke, that the census at the nativity paid no regard to the value of property. The case of the Holy family is a proof of it. If they possessed any property it must

* There cannot be a better proof of this assertion than the well-known passage from the speech of the emperor Claudius, *Super civitate Gallis danda*, as exhibited in the facsimile of the Tabulæ Lugdunenses, apud Gruterum, page DII. on which it was engraved: Quod opus, quam arduum sit nobis nunc cum maxime, quamvis nihil ultra, quam ut publice notæ sint facultates nostræ, exquiratur, nimis magno experimento cognoscimus. If a census might be held, though

with no other object in view, yet simply for the sake of ascertaining the amount of property; if that was reason enough for its institution, even when there was none else; it seems a necessary consequence, whatever other purposes a census might have in view, that to ascertain the rate of property must always have been one; whatever other reasons might cooperate with this, there could be none sufficient to have produced it independent of this.

have been at Nazareth : they could have none at Bethlehem, where they were obliged to lodge at an inn. A census then which required them to repair from *one* place where their worldly possessions lay, to *another* where they had nothing of their own, must have had some other object in view ; not the estimation of property.

Now the term, which St. Luke employs to describe its object, is strictly and properly applicable to an enrolment *per capita* ; to an ἀπαρίθμησις or numbering of the people : but not to a census of property. No one can question whether ἀπογράφεσθαι, however absolutely and independently used, may denote thus much ; but it may reasonably be doubted whether, in the absence of all limiting circumstances, which might shew that the enrolment was to regard property as well as persons, it could be equivalent to ἀποτιμᾶσθαι*. The exact version of these texts of St. Luke, as it appears to me, would stand as follows^p:

Now it came to pass in those days, that there went

* The following are some instances of the occurrence of ἀπογράφεσθαι : which I have taken at random.

Ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας : Xenophon, Hell. ii. iv. 8—καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἀπογράφονται πάντες : Cyri Disc. ii. i. 19—ἐνιαχοῦ δ' ἔξῃστι μὲν πᾶσιν ἀπογραψάμενοις ἐκκλησιάζειν καὶ δικάζειν· ἐὰν δ' ἀπογραψάμενοι, κ', τ. λ. : Aristotle, Politica, iv. x. 7—ἀπεγράψαντο μὲν οὖν κατ' αὐτόν : Plutarch, Æmilius Paulus, 38.—τῶν μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδεὶς ἀπεγράψατο πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν : Diodorus Sic. xvi. 30—ἀπογράφεσθαι κελεύσας τοὺς ὑποχρέους : Dionysius Hal. Ant. Rom. iv.

10, 660. l. 8—τοὺς οὐδένα κληρὸν ἔχοντας τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀπογράφεσθαι : Ibid. 660. l. 15—ἐκέλευσεν ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους ἀπογράφεσθαι τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι τὰς οὐσίας : Ibid. 14. 676. l. 8.

In all these cases, the word means only, people's giving in their names ; causing their names to be taken down ; enrolling themselves, *per capita* ; and the like. I will conclude with the following from Julian, apud Cyrillum, lib. vi. 213. A : ὁ παρ' ὑμῖν κηρυττόμενος Ἰησοῦς, εἰς ἣν τῶν Καίσαρος ὑπηκόων...φατὲ μέντοι αὐτὸν ἀπογράψασθαι μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου.

forth a decree from Cæsar Augustus, to cause the whole empire to be enrolled. And all persons went to enrol themselves, each to his own city. And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, unto Judæa; to the city of David, which is called Bethlehem; because he was of the house and family of David: to enrol himself along with Mary, espoused unto him for wife, being great with child.

A reason is here assigned which has nothing to do with the valuation of property, but very much with an enrolment *per capita*. Joseph and Mary went up to Bethlehem, not because they possessed any property there; but because they belonged to the house and family of David. Οἶκος and πατρία are entirely distinct from κληρονομία; and there is consequently no allusion to patrimony or inheritance, in any way whatever. The distinction of tribes and families was still kept up among the Jews, but that of inheritances had long been lost; and the observance of the year of Jubile, an institution directly subservient to that distinction, was therefore no longer in being; nor according to Maimonides ^q, had it been, since the return from captivity. An enrolment *per capita* would necessarily require the Jews to repair to the places where their genealogical records were kept: a valuation of property could be made only where they were residing, and had possessions on the spot.

I am persuaded therefore by St. Luke's description of the present census, that it was merely of the former kind, and not of the latter. And this conclusion agrees best with the testimony of Josephus; which strongly implies that, before the mission of Quirinius, in the tenth of Archelaus and the year U.C. 760, neither

^q De Anno Jubilæi.

Syria nor Judæa had yet been subject to a census of any other description. It is incredible too that Augustus, especially in U. C. 749, when his preexisting differences with Herod had been satisfactorily made up, and he was better inclined towards him than ever^r, would think of exposing him to a mark of subjection and dependence, than which none could be more complete. Nor is it to be supposed that Judas of Galilee, and others of the same way of thinking as he, would not be as ready to oppose a Roman census at this period, as ten or eleven years after.

What shall we say, then, to the meaning of the celebrated text, Luke ii. 2?

I. We may observe, that any such version as this—This taxing was the first of Cyrenius, governor of Syria—would be liable to a great objection; not merely on the score of the fact asserted; nor because the participle *ἡγεμονεύοντος* might not be used instead of *ἡγεμόνος*; but because if it were used *ἀπλῶς* for a name of office, it could not be used without the article. Of this rule an hundred examples might be produced from Josephus, Dio, and other writers; but no valid exceptions to the contrary.

II. Such a version, as—This taxing was first made, or, *αὐτὴ ἡ ἀπογραφὴ*, The taxing itself was first made, that is, *first took effect*, when Cyrenius was *governing* Syria—would not be liable to this objection; but it would contradict St. Luke; who plainly implies that the *ἀπογραφὴ*, such as it was, was carried into effect immediately: and it is inconsistent also with the reason of the thing. For it is palpably absurd to suppose that a measure would be commanded U. C. 749, which was not to be executed until U. C. 760; or *vice versa*,

^r Ant. Jud. xvi. x. 9.

that one would be executed in U. C. 760, which had been commanded in U. C. 749.*

* There is no reason indeed to suppose that Quirinius was in the East about this time at all. If he had been there, his name would have appeared among the judges at the trial of Herod's two sons. For he was one who had been consul U. C. 742; and, therefore, was of consular dignity, U. C. 749; and who, since his consulate, had added to his reputation by the fame of a successful campaign against the Homonaden-ses, a tribe of Cilicia^s; which had procured him the honours of the Triumph. But what renders it most improbable that he was sent into the East, on any special commission, U. C. 749 or 750, is the fact that he was appointed rector, or principal adviser, to Caius Cæsar—*Armeniam obtinenti*: which must have been after the death of M. Lollius, (who had originally accompanied Caius in that capacity;) and was probably in U. C. 755^t; for it was after Caius had made peace with Phraates, yet necessarily before his death; consequently, neither earlier than U. C. 755, nor later than U. C. 756. Nor did Lollius die a natural death, but took poison; though Velleius Paterculus, *loc. cit.* says he did not know whether the death of Lollius was voluntary or accidental; only that it was *intra paucos dies*—after his disgrace.

Suet. Tiberius, 9-14. Tiberius, who retired to Rhodes, U. C. 748, it is said, first desired leave

to return, U. C. 753, and was kept there against his will two or three years longer, at least; at which time, though Caius Cæsar was alive, yet Lollius being in disgrace, the latter it is most probable died sometime either U. C. 755 *exeunte*, or U. C. 756 *ineunte*.

Nor, except there had been a sufficient interval of time between the death of Lollius, and the return of Tiberius from Rhodes, which was probably not long before the death of Caius Cæsar, Feb. 21, U. C. 757, though Paterculus, ii. 103, places it U. C. 755, could Quirinius have had an opportunity of paying his court to Tiberius there; as Tacitus, Ann. iii. 48. asserts he did.

Suetonius, Tiberius, 49, tells us, Quirinius prosecuted Lepida, formerly his wife, *post vigesimum annum veneni olim in se comparati*. Tacitus, Ann. iii. 22, 23, places this prosecution U. C. 773 *exeunte*: the crime, therefore, laid to her charge, had been committed U. C. 753, or U. C. 754. But there is a difficulty with respect to their marriage: for Tacitus informs us that before Lepida was married to Quirinius, she had been espoused to Lucius Cæsar: nor is it likely that until his death, (August 20, according to the Antiatine Calendar, U. C. 756,) she would be given in marriage to another.

Among the inscriptions in Orellius, there is one^u, which if genuine recognises Quirinius as

^s Tacitus, Ann. iii. 48. Strabo, xii. 6. §. 5. 191. Pliny, H. N. ix. 58.

^u Vol. i. Art. 625.

^t Velleius Pat. ii. 102.

It seems to me, then, that the safest course is to understand the words of St. Luke, as a parenthetical admonition not to confound this ἀπογραφὴ at the birth of Christ, with the much later and much more memorable ἀπογραφὴ in the time of Cyrenius. Such an admonition was necessary in itself; and was justly to be expected from the accuracy of this Evangelist. In this case, the text must be rendered—This enrolment took place before Cyrenius was governor of Syria—and the difficulties which may still be raised about it will concern nothing but the use of *πρῶτος*, instead of *πρότερος*, whether adverbially or as a preposition.

The substitution of the superlative for the comparative is not an uncommon idiom in the Greek language^v; and of the use of *πρῶτος*, in particular, for *πρότερος*, St. John supplies four instances, of which there can be little question—i. 15. 27. 30. xv. 18. 1 John iv. 19; and perhaps St. Matthew and St. Mark two more—Matt. xxvi. 17. Mark xiv. 12—in both which had *προτέρᾳ* been used instead of *πρώτῃ* the construction would have been similar to this of Herodotus: ἐν τῇ προτέρῃ νυκτὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων—τῇ προτεραίῃ τῆς ὑστάτης καταστάσιος μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι^w: or to this of Plato:

legate of Syria, and a census as held at Apamea by his command: and it is certain, even from Josephus, that he was both governor of Syria, and holding a census in that province, as well as in Judæa, U. C. 760; to which this inscription must allude: and the fact of disturbances among the Ityræans, to which it also alludes, as coinciding with the same event, confirms this conclusion, rather than

otherwise.

The question however who might be governor of Syria, at the time of the census which preceded the nativity, is of little importance; for I am entirely of their opinion who maintain that it would be conducted in Judæa particularly by no governor of Syria, but by Herod himself, or by officers of his exclusively.

^v Matthiæ Gr. Gram. ii. §. 464.

^w v. 56. ix. 9.

ἔτυχε γὰρ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς δίκης ἢ πρύμνα ἐστεμμένη τοῦ πλοίου*^x. Colossians i. 15. supplies another instance in a compound form—πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως—which it is absurd to render in any way but by—Begotten before all creation†. Ὅτι δὲ Παύλου οὐδεὶς πρῶτος στήσεται, παντί που δηλονύ—ταῦτ' εἰ μὲν παρ' ἑτέροις ἢ ἔγραφεν πρῶτον, ἢ ἐφυλάχθη βεβαιότερον^z—οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο πρῶτον...οὐδ' ἀναγκαιότερον, οὐδὲ συμφορώτερον...ὑπέλαβε^a—τὸν ἀρχιερέα πρῶτος ἡσπάσατο^b—πρῶτός τε αὐτὸν ἡσπάσατο^c—οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράττουσι πρῶτον, ἢ τὴν τροφὴν ἀπομισθοῦσι τῶν ἱερῶν χηνῶν^d—πῶς οὐχ ἅπασιν ἐναργὲς ὡς ἀπάντων μὲν τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσι σοφῶν ὁ θεοσπέσιος Μωσῆς πρεσβύτατος ἦν^f. In like manner, the comparative is used for the superlative: αὕτη γὰρ πασῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ λίμνῃ πλατυτέρα καὶ μείζων καθέστηκεν^g—ἐλεεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων‡^h.

* Cf. Thucydides, v. 75: Xenophon, Hell. v. 1. 35: Plutarch, Julius Cæsar, 32.

† Cf. Justin Martyr, Dialogus, 319. 12: τὸν πρωτότοκον τῶν πάντων ποιημάτων. Ibid. 406. 25: Θεοῦ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι τέκνον, πρωτότοκον τῶν ὄλων κτισμάτων. Ibid. 430. 18: ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως ὢν, καὶ ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἄλλου γένους γέγονε. Hermas, Pastor, iii. 9. 12: PP. Apost. 73: Filius quidem Dei omni creatura antiquior est, ita ut in consilio Patri suo adfuerit ad condendam creaturam. Confer Œcumenius in Novum Testam. ii. 120. D. Comm. in locum; and Arethas, in Revel. iii. 14. apud Œcumenium, ii. 684. D.

‡ Xenophon, Hell. v. iv. 1: πρῶτον οὐδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν πάποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες—Cyri Disciplinā, iii. i. 11: τοῦτον σὺ, πρῶτος εἶπες, πότερον, κ', τ. λ.—Theophrastus, De signis pluviarum, ad fin. 420: ἔστι δὲ ἄμεινον πρῶτον γενέσθαι βόρειον ὕδωρ νοτίου καὶ τοῖς φνομένοις καὶ τοῖς ζώοις—Aristotle, Meteorologica, i. xii. 24. line 8: διὸ πολλοί, ὅταν τὸ ὕδωρ ψύξαι ταχὺ βουληθῶσιν, εἰς τὸν ἥλιον τιθέασιν πρῶτον—Cleomedes, περὶ μετεώρων, i. 8. §. 41. p. 52: οἱ γοῦν Πέρσαι, πρὸς τῇ ἀνατολῇ οἰκοῦντες, τέσσαρσιν ὥραις πρῶτοι λέγονται ἐντυγχάνειν τῇ ἐκβολῇ τοῦ ἡλίου τῶν Ἰσθίων πρὸς δυσμαῖς οἰκοῦντων—Ibid. §. 43. p. 55: εἰ γὰρ οὕτως εἶχε τὰ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα αὐτῇ, πρώτοις ἂν τοῖς

^x Phædon, p. 2. l. 1.

milia lxx. 3.

^b xi. viii. 5.

vii. 155.

i. 22. 1182.

Luke vii. 28. ix. 48. Ephes. iii. 8.

^y Chrysostom, Operum vii. 648. B. In Matt. Ho-

^z Jos. Contra Apionem, ii. 41.

^c xii. iv. 3.

^d Plutarch, Romanae Quaestiones, Operum

^e Jos. Contra Apionem,

^f Cyrill, Contra Julianum, i. 14. A. B.

^g Jos. Contra Apionem,

^h 1 Cor. xv. 19: Vide also Matt. xi. 11. xiii. 32. Mark iv. 31.

Nor is this usage peculiar to the Greeks :

Primus humum fodito, primus devecta cremato

Sarmenta, et vallos primus sub tecta referto :

Postremus metito.

Virgil, Georg. ii. 408.

The construction of *πρῶτος* adjectively for *πρὸ* or *πρότερον*—like that of *ὑστάτος* for *μετὰ* or *ὑστερον*—would necessarily require the participle of the verb *ἡγεμονεύω*, without the article ; and either in the past or present tense ; as in these passages of Herodotus :

Ἰβηρσι τῶν Περσῶν ἐγένετο ἡμέρα—Charito, Lib. v. 85. line 24 : *δεῖ δὲ πρῶτον τῶν λόγων ἀπαντας παρ-εῖναι τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἐν τῇ δίκῃ*—Synesius, apud Dionem Chrys. 25. l. 19 : *ταύτῃ δὴ πάλιν τὸν Ἑλ-ληνα τοῦ βαρβάρου πρῶτον ἄγω*—Aristides, Scholia, 362. l. 33 ; *ἵνα δειξῇ ὅτι πολὺ πρῶτος Ὁμηρος Πλά-τωνος*—Plutarch, Cato Min. 43 : *καὶ οὐκ ἔφθῃ πρῶτον ἀφεθεῖς, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέψας ἵετο πρὸς τὸ βῆμα*—Dionysius Hal. Ant. Rom. v. 77, 1034. 15 : *ὧν τινες καὶ βασά-νοις πρῶτον ἠκίστατο*—Diogenes Laertius, Thales, Lib. i. §. 24 : *πρῶτος δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑστέραν τοῦ μηνὸς τριακάδα εἶπε*—SS. *Dependitorum Vaticana Collectio*, i. Pars i. 75. D. Eusebii *Quæstiones ad Marinum*, 3 : *πρῶτα δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ δηλούμενα, τῶν παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ φερομένων*—Ibid. 76. A : *ἦν δ' οὗτος δεύτερος τοῦ παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ δεδηλωμένου*—Eusebii *Chronicon*, apud Syncellum : *Μω-σέα δὲ, φιλαλήθως εἰπεῖν, τούτων μὲν νεώτερον, τῶν δὲ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀρ-χαιολογουμένων πρεσβύτατον. κ', τ. λ.*—Justin Mart. ad Græcos Co-hortatio, 9. 62. l. 11 : *ἵνα γνῶτε ὅτι πάντων τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν . . . πολλῶ πρεσβύτατος γέγονεν ὁ . . . Μωϋσῆς*—Ibid. 12. 70. l. 17 : *πανταχόθεν*

οὖν γινῶναι ῥάδιον, ὅτι πολλῶ ἀρ-χαιοτάτην πασῶν τῶν ἔξωθεν ἱστο-ριῶν τὴν Μωϋσέως ἱστορίαν εἶναι συμβαίνει—Theophilus ad Au- tolycum, iii. 22. p. 364 : *ἐκ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἀρχαίων δέικνται καὶ τὰ τῶν λοιπῶν συγγράμματα ἔσχατα εἶναι τῶν διὰ Μωσέως ἡμῖν δεδομένων γραμμάτων, κ', τ. λ.*—Theodorit, *Operum* iv. 739, ad *calcem* : *ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὅτι Μωϋσῆς . . . πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων . . . πρε-σβύτατος*—Arrianus, In Epictetum, lib. i. cap. 10. p. 60 : *εὐθὺς ἐγὼ πρῶτος ὅταν ἡμέρα γένηται, μικρὰ ὑπομνήσκωμαι, τίνα ἐπαναγινῶναι με δεῖ*—Ælian, De Natura Ani- malium, viii. 12 : *ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τῷ φιλανθρωποτάτῳ θεῶν ἱερὸν ἀφῆκαν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπευφήμισαν Ἀσκληπιοῦ θεράποντα εἶναι, οἱ πρῶτοί μου ταῦτα ἀνιχνεύσαντες*—Scholia ad Arati *Phænomena*, 282 : *ὁ οὖν Αἰγόκε-ρως πρῶτός ἐστι τοῦ Ὑδροχόου τῇ θέσει*—2 Sam. xix. 43, accord- ing to the ο' : *καὶ ἵνατί τοῦτο ὕβρι-σάς με, καὶ οὐκ ἐλογίσθῃ ὁ λόγος μου πρῶτός μοι τοῦ Ἰούδα, ἐπι-στρέψαι τὸν βασιλέα ἐμοί ;*—He- rodian, iii. 38 : *ἵνα ὀφθῇ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ἡ ἀκουσθῇ τὴν βασι-λείαν παραλαβών*—Suidas, Πλάκι-λα : *πρώτη δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐτελεύτη-σεν.*

τρίτῃ δὲ γενεῇ μετὰ Μίνῳ τελευτήσαντα—πρὸ δύντος ἡλίου—ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύσανταⁱ. Or in these of Josephus or Ælian: ἀπὸ δὲ στρατηγούντος Ἰησοῦ—ἐπὶ Τίτου Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύοντος—κατὰ τὸν Οἶνιδα τὸν Μήνιδος βασιλεύοντα^k.

Πρὸ Κυρηνίου ἡγεμονεύοντος, or ἡγεμονεύσαντος—and Μετὰ Κυρήνιον ἡγεμονεύοντα, or ἡγεμονεύσαντα—would have been equally appropriate to express, the one, Before Cyrenius was governor; and the other, After Cyrenius was governor: and the same thing would hold good of πρότερον instead of πρὸ, or of ὕστερον instead of μετὰ. I consider πρώτη to be so employed in the present instance by St. Luke.

ⁱ vii. 171. v. 50. ii. 43.
malium, xi. 15: Ibid. 40.

^k Ant. Jud. ix. xiv. 1. Ælian, De Natura Ani-

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